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Vol XXII Pt I

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXII.

No. 1.—THE TEXT OF THE SOHGAURA PLATE.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

1. The Sohgaurā plate[1] discovered in 1894 in the district of Gorakhpur and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoey, is one of the undoubted pre-Aśōkan documents. Fleet, R. D. Banerji, and myself have had occasions to comment on the age of the writing.[2] In Dr. Fleet's opinion, it could even be placed earlier than 320 B.C. :

> "The standard of the Brāhmī characters of the inscription refers it to at any rate an early date in the Maurya period, B. C. 320 to about 180 ; and the method of spelling presented in it, along with the use of those characters and the general style of the record, would justify our placing it even before that time."
>
> —*JRAS.* 1907, p. 509.

2. The inscription, however, has not been solved. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar impressed on me the necessity of giving my attention to it. The discovery of the Mahāsthān stone which has now been edited in this journal (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 83 ff.), made it necessary to refer to this document. It seems that the reading can be made out now with some certainty.

3. The illustrations are in *JRAS.* 1907, plate facing p. 510—the Asiatic Society's photograph and Sir George Grierson's electrotype copy. It will be seen that the small-sized *k*'s on the Mahāsthān stone and those in our plate agree in shape ; and so do the peculiar *sa* forms (Mahāsthān, line 2) which are not found in Aśōka inscriptions. This *sa* is also found on a Patna glass seal.[3] Both Sohgaurā and Mahāsthān records have as their subject-matter *koṭhāgāla* (*kōshṭhā-āgāra*) which is used in the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra as a technical term for state store-houses for keeping *dravya* and grains (*At.*, chs. 36, 37 ; pp. 93, 99, 1st ed.) and refer to *ātyayika* [distress].

4. The Sohgaurā plate was cast into several copies and is a public placard issued by the **Council of Ministers of Śrāvastī**, and is a document, relating to famine relief measures. It reads :

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[1] *References* : 1894, *Bengal Asiatic Society's Proceedings*, pp. 84 ff. (V. Smith and Hörnle) ; 1896, *Ind. Ant.*, 261 (Bühler) ; 1907, *JRAS.*, 509 (Fleet).

[2] *JBORS.*, VI, 203. The date assigned there is c. 300 B.C.

[3] *JBORS.*, X, 189, 192.

TEXT.

1 Savastiyāna[1] Mahāmatan sasane Manavasiti- ka-
2 ḍā[2] [.] si[l]ī-māte[3] usāgame 'va ete dave koṭhāgalāni
3 Ti[ya]vanī-Māthala- Chachu- Modāma- Bhalakāna chha-
4 li-kayiyati (;) atiyāyikāya no gahitavayo (.)

TRANSLATION.

The order of the **Mahāmātras** of **Śrāvastī** (*issued*) from the **Manavasiti** camp.

Only to the tenants, only on the advent of drought, these (the) *dravya* store-houses of **Trivēṇī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōḍāma**[4], and **Bhadra** are to be distributed (discharged); in case of distress they are not to be withheld.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXT.

Line 1. The third character is a ligature. There is a defect in the surface which produces a cut in the loop of the *s* and the leg of the *t* above it (see the first photograph). The ligature is indicated by breaking off the perpendicular line before joining to it the legs of the *s*, which may be compared with the normal *s* of lines 1 and 2.

Mahāmatana.—The long *ā* mark to the *h* is in the middle of the perpendicular line. The *t* is of the stunted variety, with a suggestion of a projecting bar, just as in the *t* of the last line in *gahitavayo*.

Sasane. There is probably a suggestion of a long *mātrā* to the first *s* in the electrotype.

Line 2. For the long vowel in *ḍā* of *Manavasiti-kaḍā* see the electrotype.

Silīmāte. *Silī* stands for Sanskrit *sīra*; *sīra*, 'plough'; Hindi *sīr*, 'cultivation'; *sīria* 'a tenant' 'a cultivator.' *Māte*=*mātra*.

Us-āgame: the *e*-mark to *m* is absolutely certain; and the *ā*- force to *s* (in the middle of the bar) is also certain in the electroplate. The expression stands for *usa-āgame*= Sanskrit *ushāgamē*.

Dave: the lower limb of *d* is blurred. As the store-houses were evidently more than two, it is not advisable to read the word as *dve*. It seems to be connected with the technical term of the Maurya period *dravya* in connection with Government Stores, *e.g.*, *dravya-pāla* (*Artha-śāstra*, ch. 35).

Line 3. *Tiyavani* is a clear reading. The photograph shows *Māthala*, but the electrotype *Māthala*. The long vowel to *k* in *Bhalakāna* can be seen in the photograph, though it is faint.

Line 4. The *i*-mark to *l* in *chhali*, is faint. *Chhali*=Sanskrit *kshari*[5]; *chhali-kayiyati*, 'to be spent', 'to be discharged'. *Chha* was misread by Fleet as *va*. There is a straight bisecting line in the circle. Bühler read it correctly.

LOCALITIES.

Trivēṇī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōḍāma and *Bhadra* must have been in the Kōsala Province, of which *Śrāvastī* was the capital. This *Mathurā*, therefore, is not the Mathurā of the Śūrasēnas but a town or village somewhere in Oudh, Gorakhpur or Champaran. We have an important village *Mathaliyā* in Champaran. *Chañchu* (Ghāzipur)[6] could be within the jurisdiction of the

[1] Ligature *sti*: the right leg of *t* touches the bar of *yā*.

[2] *ā*- vowel-mark is traceable in both photographs.

[3] There seems to be a long *ī* to *l*, and to *t*. See electrotype.

[4] If *ṇa* be taken as an adjectival form like *Mathala*, the place-name would be *Moḍāma*.

[5] *Kshar* (क्षर्), to pour out, to flow, to dissolve or dissipate.

[6] *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, 525.

provincial government of Śrāvasti, as the district of Gorakhpur was; but more likely it was another place between *Triveṇi (ghāṭ)* and *Bhadra*—between the districts of Gorakhpur and Champaran or thereabout. Nothing is known about *Modāma* or *Mudāma*. *Bhadra* (Bhalla) was a common name. *Mānavasiti* (Mānavasiti) is to be looked for in the Tarāi. Its name shows that it was a cool resort.

The Sohgaura and Kumrahar pillar symbols.

Amongst the symbols the moon (*Chandra*) placed on a hill-like combination and next to it the large *Mo* (like the *ma* in the inscription—in two separate parts) denote an imperial monogram for **Chandra[gupta] M[aurya]**. We have the same moon symbol on the Kumhrar pillar [*ASR.*, 1912-13, p. 78, pl. XLIX] where it certainly means '*Chandragupta*'. The hill-like combination stands for **gutta** —the upper loop is *g* and the lower loops are *tta*, and on the top of the combination stands *chanda* or *chandra*. This monogrammatic method of writing is what is called *Śilpa-lipi* (i.e., *art-writing*) in the text cited by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th Indian Oriental Conference*, p. 11). It will be seen from the plate published in the *A.S.R.* that in the centre, by the side of the central dot, there is the symbol for **Chandagutta**, then there is an abrasion in the stone (which I have examined and seen on the actual stone), then opposite there is in a somewhat cursive hand three letters—reading from right to left—'**Moriya**'. This along with the symbol reads: '**Moriya-Chandagutta.**' That Chandragupta Maurya had his royal monogram is clear from the Kauṭaliya *Arthaś.*, ch. 50, p. 129 ['*rājāṅka*' branded on royal animals] and ch. 93, p. 249 ['*narendrāṅka*' engraved on weapons and armours for the use of soldiers].[1]

The *Mo* on the Sohgaura plate is to the right of the monogram. For the full form of the *o*- force, see electrotype.

The two trees probably signify the drought stage from leafsome to leafless, and the houses for stores.

The Date.

Apart from the monogram, the date is to be gathered from certain circumstances. At the time, Śrāvasti was under a Council of Mahāmātras. This will be true of the Nanda and Maurya times when Kōsala was reduced to the position of a province of the Magadhan empire. The lettering will show an age about a century before Aśōka. The document indicates that extensive measures were adopted by the State to meet threatened or repeated droughts, and the measures were largely advertised for the information of the public. This and the Mahāsthān tablet seem to be contemporary documents of the reign of **Chandra-gupta Maurya** when repeated **droughts** occurred, according to the Jaina theological history. Both Sohgaura and Mahāsthān inscriptions refer to '*atiyāyika*' circumstances.

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[1] I reserve a fuller discussion on the Kumhrar pillar for a separate paper. It is sufficient to note here that the circles denote the plan of this pillar. My brother Mr. C. P. Jayaswal, who is an engineer by profession, without knowing anything of the actual position of the pillar said that it should be the 8th pillar in the third row according to these 'erection marks'. This agrees to the letter on Dr. Spooner's plan (XLI, p. 60). The sectional plan to the right on the pillar and its circles for the pillars and three lines before the letter *mā* constitute a copy of Dr. Spooner's plan of a group of 8 pillars on the site, reckoning it facing south where the main gate stood. What Dr. Spooner took to be Persian symbols are simply the direction for erection, noting "*mukha*" 'face'—'gate'. *Mā* and *kha* (or, *kha*) cover the whole of the sectional plan. The letters by the circles read (left to right) "*thabhā* 1, 2, 3."

No. 2.—SHELL CHARACTER ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CI-ARUTŌN (JAVA).

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-law, Patna.

A cursive and florid writing has been found in various places in India. I have seen it in the rock-cut cave-house at Khaṇḍgiri in the so-called Lalāṭa Kēsarī Gumphā; at the door of the Gupta or pre-Gupta temple standing at Tigawāñ; at Rājgir; at Patna, etc.; and one text repeated several times at Rāmṭek (Nagpur) has been brought to light by Dr. Turner [1]. Until now it has been called "Shell characters" or Śaṅkha writing owing to the cursive forms of letters which resemble a conch-shell.[2]

Lately I had to study the "box-headed" writing of the Javanese inscriptions which have been edited by Dr. Vogel under the title *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java* in *Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie*, Deel I (Weltevreden, 1925). A Shell inscription is engraved at Ci-Arutōn below the foot-prints of King Pūrṇavarman. The toes of the king are represented to have had lotus-marks, the auspicious *lakshaṇa* (marks), which have been taken by several Dutch scholars to be a representation of "spiders". The whole purpose of the inscription is to emphasise this *sāmudrika lakshaṇa*.

The main inscription is in box-headed letters of the Vākāṭaka type, which has been accurately read by Dr. Vogel (p. 22) as follows :—

1 Vikkrāntasy-āvanipatēḥ
2 Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇṇavarmmaṇaḥ
3 Tārūma-nagar-ēndrasya
4 Vishṇōr-iva pada-dvayam.

Plate 28 of Dr. Vogel's book which is reproduced here gives the facsimile of the foot-prints and the inscriptions in shell and box-headed letters.

It is evident that the two inscriptions are contemporary with the foot-prints (*pādukā*). It was to record the description of the foot-marks that the inscriptions were engraved. The shell writing was drawn first and then the "box-headed" one. This is apparent from the position of the two inscriptions. The loop of the first letter of the shell line caused a little slanting of the box-headed lines. The shell line is just below the *pādukā* and occupies a more prominent position.

On the evening of the 14th April (1933) I placed the plate before my learned friend Dr. Hirananda Sastri with my view that here was a bi-scriptory writing, and that it was possible to solve the shell record with the help of the box-headed record which gives the purpose of the inscription. Dr. Hirananda Sastri[3] agreed with that view. I now place my reading before scholars.

The line opens with *Śrī*, placed just between the two large toes, and reads ŚRĪ PŪRṆṆAVARMAṆAH. It may be noticed that three ṇs are the same in shape.

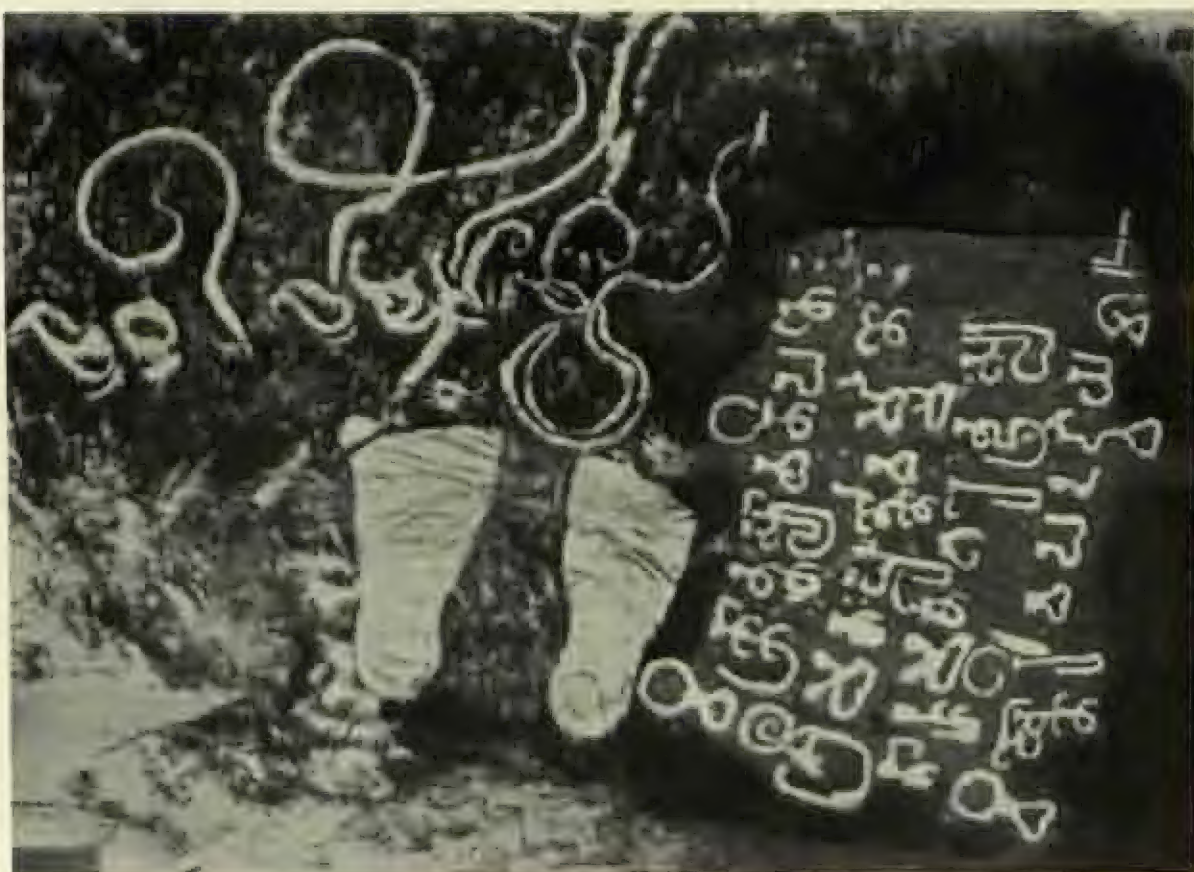
The writing is very likely the *Paushkarasādiyā*, one of the three main *lipis* of Northern India mentioned in Buddhist books (Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 2). The shell writing

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1933, Dec. issue.

[2] Cunningham finding it mostly on Gupta monuments thought that the writing arose in Gupta times [*R.*, VIII, p. 129]. But this is disproved by Sitabari cave inscriptions (of Rewah) where it is associated with contemporary writing of *C.* 100 A. D.—*A. S. R.*, 1927-28, p. 138. I have examined the latter, and one of them seems to give the same donor's name as the Brāhmī lines.

[3] [Mr. Jayaswal's reading seems to be plausible, but till we have examined all the known inscriptions in this curious script we should treat it as a working hypothesis.—H. S.]

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CI-ARUTÖN (JAVA).



REPRODUCED FROM DR. J. PH. VOGEL'S EARLIEST SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA.

MR. K. P. JAYASWAL'S CHART.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH.	FROM ESTAMPAGE.	VALUES.
		śrī
		pūr
		ṇ
		ṇa, ṇaḥ
		va
		rma

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

has been always found in Northern India, and its present instances are found on certainly Guptan monuments; the Rājgir writings on the road may be much earlier. Its cursive form shows that it was a non-monumental, *i.e.*, book writing. The *virāma* sign below *ṣ* in our inscription has its descent in the modern Nāgarī and Bengali scripts. The system is purely Hindu; the forms, though different, have basic unity with Brāhmī forms. It seems that Pushkarasādi with whose personal name the system is associated, invented the system from Brāhmī. A modern example of a similar type of invention is Gurumukhī. The head of each letter in our inscription is headed with a line as in Nāgarī, Bengali and other modern Aryan scripts of the north. This would have arisen in book-writing with pen-and-ink, to keep a straight line in view. The flourishes of long looped vowel-signs and rounded forms of the letters also point to the system of pen-and-ink.

The *v* in our inscription is almost identical with the Brāhmī letter; *p* has a loop to the left instead of to the right, which would denote an earlier origin when *p* was written both ways. The superscript *i* vowel-mark is doubled to denote a long sound. The *m* here has only one arm of the Brāhmī *m* instead of two. The *ṣ* form is entirely unconnected. The *t* is somewhat unconnected, it resembles remotely the Brāhmī form turned upside down. The superscript and subscript *r* has the same form as in Brāhmī. The double *i* mark resembles the Brāhmī system of the fourth century A.D. The mark for *visarga* on the top of the last *sa* resembles a half form of the *jihvāmūlīya* sign of the Brāhmī. The origin of the script would go back to B.C. centuries owing to the forms of *p* and *i* and the unconnected form of *ṣ*. The *mātrās* would have been influenced in their development by the general system which we find in Brāhmī.

A NOTE ON PĀDUKĀS.

The custom of giving *pādukās* still survives in India. The Jainas have throughout set up *pādukās* to their Āchāryas. Sannyāsin *maṭhas* still make such memorials to their Mahants. In every case they are memorials to dead personages. The custom survives among Bengal Hindus, where the dead *guru-jana's* foot-prints are taken on a piece of paper after besmearing the soles with lac-dye (*āltā*—Skt. *alakta*), whereby actual prints are reproduced. These prints are preserved.

Pūrṇavarman's foot-prints have given rise to various speculations amongst the Dutch scholars. Dr. Vogel has rightly pointed out (p. 20) that the other foot-prints of the king at Jambu were engraved on the place of cremation. The wording of the inscription indicates that the foot-prints were engraved after the king's death (*yaḥ purā Tārumay(ā)m nāmnā śrī-Pūrṇavarmmaṇā*). Similarly the Ci-Arutĕn inscription is to be taken as an after-death memorial, engraved probably at the place of the Śrāddha. There is no justification in the text to regard it as a dedication to a living man as taken by the Dutch scholars. It was not for worship, and it was not worshipped in his life-time.[1]

No. 3.—MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

Māṉūr is a village in the Tinnevelly district about nine miles from Tinnevelly on the road to Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil. On one of the pillars in the Ambalavāṇasvāmin temple of this village is

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[1] The foot-prints of his elephant (p. 27) Jayaviśāla (which is the name of the animal) is a memorial to his favourite *vāhana*, and must have been engraved after its death.

found engraved the following inscription[1] of the reign of **Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ**, which I edit from a set of excellent ink-impressions received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The inscription has been noticed briefly by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907, and its contents were summarised by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri in the *Annual Report* for 1913.[2]

The record occupies a space of about 7' × 1' 2" and consists of sixty-four lines of equal length. It is incomplete, a few words being wanting at its end. Line 21 has not come out clearly in the impression; but the words in this line can be easily supplied from the context on the analogy of ll. 27-9 which seem to repeat the phrasing employed here. Otherwise the inscription is very well preserved.

The **alphabet** employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu with an admixture of Grantha letters especially for ligatures, such as *kshai, rva, sta, sti, śri, kma, bra, pra, ddha, vya, mri, tta*, and for some words like *sabhai, vido, dharmma* and *stridhana*. In Grantha letters, the length of the medial *ī* is marked by the sign of a medial *ā* attached to the right of the letter in *śrī* in lines 1 and 10; the sign representing a medial *ā* is itself a plain short horizontal stroke from the right end of which hangs a vertical one—see *brā* in lines 17 and 23 and *śrā* in line 29. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters resemble in general appearance those of the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya.[3] The size of the letters is larger in the first five lines than in the following. The letter *ka*, however, resembles more the *ka* of the Āṉaimalai inscription[4] than that of the Ambāsamudram record. The medial *ū* is marked by a loop below the letter *p* in ll. 4 and 19, and the short *u* by a single vertical stroke below the same letter in line 13. The *puḷḷi* is clearly marked in some cases as in *paṅgu* (l. 14), *pugaram* (l. 34) and *paṇikkaram* (ll. 34-5); but is not so clear elsewhere[5]. One and the same letter is found written in slightly different forms, and different letters sometimes look so alike that we have to depend on the context for their proper identification. As an example of the former tendency the vowel *i* at the beginning of line 25 may be compared with the same letter in lines 5, 11, 20 and elsewhere in the inscription. Compare also, in this connection, the letter *ṭu* in ll. 27 and 28 with *ṭu* in l. 29 and *ḍū* in l. 8; and *yā* in lines 9 and 12. Instances of the latter are furnished by *ya* and *ṭu* occurring twice in line 5; by the very slight difference between *ṭu* in this line and *ya* at the end of the preceding one, distinguished from the former by a slight hook at the top of its left arm; and by the letters *pa* and *a* in line 14. It may also be noted that in line 33, *rā* and *ku* look alike, the stroke indicating medial *ā* in the former having crossed the vertical of the main letter, whereas the distinction between the two letters is clearly maintained elsewhere *e.g.*, in l. 54. These peculiarities only go to confirm the correctness of the view that "the Vaṭṭeḻuttu may be described as a cursive script which bears the same relation to the Tamiḻ as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals, *e.g.*, the *Mōḍi* of the Marāṭhās to the *Bālbodh*."[6]

The vowel *ai* occurs once in line 58. The letter *ya* is uniseptate and looks much simpler than in the Ambāsamudram inscription and closely resembles the form of the letter in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant. The sign for the medial *i* is invariably attached as in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant to the right

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[1] No. 427 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] Part II, paragraph 23.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. IX plate opposite page 90.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, plate opposite page 320.

[5] [Nowhere else in the record is the *puḷḷi* marked and it is therefore doubtful if it is marked in the instances noted here. The marks looking like *puḷḷi* on the impression may be due to the roughness of the stone.—Ed.]

[6] Bühler—*Indian Palaeography* ed. Fleet, p. 75.

side of the letter, and never, as invariably in the Āṉaimalai and sometimes in the Ambāsamudram inscriptions, placed at the top of the letter.

Palaeographically, this inscription belongs to the same group as the Āṉaimalai and Ambāsamudram inscriptions and the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the Madras Museum grants of Jaṭilavarman. To the same group may be assigned the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam and the Trivandrum Museum stone inscriptions.[1] Slight differences as in the formation of the letter *ya*, the disposition of the medial *i* symbol, and the general appearance, sloping (Āṉaimalai and Vēḷvikkuḍi) or vertical (Madras Museum and Ambāsamudram), of the letters in an inscription do not, in the case of Vaṭṭeḻuttu records, furnish any reliable criteria for a close determination of their exact age.[2] It seems to me therefore that the Māṉūr inscription of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ is also a record of the reign of the celebrated donor of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and the Madras Museum plates.

It must be observed, however, that the high regnal years in this and in some other inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ have been considered to be an obstacle in the way of accepting this conclusion.[3] I have pointed out elsewhere what appears to me the proper method of reconciling these high regnal years with the historical data furnished by the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the larger Siṉṉamaṉūr grants,[4] and I need not repeat the arguments here. I have also examined elsewhere the views recently expressed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar on some inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ and on the date of the accession of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.[5]

The **language** of the inscription is Tamiḻ, but Sanskrit words are also employed wherever necessary. The rules of *sandhi* are sometimes observed, as in [illegible] (l. 4), but more often not—*patta eḻundu* (l. 5), [illegible] (ll. 11-12) and so on. The letter *r* is needlessly duplicated in two places—[illegible] (ll. 45-6) and [illegible] (l. 61). The grammatical construction of the sentence at the beginning of the *vyavasthai* (ll. 14-20) is peculiar, but might be heard to-day from the mouth of any Sanskrit Paṇḍit in South India. Some words are used in peculiar senses now obsolete; examples are *maṟṟāḍutal* in the sense of 'to discuss or deliberate' more generally, 'to take part in the proceedings (of an assembly)'; and *śrāvaṇai*, a word unknown to literature, and apparently closely allied in meaning to *paṭṭayam*,[6] as can be seen from the general sense of lines 31-34 read along with ll. 18-19. *Śrāvaṇai* and *āvaṇam* are doubtless two forms of the same word—cf. *Śravaṇa*, *avaṇa*; and *Śrāvaṇa*, *āvaṇa*. And the old Tamiḻ lexicon

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[1] *Cf.* Venkayya at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxii, p. 63 and *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, Part II, p. 20, as modified by 1908, II, 38; and above, Vol. IX, p. 86, n. 12. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar thinks that it is wrong to group together the Āṉaimalai, Ambāsamudram, Vēḷvikkuḍi, Madras Museum, Tirupparaṅguṉṟam and Trivandrum Museum inscriptions as belonging to the same period. He suggests that the letters of the Māṉūr record which do not exhibit the older forms of *r*, *ṇ* and *ṟ* can favourably be compared with the writing in inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV, p. 119), Saḍaiyaṉmāṟaṉ (*ibid.*, pp. 121-122) and Vīra-Pāṇḍya (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 69 and 73).—Ed.]

[2] *Cf.* Krishna Sastri's remarks above, Vol. XVII, p. 292 and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 442.

[3] *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, II, 21, is tentative on the point; 1928, II, 5, is more decisive.

[4] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, Chap. IV and pp. 232-5. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar is of opinion that the Māṉūr inscription must be attributed, palaeographically, to a later Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, probably Parāntaka-Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṉ, the brother of Varaguṇavarman of A.D. 862. He also considers that a few records of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ which cite high regnal years, *viz.*, Nos. 285 of 1910 (35th year), 431 of 1914 (25th + ?), [illegible] of 1928-29 (25+6th year), 563 of 1917 (25+7th year), 605 of 1915 (43rd year) and 104 of 1905 (30th year), all of the Madras Epigraphical collection, are palaeographically similar to the Māṉūr record and may have to be ascribed to the king named above.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 46-54; Early Pāṇḍyan Chronology—*Journal of Indian History* 1932 April.

[6] In No. 44 of 1908 we have the phrase: [illegible]. Here [illegible] would seem to be a unit of land other than a house-site. The word is evidently used in the sense of document or title-deed in an inscription (323 of 1919) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I in the phrase: *vilai śrāvaṇai ppaḍiyum* and *irai-yili-śrāvaṇaippaḍiyum*, with which cf. *vilai-āvaṇam* (sale-deed).

Piṅgalam gives for the word [illegible] the meaning of 'right (to property).' Speaking generally, [illegible] like [illegible] may be taken to denote right to property, and '[illegible]' to mean, 'to enter upon and exercise the right of ownership'. The words *kachcham*[1] (agreement) and *kuṭṭakkāl* (obstruction) may also be noted as perhaps interesting colloquialisms of the time.

The object of the inscription is to record a resolution of the *sabhā* of **Māṇanilainallūr.** The resolution is called *vyavasthai* in Sanskrit, and *kachcham* in Tamil. The resolution fixed the procedure to be followed in future meetings of the *sabhā* by laying down the minimum qualifications in terms of property, education and character, that would entitle persons to take part in the work of the *sabhā*. It also stated that no kind of *vāriyam* was to be assigned to a person who did not possess a full share in the lands of the village. This is one of the earliest uses of the term *vāriyam* known to South Indian Epigraphy. The Ambāsamudram inscription of the sixteenth year of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja mentions the *vāriyar* of the *sabhā* of Iḷaṅgōkkuḍi. It is not easy to decide if these terms in these Pāṇḍya records refer to committees of the assembly in the same manner as the Uttaramērūr inscriptions of Chōḷa Parāntaka I belonging to a later century and another part of the country. It is not improbable that the earlier records only imply the choice of particular individuals for the performance of specified tasks, and that the *vāriyar* were individual officers carrying out the orders of the *sabhā* rather than an executive committee with wide discretionary powers such as the committees of Uttaramērūr undoubtedly were.[2] However that may be, it is clear that the present resolution of the *sabhā* of Māṇanilainallūr forbade any responsible executive duties being entrusted in the future to persons who did not satisfy a minimum property qualification. Lastly, the resolution lays down the penalty of a fine of five *kāśus* per head for failure to observe its terms and for wilful obstruction, and avers that, even after the penalty is enforced, the original terms of the resolution shall be acted upon.

This inscription is unique in the insight it gives into the actual working of the autonomous village assembly in *brahmadēya* villages under the early Pāṇḍyas. The existence of such *sabhās* is known from other records of the time like the Ambāsamudram inscription mentioned above, and an inscription from Tiruchchendūr.[3] But the inscription edited here is the only early Pāṇḍya inscription giving particulars of the constitution and working of the *sabhā*. A meeting of the general body is summoned by the beating of a large drum—*perunguṟi bēri* (ll. 9-10)[4]. The assembly, *mahāsabhā*, met at the stated hour in a public place fixed beforehand,—here it was Gōvardhana,[5] apparently signifying a Vishṇu temple of which there seem to be almost no traces left at present.[6] The rules made on this occasion by this *sabhā* shew that while in the assembly, generally speaking, all land-owners were represented, still an active part in the deliberations of the assembly was allowed only to those persons the extent of whose property did not fall below a prescribed minimum and who, in addition, had attained a certain standard of education and possessed good character. The work of the assembly when it was not in session, including the carrying out of its decisions in particular matters, was apparently entrusted to *vāriyar* of its choice. Of the number and duties of the *vāriyar*, we derive no knowledge from the inscriptions of the time.

[1] Kittel notes in his Kannada-English Dictionary that Kan. [illegible] is a derivative of Skt. [illegible], and our *kachcham* may be the same word in another form. The expression [illegible] occurs in *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I, No. 32, l. 4.

[2] See my *Studies in Chōḷa History and Administration*, pp. 92-3; 133-134.

[3] No. 20 of 1912 and No. 156 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[4] A Chōḷa inscription (102 of 1897) has the phrase: *ūrarai yāḷip-perunguṟi koṭṭi*.

[5] *Cf.* 64 of 1898 from Uttaramērūr saying: [illegible] *Mahāsabhaiyōm*.

[6] "The foundations of a few old buildings may be traced in the paddy fields to the west of the village, but it is now impossible to account for the 1008 Brahman houses which, according to a local belief, once existed on the site."—*Tinnevelly Gazetteer*, p. 476.

MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

First Side.



Second Side.



Third Side.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3313 E'33 — 460.

SCALE : ONE-SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Of the **geographical data** supplied by the inscription, **Māṉaṉiḷainallūr** is obviously the present Māṉūr. The *nāḍu* in which this place was located bore the name **Kaḷakkuḍi**. Other places in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu mentioned in the inscriptions are Karuvānallūr,[1] seven miles to the north of Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil, and Karavandapuram,[2] which seems to have had the alternative name of Kaḷakkuḍi as can be inferred from the Āṉaimalai inscriptions.[3] It has been suggested that Kaḷakkuḍi might be identical with the modern village of Kaḷakkāḍ in the Nāṅguṉēri Tāluk[4]. Considering that the *nāḍu* extended to the north beyond Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil, it may be doubted if Kaḷakkuḍi-Karavandapura could be the same as Kaḷakkāḍu, too far south in the Nāṅguṉēri Tāluk. Ambāsamudram and Śēramādēvi to the north of Kaḷakkāḍu were part of Muḷḷi-nāḍu, and Kaḷakkāḍu is itself said to have been in the Vānavaṉ-nāḍu, in a record of a later date.[5] There is a village called Kaḷakkuḍi in the Tinnevelly Taluk itself, which may possibly have been the headquarters of the *nāḍu*.

TEXT.

First side.

1 Svasti śrī || Kō **Māṟañja-**
2 **ḍaiyaṟkku yāṇḍu**
3 **muppattañju**
4 **nāḷ nāṉ-ūṟṟ-aṟu-**
5 **pattu-oṉbadu** i-
6 n-nāḷāl Kaḷak[ku]ḍi-
7 nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Māṉa-
8 [ṉi]ḷainallūr mābāsa-[6]
9 bhaiyōm peruṅguṟi śā-
10 ṟṟi śri-Gōva[r*]ddhanattu-kkū-
11 ḍi kuṟaivu ivv-ūr mā-[6]
12 hāsabhaiyōm kuḍi[7] maṉṟā-
13 ḍuvadaṉukku śeyda vyavastai-
14 y-āvadu ivv-ur[8] paṅguḍai-
15 yār makkaḷ sabhaiyil maṉ-
16 ṟāḍukiṟadu oru dha[r*]ma[m*]-utpa-
17 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam vallār su-
18 vṛittar-āy irappārē oru paṅ-
19 giṉākku[9] oruttarē sabhaiyil
20 maṉṟāḍuvadāgavum vilaiyum
21 [pratigrahamum stri-dhanamum-uḍai-][10]

Second side.

22 yār oru dhanmam-uppa[11]
23 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam

[1] No. 424 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[2] No. 418 of 1906 of the same collection.
[3] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 318 and n. 8.
[4] No. 130 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Read mahā.°
[7] Read kuḍi. The suggestion may be made that *kuḍi-maṉṟāḍu* means: 'deliberate on the affairs of the village', but there is no other instance of such usage.
[8] Read: ivv-ūr.
[9] Read °ṅgaḷku.
[10] Conjectural reading based on l. 23 below.
[11] Read uppaḍa.

24 vallar-āy suvri(t)ttar-āy
25 iruppārē maṟṟāḍu-
26 vadāgavum ulag=mā(ṟ)[1]-
27 paṭṭadu vilaiyālu-
28 m pratigrahattālum ati-[2]
29 dhanattālum śrāvaṇai
30 puguvār muḷḷu śrāva-
31 ṇai aṉṟi kāl śirāva-
32 ṇaiyum araich-chirāvaṇai-
33 yum mukkāl śirāvaṇaiyu-
34 m pugavum paṇikkavu-
35 m peṟādā(r=ā)gavum pa-
36 ṅgu vilaikku koḷpa-
37 vār[3] oru vēdam ell[ā]
38 idamum sa-pariśaḍ(ṭ)a-
39 m parikshai tandārkkē
40 śrāvaṇai paṇippadā-
41 gavum ip-pariśu aṉ-
42 ṟi śrāvaṇai pukkāraiyum

Third side.

43 piṉṉaiyum ik-kach-
44 chattil paṭṭa-pari-
45 śē maṟṟāḍuvadāga(v)-
46 vum ip-pariśiṉā-
47 l muḷuch-chirāvaṇai
48 illādārai evvagai-
49 ppaṭṭa vāriyamu-
50 m ēṟappeṟādār[4]-āgavu-
51 m ip-pariśu śeygiṉ-
52 ṟārum aṉṟeṉṟu kuṟṟu-
53 kkāl śeyyappeṟādā-[5]
54 r=āgavum kuṟṟukkāl śey-
55 vāraiyum kuṟṟukkāl śe-
56 vvārkku[6] uṟavāvuḍaṉi-[7]
57 ppāraiyum vevvēṟṟu-
58 vagai aiyyañju k[ā]śu taṇ-
59 ḍam-goṇḍu piṉṉaiyum
60 ik-kachcha[t*]til paṭṭa-pari-
61 śē śevv(v)adāgavum i-
62 p-pariśu paṇittu vyava-

[1] ṟ looks like ṛ.

[2] Read śrī-

[3] Read var. [The impression reads śeyy(v)ār—Ed.]

[4] ṟṟa looks like ṟaṟa; cf. ṟa in maṟṟa in l. 1. Likewise ṟā and ḍā look much alike.

[5] ṟā and ḍā look alike.

[6] Read śeyvārkku.

[7] This reading is doubtful. Mr. G. R. Krishnamacharlu suggests that it may be read as upi[kum]—in the sense of nyāsa; and that upakum-nippār may be rendered as those standing by or near, i.e., abettors.

63 ttai *keydōm* mahāsabhai-
64 yōm mahāsabhaiyār [pa][1]

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-14. Hail! Prosperity! the **year thirty-five, and day four hundred and sixty-nine** of (*the reign of*) **King Māraññjaḍaiyaṉ**,—on this day, we, (*the members of*) the *mahāsabhā* of Māṉūrilaimallūr, a *brahmadēya* in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu, having proclaimed a general body meeting by beat of drum; and, having assembled in the sacred Gōvardhana, made the following resolution (*vyavasthai*) for conducting deliberations in the meetings of the *mahāsabhā* of this village:

Ll. 14-20. In the matter of the share-holders of this village taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, only those who are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the discussions of the *sabhā*, only one person (*representing*) a share;

Ll. 20-26. of those who own (*shares*) by purchase gift or dowry, only such as are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the deliberations;

Ll. 26-35. in the future, those who exercise their right of property (*śrāvaṇai-paguvār*) (*acquired*) by purchase, gift or dowry, shall not, except by (*possessing*) full *śrāvaṇai*, exercise their right and vote[2] (*merely*) in virtue of a quarter, half or three-quarters of a *śrāvaṇai*;

Ll. 35-45. among those who acquire shares by purchase, the *śrāvaṇai* shall be awarded only to such as have passed an examination in an entire Vēda together with the *Pariśishṭa*; and those who enter upon a *śrāvaṇai*, by means other than the above, shall take part in the discussions only in accordance with the terms of this settlement (*kaṭṭaḷai*);

Ll. 46-51. in virtue of this arrangement, those who do not possess a full *śrāvaṇai* shall not be selected to any kind of *vāriyam*;

Ll. 51-61. those who abide[3] by this agreement shall not say 'nay' and cause any obstruction (*to this arrangement*); those who cause obstruction and those who abet the obstructionists[4] shall be fined five *kāśus* each, and even thereafter, the terms of this resolution (*kaṭṭaḷai*) shall be strictly observed.

Ll. 61-64. We, the members of the *mahāsabhā* ordered in this wise and made this settlement. The members of the *mahāsabhā*......................

No. 4 KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTION ON A BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

Bēgrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and Panjshir rivers, has been identified with ancient Kāpiśī.[5] The site has been explored by French archæologists, and M. Barthoux has, *inter alia*, unearthed a damaged sculpture in bas-relief,[6] which has been interpreted as representing the Buddha's first interview with Bimbisāra or the invitation to preach addressed to Bhagavat by Brahmā and Indra. Gotama, with a moustache, is seated on a throne, raising the right hand in the *varada-mudrā* and resting the left, which is mutilated, on the lap. To the right stands

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[1] The continuation on the fourth face seems to be built in.

[2] The word *paṇikkuvaṟu* in the context is not easy. I have taken it to mean 'declare one's opinion,' 'vote.'

[3] The expression *iyyariḍa kūṭṭapaṭṭārum* (ll. 51-2) is vague, but obviously it must refer to the persons who enter on *śrāvaṇai* in an irregular manner, without passing the examination, and are left out of account for the *vāriyam*.

[4] Lit. "Stand in intimate relation with those who cause obstruction."

[5] Cf. A. Foucher, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, pp. 341 ff.

[6] J. Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, Pl. XI.

a person in royal attire, raising his hands in supplication, and to the left a somewhat defaced figure, in the same attitude, but apparently not a royal personage. In the background we see a Vajrapāṇi to the left, and another person to the right, and outside the group, to the right, is still another person, according to M. Hackin perhaps a monk. The height of the sculpture is 14¼ inches.

Under the sculpture is an inscription in Kharōshṭhī letters. The right-hand portion of the base is abraded, and the beginning of the record is therefore irreparably lost. If the whole base was utilised, we may reckon that approximately twenty *akshara*s have disappeared.

What has been preserved covers a space 10¾ inches long, with twenty-four letters, each about ⅝ inches high. Professor Thomas has published his reading of the record from M. Hackin's plate, where, however, the last *akshara*s are defaced.[1]

I am indebted to M. Hackin for graciously allowing me to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and to the authorities of the musée Guimet for kindly providing me with excellent photographs, from which the plate accompanying this article has been prepared.

Our inscription is the first Kharōshṭhī record which has been found in, or in the neighbourhood of, ancient Kāpiśī. The excellent execution of the characters, however, shows that they are due to an experienced engraver, and we have no reason for doubting that Kharōshṭhī was in common use in Kāpiśī and in the other towns along the old highroad to India, *via* Nagarahāra and Pushkarāvatī.

According to M. Hackin, Professor Mironov has examined the Bégrām epigraph and come to the result that certain cursive and late characters remind us of the Kharōshṭhī documents from Niya, and that we must, consequently, think of a date towards the end of the Kushāṇa period, at least not earlier than Huvishka. This estimate cannot be far from the truth, though I cannot see any special resemblance to the Niya alphabet.

A priori we should be inclined to look for parallels to the characters of our record in inscriptions from places such as Wardak, Bimarān, Haḍḍā and ancient Pushkarāvatī, and though the materials at our disposal are limited, our search will not be quite in vain. The *ma*, with the tops bent slightly inwards, has its parallel on the Hashtnagar pedestal, where we also find forms of *da* and *pa* of the same kind as in our record. The angular *e*, with the *e*-stroke at the bottom, has exact parallels in Wardak, and also in Āra, Naugrām, and Jauliā. *Ta* has an ancient shape, but the long *ta* reminds us of Wardak. *Ya* has its parallels on the Kanishka and Kurram caskets, and *ha* has the same shape as in Wardak. *Sa* is peculiar, the right-hand bar being shortened and bent backwards. Generally speaking, however, the characters make the impression of being traditional and little characteristic. They are perhaps somewhat later than the Haḍḍā inscription of the year 28, and earlier than the Mamāne Dherī pedestal of the year 89, though the highly cursive ductus of the last-mentioned epigraph makes it difficult to make any use of it for chronological purposes.

One of the characters occurring in our record is peculiar. The last word but one is evidently meant to be *pituno*. The first syllable is not, however, written in the usual way. Instead of the ordinary *pa* with the *i*-stroke we have *pa* with a St. Andrew's cross at the end of the stem.

The same sign has been found by Professor Rapson[2] in some few instances in the Kharōshṭhī documents recovered at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, where it is used in words such as *alpa*, *śilpa*,

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 415.

[2] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart. Oxford 1920-29, p. 316.

śilpiṃja, and accordingly seems to stand for *lp*. Another compound *lp*, formed in the usual way by placing *l* above *p*, is stated to occur in [*ka*]*lpitasiti*, where the *i*-stroke has been added, but hardly anywhere to denote *lpa*.

Professor Rapson further draws attention to the fact that the St. Andrew's cross is used in a similar way in the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. In an earlier publication[1] he proposed to read the compound letter as *thph*, but now he prefers to read [*Ka*]*lpi*(*śa*).

We should then have to draw the inference that the writer of our inscription had misunderstood the compound and wrongly used it for *pi*. But we should fail to understand why he did so. *A priori* we would be inclined to think that he knew it from words where it was actually pronounced *pi*.

The oldest known occurrence of the compound *akshara* containing the St. Andrew's cross is in the coin legends mentioned above. The name or title in which it is used is applied to two different rulers, whose names are best known in the forms Kujūla and Wima Kadphises. The word is known both from the Greek and from the Kharōshṭhī legends, and further from Chinese renderings.

In the case of Kujūla, the Chinese transcript points to *Kapa*; the Greek legends give *Kadaphes* and *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshṭhī we find *Kadapha*, *Kaphsa*, *Kasa*[2], etc. For Wima we have Chinese *Kóu-t'ien*; Greek *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshṭhī the form here discussed. There is nowhere any trace of a *l*, but several writings which point to a dental, and probably to a voiced dental fricative, a δ. And in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Kharōshṭhī *akshara* which most closely resembles the St. Andrew's cross is the dental *th*. *A priori*, therefore, Professor Rapson's old explanation would seem to be more likely than the new one.

We do not know the derivation or etymological explanation of the word. Professor Lévi[3] has maintained that it means 'ruler of Kapiśā'. Whether he is right or not, it is highly probable that it was thus understood in Kapiśā itself, where it was perhaps also used about the successors of the two first Kushāṇas. And in Kapiśā it could then hardly be pronounced otherwise than *Kāpiśa* or *Kappiśa*. Some of the coin legends also point to disappearance of the sound preceding *p* (*ph*). The writer of our inscription, which has been found in ancient Kāpiśī, would therefore be familiar with the use of the compound *akshara* as a rendering of the sound *pi*, and it is not to be wondered at that he took the St. Andrew's cross to be the sign of *i*, leaving out the *i*-stroke itself.

The result would be the same even if the cross originally stood for *l*. For it is almost certain that old *lp* became *pp* in the North-Western Prākrit. There are not, it is true, any instances of old *lp* in later Indian Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. But both Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā have *apa*, *kapa* for Sanskrit *alpa*, *kalpa*, respectively, and the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript gives *apa* for *alpa* and *sapapa* for *saṁkalpa*. Moreover we find *atapi* for Sanskrit *akalpika*, side by side with "Sanskrit" forms such as *kalpa*, *kalpī* in Saka, which language has been influenced by the North-Western Prākrit.

This state of things leads us to question the interpretation of our sign as *lp* in the Niya documents. The forms transliterated *alpa*, *śilpa*, *śilpiṃja* by Professor Rapson were pronounced *appa*, *śippa*, *śippiṃja*, respectively, in the dialect, and we may reasonably draw the inference that the other sign, *l* written above *p*, was used where a Sanskrit loanword was pronounced as in Sanskrit *e.g.*, in (*ka*)*lpitaṃti*.

[1] *Actes du XIV*ᵉ *Congrès des Orientalistes*, i, p. 219.

[2] I abstract from the form *Kasa* which Professor Rapson, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 312, proposes to read on a copper coin, because the actual reading is not certain. To me it looks like *Kaśa*.

[3] *J. A.*, cciii, 1923, p. 32=Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. Translated by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta 1929, p. 120.

So far as I can see, our only key to the pronunciation of the compound *akshara* are the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. And we have no reason for assuming a pronunciation *lp* in them. If the letter was originally devised for writing foreign, *e.g.*, Iranian, words containing the consonantal compound *δp*, which does not occur in Indian dialects, it is conceivable that it was locally pronounced *lp*.[1] But it is hardly necessary to resort to such an assumption in order to explain the Niya writings. And in our record, at all events, the compound is meant to render *pi*.

With regard to **orthography** and **grammar**, we may note that no distinction has been made between the dental and the cerebral *n*. Thus we have *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa*, but *pituno*, *danaṁmuhe*. The last mentioned word illustrates the well-known tendency to nasalize a vowel before a nasal, and also shows that the nominative of *a*-bases ended in *e* and not in *o*, as is the rule in the western part of the territory in which the North-Western Prākrit was in use. The dialect used in our inscription is, as might be expected, the same as in other Kharōshṭhī inscriptions.

As has already been remarked, the beginning of the record, probably about twenty *aksharas*, has disappeared. It probably contained a date, either in the old Śaka or in the Kanishka era.

The inscription opens with a damaged *ya*, or apparently rather *ye*. It is evidently the termination of a feminine noun, in the genitive or in the locative. This word cannot be restored with any approach to certainty. If it was the last word of the date portion, we might think of *purvaye*, as in the Taxila Plate. Other dated inscriptions from Afghanistan, however, use *kshunammi* and not *purvaye* after the date. Moreover, the ensuing dative *pujae* makes it probable that we should expect *purvae* and not *purvaye*. The same consideration may be urged against restoring words such as *bharyaye* or *upasikaye*. We might think of *kuṭumbiniye* or of *bapiḍaye*, but we cannot say anything for certain.

The first complete word is *atariye*, which Professor Thomas is no doubt right in restoring as *Aṁtariye*, the genitive of an elsewhere unknown name *Aṁtarī*. It is evidently the name of the donor of the sculpture, and dependent on the following *danaṁmuhe*, gift.

The remaining words do not present any difficulty. They are *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa (pi)tuno pujae*. We might expect a *bhavatu* to follow, and there are perhaps some faint traces of three *aksharas*, which might be read *bhavatu*, above the line, after *pujae*. My reading and translation are therefore :

TEXT.

. . . y[e] A[ṁ]tariye danaṁmuhe imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa pituno pujae [bhavatu]

TRANSLATION.

. . . gift of Aṁtarī : through this root of bliss (may it be) for the worship of [her] father.

No. 5.—A NOTE ON THE MAMANE DHERI INSCRIPTION.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

The Mamāne Ḍherī inscription of the year 89 of the Kanishka era was published by me in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, i, pp. 171 ff. A small portion of the record is so defaced that I could not make it out from the photograph and estampages at my disposal. I tentatively read the last word of this part as *pujae*. In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 142, Mr. M. Delawar Khan has contributed a note on the record, and a new

[1] Cf. *l* < δ in Pashto [illegible], Avestan *gaδa*; *lγ* = Avestan *dama*, and *vice versa*, Sogdian *δγδ*, Sanskrit [illegible]; *δ.δ*, Sanskrit [illegible]; *δp*, Sanskrit *kalpa*, etc.

BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF INSCRIPTION.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI

From a photograph.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



From a photograph.

reproduction will be found on Plate LVIIIc. We are informed of the fact that Mr. N. G. Majumdar proposes to read *arogadakshinae* instead of *puyae*, and a careful comparison of the new reproduction with my plate shows that he is certainly right. With the exception of the initial *a*, all the *aksharas* can be traced. It is further possible to see that *arogadakshinae* was preceded by a word of three *aksharas*, the first of which must be *pi*, so that we can confidently restore *piduno* or *pituno*. This completes the record, which should accordingly be read :

Sam 20 20 20 20 4 4 1 *margasirasa(r)a mase 4 1 ite khsunami niryaide ime deyadharme Dharmapriena shamanena piduno arogadakshinae upajayana Budhapriasa puyae samanuyayaga arogadakshinae.*

No. 6—THAKURDIYA PLATES OF MAHA-PRAVARARAJA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

These plates were discovered in November 1931 at **Thākurdiyā**, a village six miles from Sāraṅgarh, the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in Chhattīsgarh, C. P. They were kindly sent to me in January 1933, by Mr. R. D. Naik, B.A., LL.B., the Dīwān of Sāraṅgarh at the instance of Mr. L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahākōsala Historical Society. They are now in the possession of the Chief of Sāraṅgarh, who has kindly permitted me to edit them.

They are **three copper-plates** each measuring 3·6" by 7·1". The first and the third are inscribed on one side only, while the second, which is somewhat thicker, is inscribed on both the sides. The edges of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a roundish hole about ½" in diameter for the ring on which the plates are strung. The ends of this ring, which is ·8" in thickness and 3·2" in diameter, were secured in a circular **seal** of bronze 3·2" in diameter. About a quarter of the lower portion of the seal is broken off, but the emblem and the legend on it are intact. The ring was not cut when the plates were sent to me. The weight of the three plates is 79 *tolas* and that of the seal with the ring is 49 *tolas*.

The plates were much corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The text of this inscription is, with a few exceptions, practically identical with that of the other inscriptions of the dynasty and there is no uncertainty in its reading. The symbol on the seal also closely resembles that on the other seals of the dynasty. It has already been described by Dr. Fleet[1] and Dr. Sten Konow[2]. The concave and slightly countersunk surface of the seal is divided by two horizontal parallel lines into two equal parts. The upper half contains in relief the figure of **Lakshmī** with a halo surrounding her face, standing on a lotus and facing full front. She holds a lotus in her right hand and something circular in her left. On each side of her there is an elephant standing on a lotus, and holding a pot in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the right as well as the left corner there is a water lily.[3] The lower half of the seal contains the **legend** in verse deciphered below.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as found in the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja and also in the silver coin of Prasan-

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 193 and 196.

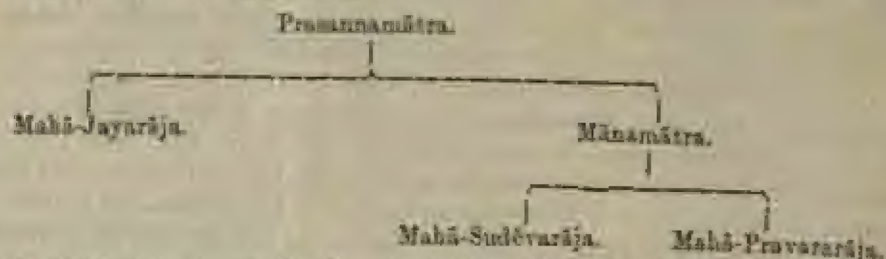
[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 171.

[3] In the seals described by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Konow there is a *śaṅkha* in the proper left corner.

namātra. They resemble in general the characters of the Ritthapur plates of Bhavattavarman,[1] and are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the Siwani[2] and Riddhapur[3] plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. As in the Ārang plates[4] of Mahā-Jayarāja, in medial ī the length is denoted by a dot in the middle of the circle which indicates its short form. The medial ū is denoted in two ways—the usual one of indicating length by a short stroke to the right as in *bhū* and *sū* (cf. *bhūtvā* l. 11 and *sūryya* l. 16) and the other in *chū* (cf. *chūḍāmaṇi* l. 1) and *yū* (cf. *yūyam* l. 10). The medial *ṛi* is denoted by a flourish to the left; the medial *au* is tripartite (cf. *dhau* of *dhauta* l. 2). The sign for the cerebral *ḍ* occurs twice in *chūḍāmaṇi* l. 1 and *Tuḍḍārāsh-ṭriya* l. 4. The *gh*, *p*, *s*, and *sh* are open at the top. The right arm of *l* goes over the letter in the form of a curve and appears as a vertical stroke to the left; *m* appears in its angular form, *n* with a loop and *t* without it. The loop of *bh* is larger than its hook. The final *t* as in *dadyāt* l. 17 and *vasēt* l. 19 is denoted by two vertical strokes on the top. The loop of *y* is complete in *Vāja-sanēyinē* l. 9 and *dvijāya* l. 13 and contains a dot in *sūryyasutāś-cha* l. 16. The final pause is denoted by two vertical lines, the first of which has a hook at the top. The numerical symbols for 3 and 2 occur in lines 22 and 23 respectively.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we have to note the reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* in *sarvva* l. 8, *dharmmam* l. 13, *svargg*ē l. 18, etc. *V* appears doubled after *anusvāra* in *paradattāṁ vvā* l. 20 and *saṁvvatsara* l. 22. *B* is distinguished from *v* as in *vāk-āmbu* l. 2 and *bahubhir* l. 19. *Ri* is used instead of the vowel *ṛi* in *srishṭaḥ* l. 10 and for the *rēpha* in *dariśayati* l. 12 and *varisha* l. 17. The palatal *ś* wrongly appears for the lingual *sh* in *śashṭi* and *varśa* l. 17 and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *Sasi* l. 6. The *visarga* appears superfluous after its change to *s* in *grāmaḥ stridaśa* l. 5; so also the *anusvāra* after its change to a nasal in *bhavaṁnto* l. 17 and *simamnta* l. 2, etc. One *d* is wrongly dropped in *tasmādvijāya* l. 13.

The plates were issued from **Śrīpura** by **Mahā-Pravararāja** on the **second day of Mārggaśirsha in the third year** of his increasingly victorious reign. They record the donation of a village **Ashāḍhaka** in the *rāshṭra* or sub-division named Tuḍā[5] to a Brāhman named Puramdara of the Parāśara *gōtra* of the Vājasanēyin (Śākhā of the Yajurvēda). The importance of our inscription lies in this that it has brought to light the name of a new prince Mahā-Pravararāja in the dynasty of the so-called "Kings of Śarabhapura". Again, unlike the charters of the other kings of this dynasty, these plates have been issued from Śrīpura and not from Śarabhapura. From several plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja, which have been published, we can make out the following genealogy :—



It appears that Mahā-Jayarāja was the elder son of Prasannamātra. He seems to have died without issue and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā-Sudēva. All the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja are issued from Śarabhapura. This town has not been identified

[1] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.
[2] *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58 ff.
[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 243.
[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 191.
[5] [See p. 22 n. 1.—Ed.]

but Mr. L. P. Pandeya's suggestion[1] that it is represented by modern Śarabhagarh, the chief town of a big zamindari of the same name in the Gāngpur feudatory state in Orissa appears plausible. The town seems to have been founded by a king named Śarabharāja, just as Pravarapura was founded by King Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It is not known when this Śarabharāja flourished. He may be identical with Śarabharāja whose daughter's son Gōparāja fell in a fierce battle at Eran in the Saugor district of C. P., in which he assisted Bhānugupta as recorded in an inscription[2] at Eran dated G. E. 191 (510 A.D.). In that case he may have flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. Prasannamātra and his descendants were evidently born in the family of Śarabharāja and may not have been separated from him by many generations; for, as stated above, the characters of their charters closely resemble those of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to the latter half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century A.D. The present plates seem to indicate that Mahā-Pravararāja, who evidently succeeded his elder brother Mahā-Sudēvarāja, removed the capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura which he himself may have founded.[3] The town is not known to have been in existence before the fifth or sixth Century A.D. It is named after Śrī or Lakshmī who figures on all the seals of "the Kings of Śarabhapura". In the legend on the seal of the present charter Pravararāja is said to have won the earth with his arms. Such an expression does not occur in the legends on the seals of his brother and uncle. It seems, therefore, that Pravararāja extended his kingdom in the west and must have, therefore, felt the need of shifting his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura.

It seems that the dynasty came to an end soon after Mahā-Pravararāja; for no descendant of either Mahā-Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Pravararāja is known. By his conquests in the west Mahā-Pravararāja seems to have come into conflict with the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Bhāndak and though he succeeded for a while, his dynasty seems ultimately to have been over-thrown by some Sōmavaṁśī king, probably Tīvaradēva whose Rājim and Balodā plates are issued from Śrīpura; for he is the first king of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty whose inscriptions are connected with that town. Besides, he describes himself as the lord of the entire Kōsala country[4] in the Balodā plates and such a title he could have assumed only after conquering the territory now known as Chhattisgarh, where Mahā-Pravararāja and his ancestors were ruling. Tīvaradēva's Rājim and Balodā plates are inscribed in box-headed characters which appear to be later[5] than those of the "Kings of Śarabhapura". None of the inscriptions of his predecessors at Bhāndak or his successors at Śrīpura is in box-headed characters. It seems that these characters were in use in Kōsala owing to the influence of the Vākāṭakas; for from the Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithvīshēṇa we learn that the king of Kōsala, who was probably one of "the Kings of Śarabhapura", was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna. When Tīvaradēva conquered the territory he also at first adopted

[1] L. P. Pandeya—*A Silver coin of Prasannamātra*—*Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 401. [Dr. Sten Konow thinks that Śarabhapura may be identical with the present Sarabhavaram twenty miles north-west from Rajahmundry in the Godāvarī district of the Madras Presidency or one of the few other villages with a similar name in the neighbourhood (above, Vol. XIII, p. 108).—Ed.]

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 91.

[3] R. B. Hiralal who places Śarabhapur kings after the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Śrīpura identifies Śarabhapura with Śrīpura. He says "It (Śarabhapura) may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name who is believed to be a match for a lion with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsaris" (Above, Vol. XI, p. 186 footnote). This conjecture is rendered impossible by the discovery of the present plates; for, herein we find the city named as Śrīpura even by the last prince of the Śarabhapura dynasty. Secondly Tīvaradēva and his successors who reigned at Śrīpura are not known to have ever assumed the title of Kēsarin.

[4] Cf. '*prāpta-sakala-Kōsal-ādhipatyaḥ*' above, Vol. VII, p. 105.

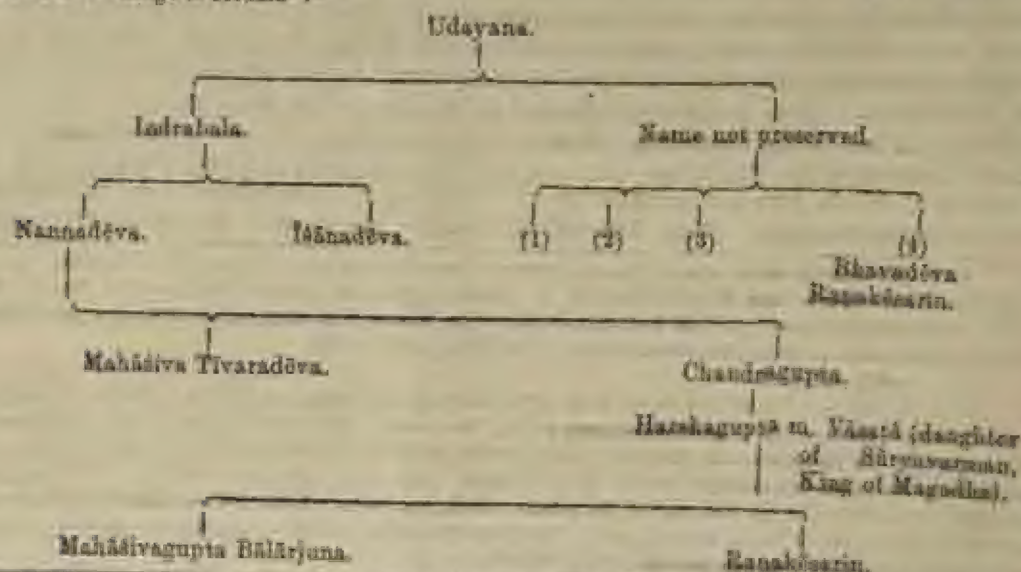
[5] They are more elongated and angular in appearance than those in the charters of Śarabhapura kings. Again the passage [illegible] which regularly occurs in the grants of Śarabhapura kings seems to have been borrowed in the Rājim and Balodā plates of Tīvaradēva.

the same characters in incising his charters. His successors, however, seem to have reverted to the nail-headed characters which their ancestors were using at Bhāndak.

It is necessary to discuss the question of the date of Tīvaradēva at some length in order to fix the date of the present plates. While editing the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II, Prof. Kielhorn remarked: "The Rājim copper-plate inscription of Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva undoubtedly belongs to about the middle of the eighth century"[1]. As he remarked elsewhere, this view was based on the evidence of palaeography, language and style. None of these grounds can, however, be regarded now as decisive. As stated above, both the Rājim[2] and Balōdā[3] plates of Tīvaradēva are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those used in the charters of the Vākāṭaka kings. When Prof. Kielhorn wrote, the relation of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta kings was not known. He, therefore, accepted Dr. Fleet's identification of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta, the maternal grand-father of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II, with Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Deo Barnārk inscription and assigned the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II to the beginning of the 8th Century and the Rājim plates of Tīvaradēva to the second half of the same century. Since then the Poona and Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā have definitely proved that *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta was none other than Chandragupta II. The Vākāṭakas were, thus, contemporaries of the Early Gupta Kings, and their records must, therefore, be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. As stated above, they are inscribed in box-headed characters. The plates of Tīvaradēva, which are also incised in similar characters, can no longer be referred to the 8th Century on palaeographic grounds.

Nor is the evidence of language and style in favour of the late date. The charters of Tīvaradēva are, indeed, composed in a style of high flourish, full of long compounds and puns; but so are those of many kings of Valabhī who flourished in the sixth and seventh century A.D.[4]. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for a more reliable evidence for fixing the date of Tīvaradēva.

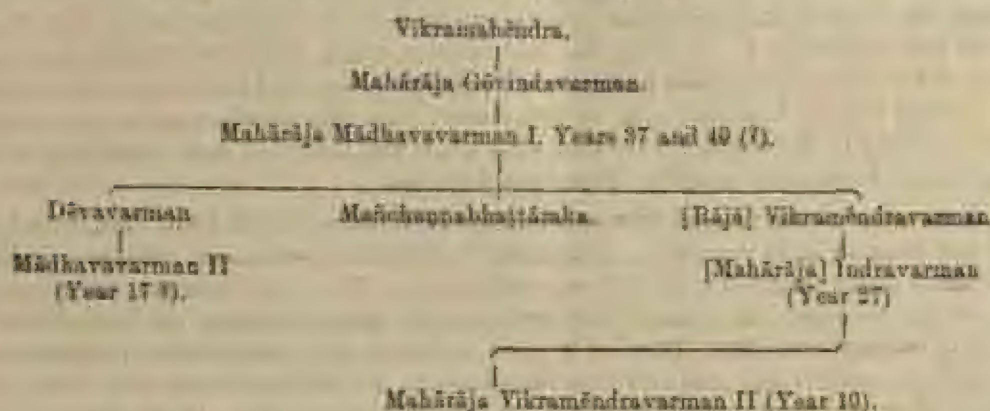
From several inscriptions found at Bhāndak and Śirpur, we get the following genealogy of the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Kōsala[5]:—



[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 258.
[2] C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 291.
[3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 102.
[4] Cf. for instance, the description of Dhruvasēna II of Valabhī in the Botad plates of G. E. 310 (629-30 A.D.).
[5] R. B. Hiralal—*Descriptive list of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second edition, p. 103.

From the Śirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, we learn that Bālārjuna's mother Vāsaṭā was the daughter of Sūryavarman "who was born in the family of the Varman kings, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha"[1]. There is no king of this name in the dynasties of Magadha except the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman whose Harāhā stone inscription[2] incised in the reign of his father Īśānavarman, is dated (Mālava) Saṁvat 611 (555 A.D.). The name of this prince is not known from other records of the Maukharis. As Sūryavarman is called King in the Śirpur stone inscription above referred to, he may have succeeded his father and ruled for a short time, though, being a collateral, his name is not mentioned in the records of his brother or his descendants. Chandragupta, the grand-father of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was thus a contemporary of Sūryavarman and flourished probably from 550 to 570 A.D. and his elder brother Tivaradēva from 530 to 550 A.D.

The date thus arrived at for Tivaradēva is corroborated by the evidence afforded by the records of the Vishṇukuṇḍin kings. After examining all the available charters of these kings Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sarcar has given the following genealogy[3] :—



Mahārāja Vikramēndravarman II (Year 10).

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman I was the most powerful king of the dynasty. He is described in his as well as his successors' records as one who had performed a thousand (*Agnishṭōma*) sacrifices and eleven *Aśvamēdhas* (horse-sacrifices). He is also described in his plates as "*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ*"[4] or as '*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛidaya-nandanaḥ*'[5] *i.e.*, as one who sported in company of (or delighted the hearts of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Trivara. This expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Hultzsch took it to mean that Mādhavavarman I lived at Trivaranagara but he could not identify the city. It seems clear, however, that Trivaranagara means 'the city of Trivara', *i.e.*, Tīvaradēva, King of Mahākōsala. But then what does the above expression signify ? It cannot mean that Mādhavavarman married a lady from the family of Tīvaradēva ; for the expression refers to a number of ladies (*yuvati-jana*) in the mansions of the city of Trivara, whom he delighted. We must, therefore, take the expression to refer to Mādhavavarman's victory over Tīvaradēva. Tīvaradēva was a powerful king. As stated above, he claims in his

[1] [illegible]

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

[3] *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

[4] Polamūru plates of Mādhavavarman, *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 20.

[5] Īpūr plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

charters to have attained suzerainty over the whole Kōsala country. A victory over such a great king must be a source of pride to Mādhavavarman. Hence we find it referred to in both his inscriptions. The idea that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of the enemy's city—nay even of the enemy's family—occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prākrit literature[1]. It would not, therefore, be wrong to suppose that Mādhavavarman I vanquished Tivaradēva. In any case, he was his contemporary.

When did this Mādhavavarman flourish? His Pulombūru plates[2] record that when he crossed the Gōdāvarī to conquer the eastern region he donated the village Pulombūru in the Guḍḍavāḍi *vishaya* to Śivaśarman, the son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama-*gōtra* and Taittiriya-*śākhā*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day of *Phālguna*. Again the Pulombūru plates[3] of the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasiṁha I, which were discovered along with the above plates of Mādhavavarman, record the grant of the same village to Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman of the Gōtama-*gōtra* and Taittiriya-*śākhā*. From the details given above it is quite clear that Śivaśarman, the donee of Mādhavavarman's plates, was the father of Rudraśarman who received the village from Jayasiṁha I. It seems that Rudraśarman who is called *pūrv-āgrahārika* (former owner of the donated village) lost possession of the village in troublous times due to the invasions of Pulakēśin II in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, seems to have made representations to Jayasiṁha I some time after peace and order had been established in the kingdom and received the *agrahāra* village again from him.

If we calculate the interval between the reigns of Mādhavavarman I and Jayasiṁha I, we find that some 60 or 70 years must have elapsed between these two rulers. Mādhavavarman's Pulombūru plates are dated in the 40th year of his reign[4]. They were, therefore, issued towards the close of his reign. He seems to have ruled over an extensive empire; for he performed as many as eleven *Aśvamēdhas*. Three of his sons are known from inscriptions—(1) Dēvavarman (2) Mañchaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka[5] and (3) Vikramēndravarman. As Mādhavavarman had a long reign of more than forty years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him. In any case, we do not know of any plates issued by them.[6] Mādhavavarman II, the grandson of Mādhavavarman I, who calls himself the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains, seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavavarman I, while another grandson, Indravarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east. His plates are dated in the 27th regnal year. He is not likely to have reigned much longer, for his son Vikramēndravarman is said to have come to the throne when he was a mere boy.[7] Vikramēndravarman's plates were issued in his tenth regnal year. The reigns of Indravarman and his son thus cover a little more than 37 years. As no successor of Vikramēndravarman is known, he seems to have been dethroned by Pulakēśin II, who placed his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana in charge of the Eastern province, who reigned

[1] Cf. Rājaśēkhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, IV, 8 and *Gaüḍavaho* (V. 1069).

[2] *Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 17.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 254.

[4] I have accepted the view of Mr. D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

[5] The name of this prince occurs towards the end of the Ipūr plates (First set). Above, Vol. XVII, p. 338. None of his descendants are known.

[6] It is noteworthy that no royal titles are prefixed to their names even in the records of their sons. [That no plates of these rulers have yet been found may not be taken as a proof that they did not rule. In the Rāmatīrtham plates, Vikramēndravarman also bears the title of *rājā* like his son Indravarman who was the ruler and the donor of the grant.—Ed.]

[7] परममाहेश्वरस्य महाराजस्य श्रीइन्द्रभट्टारकवर्म्मणः [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] परममाहेश्वरो महाराजः श्रीमान् विक्रमेन्द्रवर्म्मा [illegible]

for about 18 years (615-633 A.D.). As the Polamūru plates of Jayasiṁha referred to above are dated in the fifth[1] regnal year, we can calculate the interval between the dates of the two sets of Polamūru plates as follows[2] :—

	Years
Indravarman	27
Vikramēndravarman	10
Vishṇuvardhana	18
Jayasiṁha	5
Total .	60

As Mādhavavarman I, Indravarman and Vikramēndravarman may have continued to reign for some years after their respective plates were issued, this figure may have to be increased by about ten years, *i.e.*, a period of about seventy years may have elapsed between the gifts of Mādhavavarman I and Jayasiṁha[3]. It appears that Śivaśarman was a young man of 25 to 30 years when he met Mādhavavarman I in his expedition to the east, while his son was an old man of 50 to 60 years of age when he regained the lost *agrahāra* village from Jayasiṁha. Now Jayasiṁha issued his plates in *circa* 638 A.D. Deducting 70 years from this, we get c. 568 A.D. as the approximate date of Mādhavavarman's plates. We find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of *Phālguna* in 565 A.D. This may, therefore, be accepted as the date of Mādhavavarman's plates. As these plates were issued in his 40th regnal year, we may accept 525-565 as the probable duration of Mādhavavarman's reign[4]. We have fixed above 530 to 550 A.D. as the date of Tivaradēva on the evidence of the Sirpur inscription, which we thus find corroborated by the date of Mādhavavarman I, who, as described in his charters, was a contemporary of Tivaradēva.[5]

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[1] Agreeing with Mr. Somasekhara Sarma (*Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. V, p. 185) I read the numerical symbol in Jayasiṁha's Polamūru plates as 5.

[2] The years of Mādhavavarman II's reign are not included here, as he was ruling in the west contemporaneously with Indravarman. [But *cf.* Dr. Hultzsch's view, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338.—Ed.]

[3] [The argument does not appear to me as very convincing. If we have to allow other rulers between Mādhavavarman I and Indravarman or even another ruler, *viz.*, Vikramēndra, who also bears the title of *rājā*, the situation would become worse. It is very doubtful if Mādhavavarman I could be so far removed from Jayasiṁha even if he was not actually the predecessor of the latter in time as Prof. Bhandarkar thinks. See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 291, n. 3. Moreover, there were other lunar eclipses in *Phālguna* between 555 and 638 A. D.—Ed.]

[4] Agreeing with Mr. D. C. Sircar, I have identified Mādhavavarman of Polamūru plates with Mādhavavarman I mentioned in the Chikkulla and Ipūr plates (First set) on the ground of similarity of description. Mr. J. Dubreuil, who distinguishes between them, places Mādhavavarman I about 400 A.D. The tradition in the *Sthalamāhātmya* of Śrī-Parvata on which he relies (*Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 73) is worthless for historical purposes. Prabhāvatīguptā was not known as Chandrāvatī and was, moreover, a devotee of Vishṇu and not of Śiva. See her Riddhapur plates. If Mādhavavarman I owed his throne to a Vākāṭaka prince, it must be to Harishēṇa (C. 500-520 A.D.) who conquered the Āndhra country. The Vākāṭaka princess whom he married was probably Harishēṇa's own daughter.

[5] The late Dr. Hiralal accepting Kielhorn's date for Tivaradēva placed the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Tivaradēva's grand nephew in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 184). But the characters of the inscription which closely resemble those in the Ganjām plates of the time of Śaśāṅka (619-620 A.D.) are decidedly earlier. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarsha I (Śaka Saṁvat 793) with Tivaradēva's brother (Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) cannot be accepted; for that Chandragupta, who is mentioned with Nāgabhaṭa in the inscription was probably a king of Central India, and not of Kōsala. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kōsala is mentioned subsequently in the description of the later conquests of Gōvinda III. Trivara who is mentioned in the Kondedda, Ninnā and Puri plates as defeated by the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja *alias* Mānabhīta was probably a descendant of the earlier Tivaradēva who issued Rājim and Balodā plates. We know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasty of the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Kōsala and Orissa to which Tivaradēva belonged.

We have shown above that Tīvaradēva flourished later than the "Kings of Śarabhapura" and was probably responsible for their overthrow. Mahā-Pravararāja, the donor of the present plates, is the last known king of the Śarabhapura dynasty. He seems, therefore, to have flourished in the beginning of the sixth century (*circa* 515 to 535 A.D.).

The overthrow of the kings of Śarabhapura by Tīvaradēva accounts for the war between Mādhavavarman I and Tīvaradēva. As we have seen the kings of Śarabhapura were probably feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. In the beginning of the sixth century the power of the Vākāṭakas was declining. The reign of Harishēṇa the last known Vākāṭaka king came to an end about 530 A.D. Mādhavavarman I who is known to have married a Vākāṭaka princess, probably a daughter of Harishēṇa, seems to have taken vengeance for the destruction of the kings of Śarabhapura by invading the kingdom of Tīvaradēva and occupying his capital for a while as supported in his Polamūru and Īpūr plates.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in these plates **Śrīpura** is modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of C. P. **Tuḍā**[1] which gave its name to the district in which the donated village was situated, may be identified with one of the villages named Tunda, Tundra, Tundri or Tundragaon in the vicinity of Seorinārāyan about 20 to 30 miles from Ṭhākurdiyā. It may be noted in this connection that the Tuṇḍāraka-bhukti mentioned in the Sārangaḍh plates of Mahā-Sudēva has been identified by R. B. Dr. Hiralal with Tundra 6 miles south of Seorinārāyan. The village **Chullaṇḍaraka** granted in that charter may be identified with Childa 82·31′ and 21·30′. The village **Āshāṭhaka** granted in the present plates may be represented by modern Asoud 82·54′ and 21·45′, about two miles to the north of the Mahānadī, which is within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the villages Tunda, Tundra, etc., mentioned above.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.[2]

TEXT.

The Seal.

1 प्रसन्न[हृ]द[यस्ये]दं वि[क्र]मोपार्जितश्रियः [।*]

2 [श्री]प्रवरराजस्य शासन[ं*] रिपुशासन[ं*] [॥*][3]

First Plate.

1 ओं[4] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीपुराद्विक्रमोपनतसामं[5]तमकुटचूडामणिप्रभाप्र-

2 सेका[6]म्बुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनीसीमं[7]तोद्धरणहेतु[8]-

3 र्व्वसुवसुधागोप्रदः[9] परमभागवतो मा[10]तापितृपादानुध्यातः

4 श्रीमहाप्रवरराजः तुण्डराष्ट्रि[11]याशाठके प्रतिवासिनः समाज्ञा-

5 पयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामः[12] त्रिदशपतिसदन-

6 सुखप्रतिष्ठाकरो यावद्रविशशि[13]ताराकिरणप्रतिहतघोरान्धका-

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1 [Correct reading appears to be Tuṇḍa.—Ed.]

2 The excellent facsimiles, which accompany this article, were kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

3 Metre : Anushṭubh.

4 Expressed by a symbol.

5 The anusvāra is superfluous.

6 The engraver first wrote ... but afterwards corrected it as ....

7 The visarga is superfluous.

8 ध्रु which was first omitted is written below the line.

9 Read माता.

10 [Reading is तुण्डराष्ट्रि.—Ed.]

11 Read ष्ट्री.

Thakurdiya Plates of Maha-Pravararaja.

First Plate.

Second Plate: First Side.

Second Plate: Second Side.

Third Plate.

SEAL.



(From a photograph).

Second Plate : First Side.

7 (र्) जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः सनिधिः सोपनिधिरचाटभटप्रावे-

8 श्यः सर्व्वकरविसर्जितः मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृद्धये पराश-

9 रसगोत्राय वाजसनेयिने भट्टपुरन्दरस्वामिने ताम्रशा-

10 सनेनातिसृष्ट[1][:।*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्य आज्ञाश्रवणविधेया

11 भूत्वा यथोचितं भोगभागमुपनन्त[3] सुखं प्रतिवसथ [।*] भविष्यतश्च भू-

12 मिपालाननुदर्श्ययति [।*] दानाद्विशिष्टमनुपालनमेव पुराणा

Second Plate : Second Side.

13 धर्म्मेषु निश्चितधियः प्रवदन्ति धर्म्मं [।*] तस्माद्द्विजाय[5] सुविशुद्धकु-

14 लसुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्तुं [॥*][6] भवद्भिरप्येषा दत्ति-

15 रनुपालयितव्या [।*] व्यासगीतांश्च श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [।*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्र-

16 थमं सुवर्ण्णं[7] भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [।*] दत्तास्त्रयस्ते-

17 न भवन्ति लोका यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् [॥*] षष्टी वर्षसह-[8]

18 स्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता[7] च तान्येव नर-

Third Plate.

19 के वसेत् [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य य-

20 स्य यदा भूमिस(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तांवा[9] यत्ना-

21 द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] मही[10] महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन-

22 नमिति [॥*] [11]प्रवृद्धमानविजयसंव्व[12]त्सर ५ मार्ग-

23 शीर्ष दि ३ उत्किर्ण्णं[13] गोलसिंहेन[14] ॥

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[1] Read सृष्टः [2] Read °श्यः [3] Read °यन्तः

[4] Read दर्शयति

[5] Read द्विजाय [6] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[7] The *anusvāra* is superfluous. [8] Read षष्टिं वर्ष° [9] Read परदत्तां वा.

[10] Read महीं. [11] Read प्रवर्द्धमान°. [12] Read संवत्सरे. [13] Read उत्कीर्णं.

[15] [Plate shows Golla°.—Ed.]

No. 7.—DAYYAMDINNE PLATES OF VINAYADITYA-SATYASRAYA ; SAKA 614.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on **three copper-plates** discovered at **Dayyamdinne** a village in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary District. It is noticed in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1916 and described as follows : "The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of an almost circular seal, one inch in diameter, bearing on its counter-sunk surface the crude figure of a standing boar facing the proper right, as in the case of the Harihar Grant of Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pages 300 ff. The plates measure between 8¾" and 9" in breadth and between 3⅞" and 3½" in height. The ring, which is oval in shape, measures 4¼" and 3¾" in diameter and is about ½" thick. The plates and the seal weigh 112 *tolas* ". The inscription is edited below for the first time from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent (now Superintendent) for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation though some letters in the second plate are damaged and rendered indistinct. Only one side of the first and last plates bears writing. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets and resemble closely those of the Sorab and Harihar grants, which belong, like the present one, to the Châḷukya king Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya. The **language** is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is throughout in prose. In respect of **orthography** it may be remarked that the consonants ṇ, t, d, n and v are doubled after r as in *ârṇṇavam* (l. 1), *kîrtti* (l. 14), *Sindhu-r-ddaitya-balam* (l. 19), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are not strictly observed, as for instance in *pañchâśat-nivartana* (ll. 29-31). There are numerous clerical mistakes in the record owing to the carelessness of the engraver.

The **object** of the record is to register the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land each, to **Dûsaśarman** and **Kaṇṇaśarman** of the Kauśika-*gôtra*, and **Sarvaśarman** of the Âtrêya-*gôtra*, in the eastern quarter of the village **Uḷchaḷ** in **Nalavâḍi-vishaya**, and fifty *nivartanas*, to **Sarvaśarman** of the Gârgyâyana-*gôtra*, in the southern quarter of the same village, made by the **Western Châḷukya** king **Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya** who was encamped at **Taḷeyakhêḍa-grâma** near the northern bank of the **Tagara** river. The grant was made at the request of a certain **Marddakâri**, on the **full-moon day of Âshâḍha** in *Dakshiṇâyana-kâla* falling in the **twelfth year** of Vinayâditya's reign, when **six-hundred and fourteen Śaka years** had expired. The record was composed by **Śrî-Râmapuṇya-vallabha** who also wrote the other charters of this king.

The details of date given in the present record have been calculated by the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai[2] whose remarks on them run as follows : " If the reference were to Śaka 614 (expired). . . .the Âshâḍha full-moon would be that which fell on June 4 (Adhika-Âshâḍha). . . . . . or that which fell on July 4 (Nija-Âshâḍha). . . . Neither day would be the summer solstice whether of the tropical or sidereal sun. But if we took Śaka 614 as referring to the current Śaka year, *i.e.*, to A.D. 691-92, then Âshâḍha full-moon would have been on June 16, A.D. 692[3] which would be. . . . . .very near the tropical summer solstice ". It is proved in the sequel that the intended date of the record must be July 4, A.D. 692, and that *Dakshiṇâyana-kâla*

[1] C. P. No. 7 of 1915-16.

[2] *M. E. R.* 1916, App. C, p. 102. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 54.

[3] It ought to be A.D. 691, since the commencement of the year (*Chaitra*, *śu.* 1) fell in March A.D. 691.

cited in the record must be taken to mean a day in *Dakshiṇāyana*[1] and not a day of *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti*. It may be noted that the record does not mention the *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* as such but specifies the day as falling in *Dakshiṇāyana* only.

The charter is important as it helps us in determining the date of accession of Vinayāditya with greater certitude than hitherto. So far six[2] dated records of the king have come to light. But owing to the irreconcilable regnal years given in them it has not been possible to ascertain his initial year definitely. In this set of six are included the Jejūri copper-plates recently published in this journal[3] whose date has added further difficulties in solving the problem. But if we study all the dates of Vinayāditya with reference to the details contained in the Dayyamdinne plates, we arrive at a definite result, as shown below, *viz.*, some day between *Āshāḍha śu.* 2 and *Āshāḍha śu.* 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 603 expired, *i.e.*, **between 22nd June and 4th July of A.D. 681 for the commencement of the first current year** of the king.

According to the Sorab grant,[4] Śaka 614 expired, Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti, Rōhiṇī, Saturday fell in the 11th regnal year of the king. This date corresponded to Saturday, 22nd June, A.D. 692, on which day the *tithi* was *Nija-Āshāḍha śu.* 2. The present charter bears the same Śaka date and was issued on the full-moon day of *Āshāḍha* in *Dakshiṇāyana* which, however, is stated to have fallen in his 12th regnal year. Of the two alternative equivalents for the *Adhika-* and *Nija-Āshāḍha* in that year, *viz.*, 4th June and 4th July A.D. 692, the latter has to be accepted since 4th June would neither be a day of *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* nor a day in *Dakshiṇāyana*; for *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* took place, as stated above, only on the 22nd day of that month. Further, 4th June could not have fallen in his 12th year since his 11th year lasted till at least 22nd June. Thus the dates of these two grants, combined, yield the initial date to fall sometime between 22nd June and 4th July A.D. 681. This starting point of Vinayāditya's reign agrees perfectly well with the dates given in his Lakshmēśvara inscription,[5] and the Karnūl[6] and Harihar[7] grants. The Togarchēḍu[8] grant and the Jejūri plates, however, point to some day between 18th October A.D. 678 and 2nd July A.D. 679 for the first year of the king. This day probably marks the time of Vinayāditya's nomination to the throne during the lifetime of his father.[9] It may be remarked that the Śaka years quoted in the Lakshmēśvara inscription and the Togarchēḍu grant must be considered as referring to the current years and not expired ones. Dr. Kielhorn[10] is inclined to take this view in regard to the former record. These

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[1] Such citations are not rare in inscriptions. See for example App. B to *M. E. R.* for 1916, p. 101, No. 581 of 1915. The gift in the present case might have been actually made on the day of *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* and issued on the date recorded in the plates. See also above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

[2] There are two forged grants of the same king which are noticed in *M. E. R.* for 1909, No. 12 of App. A and *ibid.*, for 1917-18, No. 2 of App. A. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 240, is noticed the Paṭṭadā grant of this king dated Śaka 617 corresponding to his 14th regnal year.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 149.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 300.

[8] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 242.

[9] See below, p. 29.

[10] Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, App. II, p. 2.

results will become clear from the following classified table of dated records of Vinayāditya in which the corresponding initial years also are shown:

Inscription.	Regnal year.	Details of date.	Approximate English equivalent.	Initial day of the first current year.
1. Jejūri Plates	9	Śaka 609 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15.	2nd July, A.D. 687	(I) Between 18th October, A.D. 678, and 2nd July, A.D. 679.
2. Togarchēḍu grant	10	Śaka 611 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	18th October, A.D. 688. (Fleet: 3rd November, A.D. 689).[1]	
3. Lakshmēśvara inscription	5	Śaka 608 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	20th January, A.D. 686. (Fleet: 3rd February, A.D. 687).[1]	(II) Between 22nd June and 4th July, A.D. 681.
4. Karnūl grant	11	Śaka 613 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	10th January, A.D. 692.	
5. Sorab grant	11	Śaka 614 (expired), Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti, Saturday, Rōhiṇī.	22nd June, A.D. 692	
6. Dayyamdinne plates	12	Śaka 614 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15, Dakshiṇāyana-kāla.	4th July, A.D. 692	
7. Harihar grant	14	Śaka 616 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	9th October, A.D. 694.	

The record is interesting in other respects also. While recounting the achievements of Vikramāditya the present inscription, like all the other records of Vinayāditya, states that he captured Kāñchīpura after defeating the **Pallava king** who had become the cause of disgrace to his family, subdued the three kings (*dharaṇidharatraya*[2]) **Pāṇḍya, Chōla** and **Kērala** and made the inexorable Pallava bow to his feet. Vikramāditya's own records,[3] however, are unanimous in proclaiming that he acquired for himself the fortune of his father which had been concealed by (the confederacy of) three kings (*avanipatitritaya*[2]) and defeated the enemy-kings in country after country. The Gadvāl plates[4] of his 20th year (A. D. 674) add that he inflicted a crushing defeat on Pallava Narasiṁhavarman, Mahēndravarman and Īśvarapōtavarman and seized their capital Kāñchīpura. Thus, the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāñchīpura being common in both the accounts, the confederacy of three kings mentioned in the epigraphs of Vikramāditya must evidently refer to the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa given in his son's records. Fleet's opinion that the three princes were Pallava Narasiṁhavarman, Mahēndravarman and Īśvarapōtavarman is untenable. It is impossible in the scheme of Pallava chronology to suppose that Narasiṁhavarman and Mahēndravarman had died and Paramēśvaravarman's rule had already commenced by A.D. 655 in which year Vikramāditya had acquired his hereditary provinces after subduing the confederacy. For

[1] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 368 and 369.

[2] According to Pāṇini द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा (५।२।४३) the terminations तयप् and अयच् convey the same meaning. Hence the two expressions occurring in the two sets of inscriptions must be taken to give the same sense.

[3] See for instance, above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

according to all authorities[1] on Pallava chronology Narasiṁhavarman's reign alone extended beyond A.D. 655. As stated above, Vikramāditya recovered his territory from the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kērala kings, and not from the Pallavas, which fact leads us to suppose that the Chāḷukyan territory was not in the possession of the Pallavas in or immediately before A.D. 655. The Pallava grants,[2] however, assert that Narasiṁhavarman defeated Pulakēśin II in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra and destroyed Vātāpi. In some inscriptions[3] he is given the epithet *Vātāpi-koṇḍa*. This is fully borne out by the existence of a rock-inscription at Bādāmi of this Pallava king, written in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the period.[4] This event is supposed to have taken place after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang to the court of Pulakēśin II *i.e.*, in about A.D. 643. It is not, at present, possible to guess under what circumstances the Pallava hold was displaced and the three confederates occupied the Chāḷukyan country in the intervening period.[5]

Another noteworthy point in the present record is the expression **Trairājya-Pallava**. Vinayāditya is stated to have vanquished, at the command of his father, the over-grown army of Trairājya-Pallava and brought his country into a state of peace and quiet. Scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the significance of the term *Trairājya*. Fleet,[6] Kielhorn[7] and Krishna Sastri[8] have taken it to refer to the three South-Indian powers, *viz.*, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kērala. Dr. Dubreuil[9] has posited that the three kings who constituted *Trairājya* were the Pallava, the Pāṇḍya and Siṁhaḷa Māṇavamma. Recently, an endeavour has been made by a writer to show that this term as well as the expression *mūvaraiyar-tiraiyan* refer to the three branches of the Pallava dynasty ruling over three different regions of their kingdom[10]. One of them ruled, according to him, over Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and the Tamil country with its capital at Kāñchī, another governed the modern Guntur and Nellore districts and formerly issued its grants usually from Mēnamātura, Tāmbrāpa and Palakkaḍa, and the third had under its control the modern Ceded Districts probably with the exception of Cuddapah. The views of either of the last two scholars are wholly untenable as they lack the support of historical facts of the period and of the proper interpretation of the texts of inscriptions in which the word occurs. This term is found used, besides in the Chāḷukya inscriptions, also in

[1] K. V. S. Aiyar's *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan*, p. 41 ; Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 74.

[2] Kūram, Kāśākuḍi and Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grants. (*S. I. I.*, Vols. I, pp. 148 ff., II, No. 73, and p. 503).

[3] *Ep. S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 73.

[4] There are also some minor inscriptions at Bādāmi written in this script, see *e.g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

[5] It is not impossible that soon after the occupation of Vātāpi by Narasiṁhavarman I after A.D. 642, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, and Kērala who were biding a favourable opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted upon them by the Pallava monarch (see the Kūram plates), joined themselves into a confederacy and, after subduing the Pallavas whose resources had probably been exhausted in their conflicts with the Chāḷukyan army, marched as far north as Vātāpi, shattered the Pallava hold on it and finally took possession of the Chāḷukya territory. This supposition would explain the variant statements contained in the Chāḷukya as well as the Pallava epigraphs and the description of the Pallavas as the cause of disgrace and destruction of the lunar family of the Chāḷukyas would also be accounted for.

[6] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 368.

[7] Above, Vol. V, p. 202 n.

[8] Above, Vol. XI, p. 341 n. 1. See also Hultzsch, above, Vol. IX, p. 101 n. 5 and Pathak, *ibid.*, p. 203, n. 4.

[9] The *Pallavas*, p. 44.

[10] *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, January 1923, pp. 5 and 8. The author presumes that "the Chōḷas did not exist as a political power during the seventh century A.D." (p. 4). This is wrong. They are referred to as an independent ruling family in almost all the records of Vinayāditya and his successors. There is nothing to indicate in the Gadvāl grant that the Chōḷika-vishaya had been directly governed by the Pallavas of Kāñchī, as supposed by him.

the Malēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra (*Cir.* 8th century[1] A.D.), the Vishṇupurāṇa[2] and Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa[3] (9th century A.D.). In the Vishṇupurāṇa, the word occurs along with Mushika in the passage[4] त्रैराज्य मूषिकजनपदानवनवासी भोक्ष्यति । Fleet has identified Mushika with a part of the Malabar coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin.[5] *Trairājya* should, therefore, be naturally located near it. Further the word is explained by the commentator of Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa as referring to Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kērala. It is therefore reasonable to think that *Trairājya* of the Chāḷukya inscriptions refers to these three countries only. This view finds considerable support from the analogous expression त्रयवर्ती occurring in Vikramāditya (I)'s records which in the context means the administration of the three kings (अवनिपतित्रय), *viz.*, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kērala.

From the foregoing discussion it may be said that the constituents of *Trairājya* were not the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Siṁhaḷa Māṇavamma as postulated by Dr. Dubreuil. If the Ceylon king had actually joined the confederation, this remarkable event would have been mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as an important achievement of Māṇavamma.[6] Further the Pallava could not have formed a member of the *Trairājya* since he is mentioned separately. The contention that the *Trairājya* was composed of three kings ruling over three different parts of the Pallava kingdom is similarly untenable[7] for the above-mentioned reasons. According to this view, we ought to find the existence of the Pallava sway over the Nellore, Guntur and the Ceded Districts in and before A.D. 643 when the confederation is supposed to have temporarily subverted the Chāḷukya power. But this is not the case. The situation of stone inscriptions and of villages granted in copper-plate records[8] of this early period would show clearly that parts of the Guntur, Nellore and the Ceded Districts had already been conquered by Pulakēśin II in his famous *dig-vijaya* and become subject to the Chāḷukya rule.

The defeat of the three powers, namely, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kērala by Vinayāditya appears to have taken place after the date of the Gadvāl plates (A.D. 674) since it is not alluded to there. After the victorious campaign of the Chāḷukya king into the Pallava and Chōḷa countries in that year, the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman must have mustered his forces and sought the assistance of the Chōḷa and the other two powers of South India in order to give a crushing blow to their common enemy Vikramāditya. The combined forces of these four powers entered the Chāḷukyan territory and probably sacked and captured the 'city of Raṇarasika' on this

[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 337.

[2] Chapter 4-24-67 of the Veṅkaṭēśvara Press edition.

[3] Chapter XXX, verse 35. This reference was pointed out by Pathak above, Vol. IX, p. 205.

[4] Mr. K. P. Jayaswal adds स्त्रैराज्य to this in his quotation from the same Purāṇa (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 129).

[5] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 281. See Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar in *J. R. A. S.* April 1922, p. 173 and also Nanda Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of the Ancient and Mediæval India*, p. 134. [*Mushikanagara* is mentioned in the Hathi Gumpha Inscription of Khāravela, see above, Vol. XX, p. 77 and note 3.—Ed.]

[6] Dubreuil does not discuss the composition of *avanipati-tritaya* which, as pointed out above, signifies the same three powers as *Trairājya*. It is impossible that the Siṁhaḷa king Māṇavamma who ascended the throne in A.D. 668 (Hultzsch)—according to Dubreuil in A.D. 660 and A.D. 691 according to Wijesinha—could have entered the alliance as a crowned king and helped the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I in defeating the Chāḷukyas in about A. D. 642.

[7] Fleet originally held the same opinion but subsequently abandoned it (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 362 n.).

[8] See, for instance, the Koppatam plates (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.), the Nidupaṟu grant (*ibid.*, p. 55), the Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 236), the Annavaram inscription of Vikramāditya (*Nellore Inscriptions*, Darsi 2; and Dr. Venkataramanayya's *Prāchīna-Pallava and Kavitāla-Chōḷa*, p. 16), the Gooty inscription and the Sorab grant of Vinayāditya, and Nos. 333, 343, 350 and 364 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

occasion. They were routed by Vinayāditya probably in A. D. 678-79, when he was nominated to the throne as indicated by his Jejūri plates and the Togarchēḍu grant.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record **Taḷayakhēḍa-grāma** has been identified by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri with Thairkeḍḍa on the north bank of the river Tēr (Thairna).[1] Dr. Fleet has identified **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** with portions of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts.[2] **Uchchal** which was situated in this *vishaya* is probably to be identified with Uchchāla[3] in the Kurnool taluk of the Kurnool district. If this is correct, Fleet's identification of the Naḷavāḍi-vishaya will be confirmed. Recently two inscriptions of the Nala dynasty have been obtained, viz., the Rithāpur[4] plates of Bhavattavarman and the Poḍāgaḍh inscription[5] of his son Skandavarman, which locate their kingdom somewhere in the Central Provinces on the side of Yeotmal, and Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency. It is too premature to establish any connection between the Naḷavāḍi-vishaya and the Nala country since they are far removed from each other. The present record contains the second known reference to Naḷavāḍi-vishaya, the first being found in the Kurnool plates[6] of Vikramāditya I.

TEXT.

Second Plate; Second Side.

22 . . . . [7]विना(न)-

23 यादित्यसत्याश्रयश्री[पृ*]थिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभ-

24 ट्टारकस्सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति[।*] विदितमस्तु वोऽस्माभिः चतुर्द्दशोत्तरषट्छते-

25 षु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्द(र्द्ध)मानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादश(शे) वर्त्तमा-

26 ने नर्म्मदानद्युत्तरसमीपे तळयखेडग्राममधिवसति विजय-

27 स्कन्धावारे आषाढपौर्ण्णमास्यां दक्षिणायनकाले महंकारीवि[ज्ञा]पनया

Third Plate: First Side.

28 नलवाडिविषये उच्चलनामग्रामे कौशिकगोत्राय द्रुमशर्म्मणे पूर्व्वस्या-

29 न्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्नि(न्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च कौशिकगोत्राय कण्णश-

30 र्म(र्म्म)णे राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्नि(न्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च आत्रेयगोत्राय च-

31 ङ्गशर्म्मणे राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्नि(न्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च भारद्वाजगोत्र-

32 सब(र्व)शर्म्मणे दक्षिणस्यान्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्नि(न्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं

33 सर्व्वबाध(धा)परिहारं दत्त(त्ता)नि [।*] वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनोक्त[म् ।*]
अस्मद्वंश(श्ये)र-

34-36 Imprecatory verses.

37 लिपि[:*] श्रीरामपुण्यव(ल्ल)भसेना . राजन(जेन) लिखितं [।*]

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[1] *M. E. R.*, 1916, p. 130.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 363.

[3] *Alphabetical List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, Kurnool district, p. 5.

[4] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

[5] *M. E. R.*, 1922, p. 80, No. 283; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 f.

[6] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 225 ff. Since the Madakasira taluk now belongs to the Anantapur district, Anantapur should be substituted for Bellary in Fleet's identification of this *vishaya*.

[7] Lines 1 to 22 are a reproduction of the first eighteen lines of the Jejūri plates (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 63-4).

No. 8.—SILAHARA CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

By Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta.

The inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were found in Caves at **Silaharā** in the Rewah State, Central India. More than twenty-five years ago a rubbing of one of these records was sent by a schoolmaster to Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the celebrated archaeologist of C. P., who in his turn some time ago brought it to the notice of the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Hirananda Sastri. During the year 1927-28, the latter officer visited the caves and published an account of the same together with a summary of their inscriptions on pp. 136-8 of the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, of the same year. The estampages which he took during his official visit to the monuments were kindly made over to me for detailed treatment, and the present paper is the result of it.

The caves at Silaharā are about sixteen miles to the north-east of Jaithāri, a station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. It lies between Latitude 23° 2′ North and Longitude 81° 50′ East. They are a group of four artificial caves with traces of one more excavation and are situated on the east bank of a small river called the Kēvāī, presenting a picturesque view. The name *Silaharā*, as suggested by Dr. Sastri, is probably a modern form of *Śilāgṛiha* which occurs as *silāgahā* in these inscriptions. Of these four monuments, only three, namely, the Sītāmāḍī, the Durvāsā and the Chēri-Gōdaḍi Caves are well preserved. The fourth has a hole in the roof of one of its cells. The first three caves only contain inscriptions, some of which are in the Brāhmī script, and some in the 'Shell' characters. Here, we are concerned only with the inscriptions in the Brāhmī script.

From the form of the letters all these inscriptions except one seem to belong to the first century A.D. What is **palæographically** worthy of note about them, is that the characters *p* and *v* have occasionally flat and angular bases and that the base-line of *s* also is sometimes slightly curved. These peculiarities are first clearly noticeable in the cave inscriptions of Ushavadāta, which pertain to the beginning of the second century A.D. But there they appear as the permanent and not incidental forms of these letters. Moreover, besides *p* and *v*, the letters *kh*, *gh*, *ś* and *s* are found in Ushavadāta's epigraphs invariably with flat and angular bases, which are not noticeable at all in our cave inscriptions. The inference is not unreasonable that our epigraphs are slightly earlier in date than those of Ushavadāta; and if the latter belong to the first quarter of the second century, we cannot be far from right if we assign the Silaharā inscriptions to about the **middle of the first century A.D.**

Other palæographic peculiarities also deserve to be noticed. Thus *d* consists of two curves,—one concave and one convex, joined in one way or the other and thus giving rise to two different forms of *d*. Similarly, the letter *t* appears in two different forms. The character *m* in *Siva-mita* in No. 3, l. 3, is unlike *m* in other places in these inscriptions, and as such is worthy of note.

There are seven inscriptions. All of them except two bear more or less the same import. They are engraved in the inner walls of the caves, the Durvāsā containing one, and the Chēri-Gōdaḍi two and the Sītāmāḍī three. The last of these caves has one more inscription but incised on a pillar and with a different import. All these records are complete as far as they go, but the longest and most detailed of these is that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave. In the Sītāmāḍī Cave, however, while one inscription is complete, the other has apparently not been fully incised, supposing of course that the whole of it has been copied in the estampage before us. The object of the inscriptions is to record the excavation of caves by the *amātya* Maudgaliputra Mūladēva of the Vatsa-*gōtra*, while **Svāmidatta** was the ruler of the kingdom. Who this Svāmi-

datta was is not known. We know of only one Svāmidatta who according to the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription was king of Kōṭṭūra in Dakshiṇāpatha and was conquered by Samudragupta who flourished in the fourth century A.D. But the Svāmidatta of our inscriptions must have lived in the first century. And there is neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidence to point to any king of this name during this period.

As we have just seen, the caves were excavated, not by the king Svāmidatta, but by his minister Mūladēva, whose pedigree for three generations has been given. He was son of Sivamita (=Śivamitra), grandson of Sivadata (=Śivadatta), and great grandson of Sivānandi (=Śivānandi). It is worthy of note that the terms used for 'grandson' and 'great grandson' are *natika* (=*naptṛika*) and *panatika* (=*pranaptṛika*), but they are obviously used in the sense of *pautra* and *prapautra*. These last words no doubt generally occur in the inscriptions of Aśōka, but they are sometimes replaced by the other words also in some versions of his edicts (*cf.* *e.g.*, the Girnār with the other copies of RE. IV).

What the original object of these excavations was may be now briefly considered. The inscriptions found in the Chērī-Gōdaḍī and Sītāṇḍī Caves simply say that they were *silāguhā* or rock mansions, but that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave describes it as *ārāmam pavate* or 'pleasure-house on the hill'. There can be little doubt that they were intended as dens for mirth and frolic. This inference is supported by Inscriptions Nos. 6—7 in the Sītāṇḍī Cave. They are no doubt engraved in characters of the second century A.D., and are thus one century posterior to the other epigraphs. Nevertheless, they are sufficiently close in time to the others. Now one inscription reads *Yuvati-mālē*=*Yuvati-mālī*. *Mālaḥ* means "a high ground, rising or elevated ground". The word occurs in v. 16 of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, where the word is thus explained by Mallinātha; *śaila-prāyam-unnata-sthalaṁ*, 'an elevated hilly place.' Consequently *Yuvati-mālē* is to be understood as denoting some hill place for meeting young women. The other inscription reads *Udaya-tārā*, "the Rising Star', which apparently is the name of some female artiste. The Silaharā Caves thus seem to have been excavated for sportive and merry-making purposes and continued as such for at least a century more. All the caves except one that have so far been discovered were intended as religious edifices. If we take the Buddhist caves, they were either *chaityas*, 'worship halls' or *layanas* 'residences for monks'. If we take the Brahmanic or Jaina caves, they were cut to serve as temples or abode of ascetics. The only exception just referred to is the two caves of Rāmgaṛh, called Sītābōṅgā and Jōgīmārā[1]. The former of these was apparently an amphitheatre, and the latter a love den. Both have an inscription each. That in the first contains some verses in praise of poetry. That in the second purports to say that there was a *dēvadāsī*, Sutanukā by name, who was loved by Devadinna, native of Bārāṇasī and a banker (*rūpadakkha*) by profession.[2] It appears that the Jōgīmārā Cave was excavated originally by Devadinna for gratifying his amorous propensities. The Silaharā Caves also were perhaps cut for the same purpose, and served as pleasure retreats to Mūladēva, minister of Svāmidatta.

This Mūladēva, as stated above, has been described both as Vachha (=Vātsa) and Mogalipuța (=Maudgaliputra). The first is a patronymic and shows that he belonged to the Vatsa-*gōtra*, that, in other words, he was a Brāhmaṇ. The second is a metronymic and means "son of (a woman) of the Mudgala or Maudgala family". Mudgala is a section of both the Bharadvāja- and the Atri- *gōtra*.[3] Maudgala again is a section not only of the Bharadvāja or the Vasishṭha, but also of the Bhṛigu-*gōtra*.[4] The mother of Mūladēva may have belonged to any one of these

[1] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1903-04, pp. 74-5 and pp. 123 ff.

[2] Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscr.*, No. 921. I, however, differ from the Professor in regard to the interpretation of *lupadakha*. For this technical sense of the word *rūpa*, see my *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 124 ff.

[3] *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, p. 62, l. 9 and p. 81, l. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 5; p. 110, l. 14; and p. 37, l. 3.

gôtras except Bhṛigu. She could not have come of the Bhṛigu, because her husband, being a Vāsa, was a Bhṛigu.[1] Let us in this connection discuss the significance of the Vedic metronymics which occur in cave and such early inscriptions. Bühler says in one place that " numerous instances in the northern and southern inscriptions show that the queens and princesses were frequently called by the Vedic *gôtra*-names, such as the Gautamī, the Vāsī, the Vāsishṭhī, the Gārgī, etc.".[2] The remark is true so far as it goes, but he forgets that the Brāhmaṇ women also had such *gôtra*-names. One such instance is of course furnished by our inscriptions which call Mūladêva's mother Maudgalī ; another, by a Nāsik Cave record which speaks of a Brāhmaṇ Asvibhūti as Vārāhīputra[3]; and a third by a Maḷavaḷḷi pillar inscription in Monumental Prākrit which mentions the Brāhmaṇ grantee Nāgadatta as not only of the Kauṇḍinya-*gôtra* but also as Kauśikīputra.[4] Now, the first question that here arises is : what was the use of these metronymics at all ? There can be but one reply. When and where polygamy is in vogue, it is absolutely necessary to distinguish the sons of one wife from those of another. The practice is still prevalent in Rājputānā. If a Rajpūt prince marries more than one princess, they are always distinguished one from the other, according as she is a Hāḍī-jī, Rāṇāvat-jī and so forth. Such must have been the case in Ancient India also. Kings certainly married more than one queen who were therefore known by the family names of their fathers. But it is worthy of note that this polygamy was present in Ancient India not only among the Kshatriyas but also among the Brāhmaṇs as the three instances adduced above clearly show.

The second question that now arises is this. If the Brāhmaṇs have metronymics derived from the Vedic Gôtras, that is just what might be expected. But why should such *gôtras* be in vogue among the Kshatriyas, at any rate among the members of the ruling class ? Let us take for example the Sātavāhana family, whose inscriptions have been found in the Nāsik, Kārle and Kaṇheri Caves. The earliest of them is called Gautamīputra ; his son, Vāsishṭhīputra ; and one of their successors, Māḍharīputra. These metronymics are clearly formed from the Brahmanic *gôtras*, and the wonder of it is how they are found in a ruling dynasty. In explanation of this fact it has been argued by some that the Sātavāhanas were of the Brāhmaṇ caste,[5] and in support of this position our attention has been drawn to two passages from Nāsik Cave Inscription 2[6]. The first, which is from l. 5, is *khatiya-dapa-māna-madanasa*, " of (Gautamīputra), who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas". From this it is inferred that Gautamīputra could not have been a Kshatriya. For, if he had been a Kshatriya, there would have been no propriety in his saying that he put down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. What was he then by caste ? Is there anything in that inscription which throws light upon the subject ? We are thus referred to a second passage in the Nāsik Inscription, namely, *ekabamhaṇasa*, which has been rendered by Senart as " the unique Brāhmaṇa ". Some scholars are thus of opinion that the Sātavāhanas were undoubtedly Brāhmaṇ by caste. It is true that in this translation of the passage Senart practically follows Bühler, who renders it by " of him who alone (*was worthy of the name of*) a Brāhmaṇa "[7]. But it is forgotten that the word *bamhaṇa* of the Prākrit original can be equated not only with the Sanskrit *Brāhmaṇa* as was done by Bühler and Senart but also with *brahmaṇya* as was first suggested by R. G. Bhandarkar, who

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 28, l. 10.
[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 394.
[3] Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1131.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 1196.
[5] H. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 280-1.
[6] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 60.
[7] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

translates it by "the only supporter of Brāhmaṇa"[1]. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, takes *bamhaṇa* as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa*, but takes the expression to mean 'the only holy man'.[2] Personally I would prefer the first. But whatever interpretation is approved, this much is certain that *bamhaṇa* need not necessarily be taken as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa* and can also stand for *brahmaṇya*, and thus the prop in support of the Brāhmaṇ origin of the Sātavāhanas becomes feeble and shaky. How then, it may be asked, are we to explain the first of the passages which has been quoted from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2 and which represents Gautamīputra to have humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas? Even if we take the word *Kshatriya* here in its usual sense, namely, the second of the four castes, the passage in question at the most would prove that Gautamīputra was a non-Kshatriya, but not necessarily that he was a Brāhman. Are we, however, compelled to take this word in this sense? Cannot *khatiya* (=*Kshatriya*) bear any other signification? In this connection we must remember that there was a tribe called Kshatriya or Kshattri, mentioned both by foreign writers and in Sanskrit literature. Thus Arrian who wrote an account of Alexander's invasion of India says that when this Macedonian emperor was in camp on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, he received deputies and presents from Xathroi (Khathroi), an independent tribe of Indians.[3] The same tribe is apparently mentioned as Kshatriyas by Ptolemy.[4] As has been pointed out by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal[5], they appear to be mentioned by Kauṭilya along with the Kāmbōjas and Surāshṭras as the Saṅghas subsisting both upon agriculture and arms. They are no doubt the Kshattri described in the *Manusmṛiti*, and the Kshatriyas of the later inscriptions (see *e.g.*, the Lāḍnū Inscription of Sādhāraṇa[6] who and his ancestors are spoken of as Kshatriyas of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*). They appear to be represented by the Khatris of the modern day. Originally, however, they formed an independent tribe living not far from the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus. It will thus be seen that this tribe may very well have been the Kshatriyas whose pride and conceit Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi crushed down. If the latter went on conquering as far northwards as the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, there is nothing strange in his putting down the Kshatriyas who lived in their neighbourhood just as the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman is reputed to have exterminated the Yaudhēyas[7]. No irrefragible evidence is thus forthcoming from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2, or, for the matter of that, from any source, which demonstrates that the Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇs. On the other hand, there is a passage in the same Nāsik Cave Inscription which is worth considering here. It is the passage where Gautamī Balaśrī is called *rājarisi-vadhu-sadaṁ akhilaṁ anuvidhīyamānā*, "wholly conforming to the title 'wife of the Royal Sage'". It may be pertinently asked: what is meant by a *Rājarshi* (Royal Sage)? It may be contended that the term simply denotes 'a sage-like king', be he a Brāhmaṇ or a Kshatriya. But it has to be remembered that *Rājarshi* is always employed in contradistinction to Brahmarshi which unquestionably means 'a Brāhmaṇ Sage'. The use of the term *Rājarshi* is thus enough to show that the Sātavāhanas were not Brāhmaṇs.

Or we may set aside the Sātavāhanas for a while and consider the Ikshvākus of the south whose inscriptions have been found in the Āndhra country at Jaggayyapēṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. That the Ikshvākus were the Kshatriyas of the solar race is too well-known to be pointed

[1] *Trans. Inter. Cong. Ori., London*, 1874, pp. 310-11.
[2] *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 552 and 554.
[3] McCrindle's *Ancient India: its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 156.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 360.
[5] *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 60.
[6] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 23 ff.
[7] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 44, l. 12.

sun. And yet we have in this dynasty three kings, two of whom bear the metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra and one Māṭharīputra.[1] Related to these Ikshvākus are personages holding titles of nobility such as Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-talavara. Even they bear such metronymics. If we turn westwards again and consider the cave inscriptions, we find that even there, feudatory chieftains styling themselves as Mahāraṭhi, Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-bhōja possess similar metronymics. The question therefore arises: how were these Vedic metronymics in vogue among the ruling classes most of which were presumably Kshatriya by caste? According to Bühler, "the explanation is no doubt that these *gōtras* originally were those of the Purōhitas of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended, and that the kings were affiliated to them for religious purposes, as the Śrautasūtras indicate".[2] But was it so really from 150 B.C. to 200 A.D.? Bühler is apparently taking his stand upon the Śrautasūtras. What the Śrautasūtras, however, lay down in the case of a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya is the adoption, not of the Gōtra but of the Pravaras of his Purōhita. Thus the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra[3] says: *Kshatriya-Vaiśyānāṁ purōhita-pravarā bhavant-iti vijñāyatē.* The Āpastamba[4] has: *atha yēshāṁ (=Kshatriyāṇāṁ) mantrakṛitō na syuḥ sa-purōhita-pravarās-tē pravṛiṇīran.* From these quotations it is clear that what a Kshatriya borrowed from his Purōhita for religious purposes was, not his Gōtra, but his Pravaras. It may perhaps be argued that one set of Pravaras presupposes one specific Gōtra only, so that when that Gōtra name is pronounced, only that particular set of Pravaras is indicated. Nor is this argument well-founded. One instance will suffice for our purpose. Let us take the Maṭhara-*gōtra* from which the metronymic Māṭharīputra is derived. It has the three Pravaras: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva. But, these Pravaras, Maṭhara possesses in common with at least eighty other Gōtras, such as Kāśyapa, Chhāgari and so forth. There is no such thing as one set of Pravaras for one Gōtra and one Gōtra only. Even supposing that a Kshatriya affiliates himself to his Purōhita's Gōtra for religious purposes as Bühler supposes, why should that Gōtra be binding upon the Kshatriya for secular purposes, why in other words, should the Kshatriya avoid marriage, not in his proper exogamous group, but in the same Gōtra as that of his Purōhita, though the Gōtra is natural to a Brāhmaṇ but an extraneous something which is foisted upon him? Nowhere is it laid down in any Sūtra or similar writings, explicitly or implicitly, that a Kshatriya, like his Purōhita, shall not marry in the same Vedic Gōtra. Besides, it is not a fact that even in this period the member of a ruling family had a metronymic invariably derived from a Brahmanical Gōtra. Two instances will suffice to prove our point. There is an Amarāvatī Buddhist sculpture, the inscription on which records the gift of an *upāsaka* Buddharakshita, who is therein called Gōṇḍīputa.[5] It is evident from this that his mother was Gōṇḍī which no scholar has yet been able to explain. The term Gōṇḍī indicates that she belonged to the Goṇḍa family which, however, is not known to be any Vedic Gōtra. It may however be contended that this Buddharakshita originally was not a Brāhmaṇ or a Kshatriya, and so his metronymic has no bearing upon our discussion. Let us therefore take another, namely, Gotiputa, which, we find, was borne by persons of three different ranks, namely, by a king, a Mahāraṭhi and a goldsmith. Possibly this goldsmith also was neither a Brāhmaṇ nor a Kshatriya, and may therefore be set aside. But what about the king and the nobleman styling themselves Gotiputa which has been equated by scholars with Gauptīputra, son of a woman belonging to the Gupta race. Surely Gupta, Gota, or Guta has not yet been

[1] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 294.
[3] *Pravara-praśna*, 54.
[4] *Pravara-khaṇḍa*, 13.
[5] Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1271.

shown to be the name of any Vedic Gōtra. This clearly shows that we have personages of the ruler or nobility class bearing a metronymic not connected with any Vedic Gōtra. Again, let us see who was the ruler that called himself Gotiputa. The inscription which makes mention of him is engraved on the pillar of a *tōraṇa* which was originally found at Bhārhut but which is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records that the gateway was erected by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputa Āgaraju (=Gauptīputra Aṅgāradyut), and grandson of the king (*rājan*) Gārgīputra Viśvadēva, during the rule of the Śuṅgas.[1] As Viśvadēva is here called a *rājan*, there can be no doubt that his son and grandson pertained to a ruling family. And further it is worthy of note that whereas Viśvadēva and Dhanabhūti are styled Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra, showing that their mothers bore the Vedic Gōtra, Aṅgāradyut alone is styled Gotiputa showing that his mother belonged to the Gupta family which was anything but a Vedic Gōtra. The other instance of the occurrence of Gotiputa as a metronymic is supplied by the epigraph on the lion column standing in front of the *chaitya*-cave at Kārle. It says that the column was set up by one Agnimitraṇaka (Agnimitra) who was a Mahārathi and a Gotiputra, which Prof. Lüders takes to mean 'son of a Gaupti'.[2] Mahārathi denotes a feudatory rank. Agnimitra was thus a feudatory chief, and yet he bears a metronymic which is in no way derived from a Vedic Gōtra. A third non-Vedic metronymic which may be considered here is that furnished by an inscription on a relic casket found in Sonari Stūpa No. II near Bhilsā. It mentions the name of a Buddhist Missionary who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries. His personal name is not given, but he is called Kotiputa and Kāsapagota[3]. His metronymic merits special notice as his original caste is here specified. For we have just seen that he is called Kāsapagota which means that his father was a Brāhmaṇ. But what was he from his mother's side? She was evidently a 'Koti' which is taken by Prof. Lüders as equivalent to Kauntī. But the Professor does not explain what he means by Kauntī. Kauntī, as it is, has to be derived from Kunta, but Kunta as the name of a family or a clan is unknown. The only clan name that approximates to it is Kunti, a Yādava clan, whose ruler, Kuntibhōja, being childless, adopted Kuntī, the first wife of Pāṇḍu. It will thus be seen that the word Kuntī itself means "(a woman) descended from Kunti". The Buddhist missionary Kāsapagota would thus have been called Kuntīputra, and not Kauntīputra, if his mother had pertained to the Kunti lineage. Perhaps the best explanation of the metronymic Kotiputa is to say that his mother belonged not to the Kunti, but to the Kota, clan. That Kota was the name of a ruling family is clear from the fact that their coins have been found round about Delhi and in Eastern Panjāb.[4] Besides, the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription speaks of Samudragupta as having captured a scion of the Kōta family.[5] The Kotas and the Guptas thus were both ruling families in the fourth century A.D. And if they were so ruling side by side in that century, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that both the clans were in existence about the beginning of the Christian era. The metronymic Kotiputa therefore had better be equated with Kautīputra and the inference drawn that the mother of the Buddhist teacher Kāsapagota came from the Kota family. But whatever the correct explanation of Kotiputa may be, this much is certain that the mother of the Buddhist missionary belonged to a non-Vedic Gōtra.

The above discussion is enough to convince any one that members of the ruling and nobility classes bore metronymics which were sometimes Vedic and sometimes non-Vedic. Similarly,

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 687.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 1088.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 158.

[4] Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 258 and 264.

[5] Fleet's *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 6, l. 14.

we have just seen that the Buddhist saint who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries was born of a Brāhmaṇ father as his patronymic Kāsapagota shows, but that his mother was a Kshatriya woman as she was a Kota by extraction. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that in the ancient period ranging from circa 150 B.C. to circa 250 A.D. there were many inter-caste marriages which were not only anuloma but also pratiloma. The history of the Ikshvākus of South India clearly shows that the Brāhmaṇs were ready to give their daughters in marriage to the Kshatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family.

TEXT.

Inscription in the Durvāsā Cave.

No. 1.

1 Sāmi[da]te rajaṁ kārayaṁtaṁmhi Sivānaṁdi-panati[k]ena
2 Sivadata-natik[e]na
3 Sivami[ta]-putena
4 [Vachhena] M[o]galiputena
5 [Mūla*]d[e*]v[e*]na arāmaṁ pavate ropāpita[ṁ]

Inscriptions in the Chārī-Gūdaḍi Cave.

No. 2.

1 [Sivā][naṁd*]i-[pa*][na]t[i]k[e*][na]
2 Sivadata-natikena Si[vamita-putena*] [Vachhena*]
3 [Mo*][ga]liputena amache[na] Māladevena a[lāga]hā [kā]ritā

No. 3.

1 Sivānaṁdi-panatikena
2 Sivadata-natikena
3 Sivamita-[putena][1]

Inscriptions in the Sitāmāḍi Cave.

No. 4.

Sivānaṁdi-panatikena Sivadata-natikena Sivamita-putena Vachhena Mogaliputena Muladevena amachena alāgahā kāritā

No. 5.

Sivānaṁdi-panatikena Sivadata[2]

No. 6.

Yuvati-māle[3]

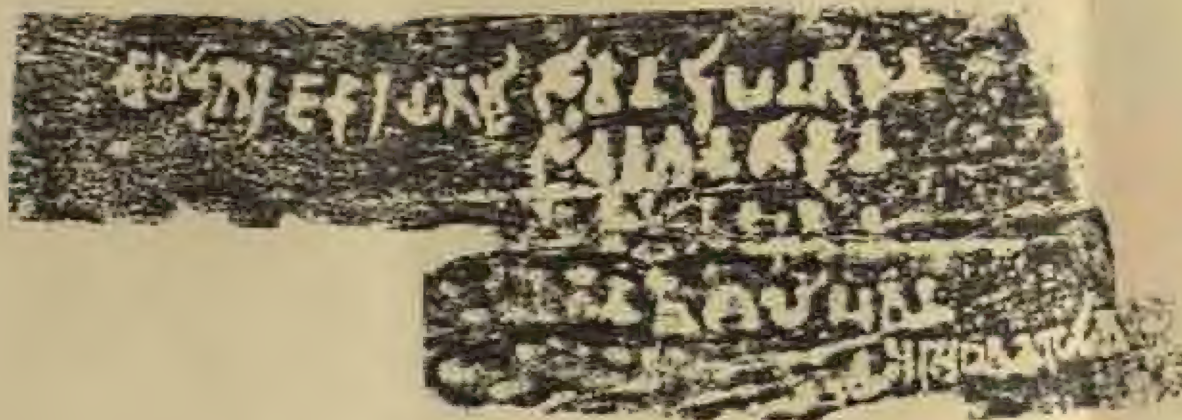
No. 7.

Udaya-tārā[4]

[1] This whole line has been faintly engraved.
[2] The remainder has not been either engraved in the Cave or copied in the estampage.
[3] On a pillar, in characters slightly later, probably of the second century A.D.
[4] On the east wall, in characters of the second century A.D.

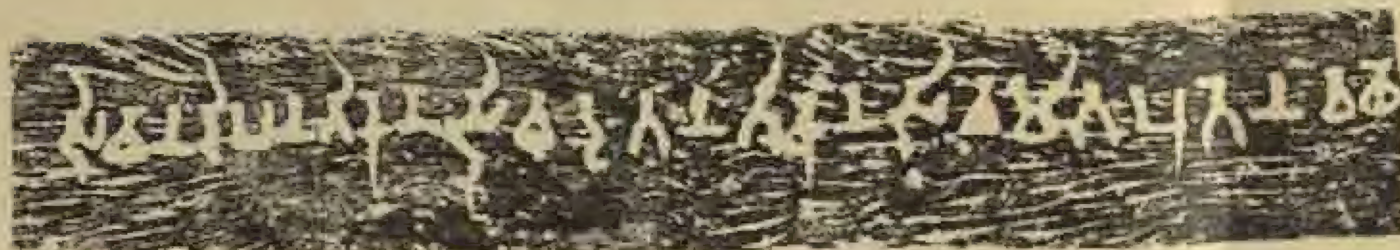
Inscription in the Durvasa Cave.

No. 1.

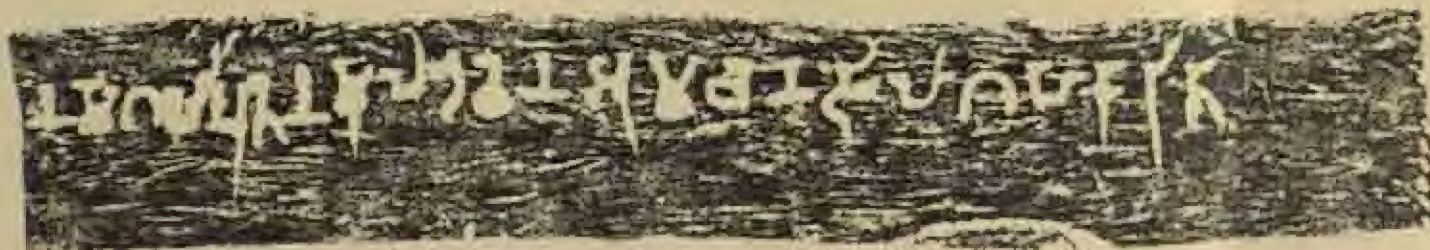


Inscriptions in the Sitamadi Cave.

No. 4.—First Section.



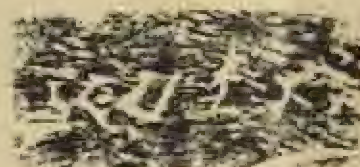
No. 4.—Second Section.



No. 6.



No. 7.



come from Magadha or its neighbourhood in Eastern India. Uddaṇḍapur is evidently the Uddaṇḍapura of inscriptions and Otantapuri of the Tibetan writers and is identified with the modern Bihār.[1]

Bendall has already pointed out that this script has no connection with Nāgarī but is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of the Brāhmī. Devoid of the wedges it conforms, on the whole, to the script used in India during the 6th century A. D. but what seems strange is that it has so far been found usually in the dedicatory inscriptions engraved on statues coming from Eastern India which can only belong to the period between the 8th and the 12th centuries A. D. The main features of this script have already been discussed by Bendall and Bühler and the latter scholar has drawn attention to the characteristic points of this script which indicate its southern origin. Till we are in possession of further facts we cannot trace the gradual development of this script nor can we fix with certainty the date of its introduction. If the identification of this script with the *Bhaikshukī lipi* of Alberuni is correct then this script must have been used in Eastern India side by side with the Eastern Nāgarī which is the usual script found in the inscriptions of that period.

It may not be out of place here to point out a parallel instance that we find in the Śāradā script. Though a descendant of the Western Gupta alphabet it is found employed in Kashmir and in the north-eastern Panjab only from the 9th century A. D. In this case too we perceive that from the end of the 13th century to the 16th century Śāradā and Nāgarī were used simultaneously at least in the Kāṅgṛā[2] District. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility that both the arrow-head and Śāradā scripts might have been used as literary scripts from an earlier period though they came to be employed as epigraphical scripts only at a later period.

I have already pointed out that the script of this inscription is very similar to that of the Gayā inscription referred to above and Bendall's general remarks on the palæography of the latter will be applicable to the present inscription also. Here I shall notice only the points of difference found in the letters of these two inscriptions or those points which have not been dealt with by Bendall before. Thus *k* in the Gayā inscription is, as in the Kushāṇa and Gupta scripts, written with a curve at the lower end but in the present inscription this curve is differently shaped and the stroke to the right is not noticeable. *Ch* and *j* are more angular in this inscription than in the Nepalese manuscript while *ñ*, *r* and *u* have all curves at the lower end. *N* in the present inscription is more akin to the form found in the manuscript than to that in the Gayā inscription. *Ṅ* is as in the manuscript with no loop to the left. *P* has two forms: where it is joined with the vowel *ā* it is open to the right and is distinguishable from *d* only by a small cross stroke across the end of the hook to the right; in other cases it has a wedge to the left. *B* is similar to *p* in shape the only difference being that it is closed at the top. The loop in *m* is much bigger here than in the Gayā inscription. *L* is of the same type as we find in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and also in the Pāhārpur copper plate inscription.[3] In conjunction with the vowel sign *ī* the consonants have usually a wedge to the right (cf. *dī* in l. 3).

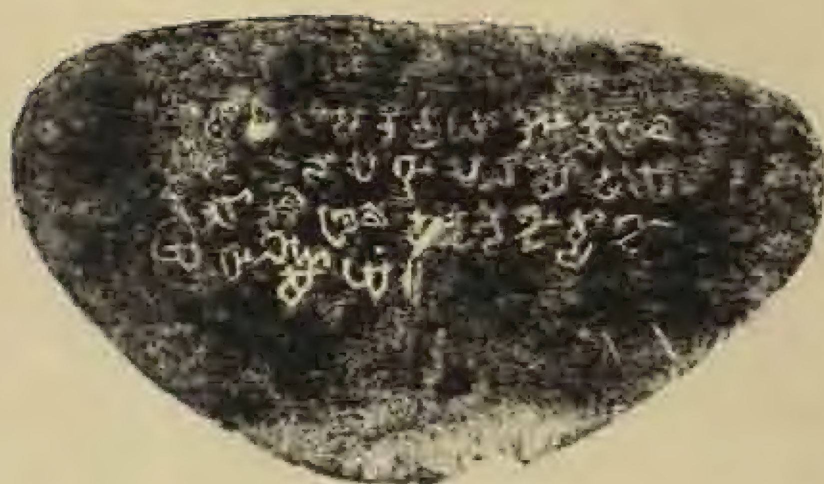
The inscription is written in correct Sanskrit and bears no date. It opens with an assertion of the impermanent nature of an individual being. Such an averment is quite in keeping

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110. According to the author of *Pag Sam Jon Zang* Otantapuri was the name of a great vihāra situated in the neighbourhood of Nālandā. According to him 'Otanta means' the soaring on high' (Skt. uḍḍayana?). This name was given to this shrine because of its loftiness—See *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. clii.

[2] See Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I [*A. S. I. New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI], p. 44.

[3] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff. and Plate.

A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KARA.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE: FULL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. [illegible] E'34.

with the Buddhist doctrine according to which the realisation of the impermanent nature of all things leads to the attainment of right knowledge. After this short introductory sentence, the inscription registers the gift of the queen[1] **Chandalladēvī** who was a lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka* **Mahīpāla.** No further details of the donatrix or her husband are given in the inscription. We cannot trace this Mahīpāla in any other inscription known to us but the title *Rāṇaka* shows that he was at the most a feudatory of some paramount ruler. This title is found so far as the inscriptions of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa are concerned only from the 9th century onwards.[2] Till further evidence is forthcoming we cannot say definitely who was the overlord of this *Rāṇaka* Mahīpāla.

TEXT.

1 N[ā]ma-[rū]pam-anityam | Rāṇaka-śrī-

2 **Mahīpāla**-[sa](va)dhū-paramōpāsi-

3 ka-rājñī-śrī-[**Cha**]**ṇḍalladēvyā** dē-

4 ya-dharmō-yam||

TRANSLATION.

The individual being (lit. name and form) is impermanent. This is the religious gift of the queen (*Rājñī*) **Chandalladēvī**, a devout female lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious **Mahīpāla.**

No. 10.—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

BY

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The subjoined inscription of **Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya** I is engraved on the outside of the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliyappar temple at **Tinnevelly.** It was copied in 1894 by the Madras Epigraphical Department[3] and the text of it is given in Tamiḻ in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V[4]. So far, no inscription of this king has been edited critically in the pages of this Journal or the *South-Indian Inscriptions.* For the highly interesting information which the record contains, both in its historical introduction and in its grant portion, it is taken up here for publication.

The inscription consists of 28 lines of writing. It is in **Tamiḻ** prose and verse. Though the **alphabet** employed is Tamiḻ, Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words such as *svasti śrī* (l. 1), *Hiraṇyagarbham* (l. 21), Rājarāja-chchaturvēdimaṅgalam (ll. 22, 24), *viśēsha-pūjai* (l. 24), etc. The introductory portion alone runs from line 1 to line 20 and is composed in Tamiḻ verse of *Agaval* metre. It contains more than 125 metrical lines. The name of the poet that composed it is not given as is the case with all Tamiḻ inscriptions; but there is no doubt that it is a creditable piece of work. The rest of the inscription is in prose.

[1] The inscription uses the term *Rājñī* which has evidently been used as the feminine form of *Rāṇaka*.

[2] *Cf.* the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Magadha and those of the Sena, Varman and Chandra kings of Bengal. The Bhañja kings Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja bore the title of *Rāṇaka* (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1490, 1492-95). This title is also found in the Ganjām and Bāṇpur Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvī. The Rajput title *Rānā* evidently originated from *Rāṇaka*.

[3] No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1894.

[4] No. 431 on pages 153-157.

There are several mistakes of commission and omission in this record, especially in the verse portion of it. While some of them are due to the negligence and ignorance of the engraver, others must be attributed to the scribe that committed the record to writing and passed it for being incised on stone. Though the mistakes are too many to be catalogued here, attention may be drawn to a few. Under mistakes of spelling may be noted *malar-ppūmarai* (l. 4) where *ṛ* takes the place of *t*, *Puliyūṛ-tiru* (l. 7) where *ṛ* has to be replaced by *rt* and *malar-chchūḍuvā* (l. 6) and *ñirkum* (l. 11) where *ṛ* has to be corrected into *r* and *ṛk* respectively. *Śūram* and *purudai* in line 6, *tiri*, *tiliga* in line 10 and *mudhaṉ-* (l. 12), *ēna* (l. 11), *palavar* (l. 17), *y-aravagar* (l. 19) are mistakes for *Suram*, *puridai*, *tirai*, *tiriga*, *mukkut*, *ēda*, *palavar* and *y-aramiyar*. Under omission of letters and words, the following may be cited :—*ga* is omitted after *kūra* (l. 5), *e* is omitted in the middle of *de* of *kkagrudaigal* (l. 11), *māḍamum* is omitted before *māḷigai* (l. 5) and *ga* is omitted after *ma* in *igamakka* (l. 12). For wrong insertion of letters see *mudaliyaṉ(r)* (l. 3), *dānā(v)dagam* (l. 10), *koji(kk)ugal* (l. 12) and *kum(m)ba* (l. 17). Errors in grammatical forms are found in *vēndargaḷukkuṛṛa* (l. 11) which must be *vēndargaḷukk-uṛṛa-*, *mārēḷaikku* for *mār-eḷaikku* (l. 10) and *vaḍa-Koṅgaṉṉa* (l. 11) which must be *vaḍa-Koṅgaṉ*.

In the purely eulogistic account which runs from line 1 to line 4, the panegyrist states that when this king was crowned, the bow and the tiger, which are the crests of the **Chēra** and **Chōḷa** kings,[1] disappeared ; and the fish, which is the crest of the **Pāṇḍya**,[2] sported on the golden mountain, *i.e.*, Mēru ; the Tamiḷ and Vēdic literature prospered ; and all kings paid their tributes. Reference is made to the garland of Indra worn by the Pāṇḍya. From line 4 commences the historical portion. On being crowned, the king is said to have sent a large army against the Chōḷa country, to have set on fire **Tañjai** (*i.e.*, Tanjore) and **Urandai** (*i.e.*, Uṟaiyūr), the principal cities of the Chōḷas, to have destroyed many tanks, rivers and water sources, halls, fortifications, towers, theatres, mansions, palaces and pavilions, to have ploughed the enemy's country with asses, to have driven the Chōḷa king into the forest and to have taken away his crown. The victorious **Pāṇḍya** king is then said to have gone to **Āyirattaḷi**[3] where he performed the anointment of heroes ; to have entered the sacred city of **Puliyūr**,[4] *i.e.*, Chidambaram, and paid obeisance to Śiva dancing with his consort in the golden hall[5] of the temple ; and to have finally reached **Poṉṉamarāvati**. While staying in the last-mentioned place, the Pāṇḍya king sent word to the Chōḷa promising to give back **Sōṇāḍu** and the crown which he had lost. On hearing it, the Chōḷa returned with his wife, and presenting his legitimate son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated under the victorious lion-throne of the conqueror and begged. After removing the heat of **Vaḷavaṉ** (*i.e.*, Chōḷa) caused by his flight and loss of territory with a libation of water, the Pāṇḍya gave back to the Chōḷa king's legitimate son the crown and the expansive country (of Sōṇāḍu). In support of this gift, he is also reported to have given a royal writ impressed with the fish seal, the title *Chōḷapati* and his ancient city.

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[1] On this account the Chēra is called *Villavaṉ* and the Chōḷa *Puliyavaṉ*.

[2] *Mīṉavaṉ* is one of the names of the Pāṇḍya.

[3] At the end of the introduction, this place is called by its other name Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram.

[4] Vyāghrapurī is the name given to it in Sanskrit. The hymns of the *Dēvāram* refer to it by the names Tillai and Puliyūr and speak highly of the dance of Śiva in this place. One of the verses of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār describes the place thus : [illegible]—

[5] While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant states that the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I covered the *dabhra-sabhā* with gold, the Leiden plates say that he covered the temple at Vyāghrāgrahāra (*i.e.*, Puliyūr) with gold. One of the stone inscriptions of Tirugōkarṇam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, dated in the 12th year of Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga (I), informs us that that king covered the large hall at Chidambaram with gold (No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904).

In the abstract of the historical introduction given above, one point that is particularly worthy of note is that when the Chōḷa king begged in the manner aforesaid, *viz.*, by presenting his son first, the libation of water was made to himself, while the crown and kingdom were bestowed on his legitimate son.

Now comes the question of the identification of the Chōḷa king and his legitimate son, that are referred to as having been the recipients of the ignominious honour. There is some difficulty with regard to this. As both Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III count their regnal years from A.D. 1216, it would be natural to say that the invasion undertaken by the former was against the latter, and that the latter and his son were the ill-fated persons referred to. That this answer, though natural, is superficial and incorrect, and does not take into consideration all the factors that really count in the matter, will be evident from the sequel. In the first place, it is necessary to know when the Pāṇḍya king effected his conquest of the Chōḷa territory and took the Chōḷa king's crown and country, and when again he restored them. This last point could be answered by observing the order of mention of the events in the introduction or better still by noting the earliest year in which these events are found registered in the king's inscriptions. The narration of the events in the introduction shows clearly that the invasion of the Chōḷa country was undertaken immediately after the Pāṇḍya king's coronation. It appears also that the restoration of the captured country was not delayed long, for we are informed that after taking the country the Pāṇḍya king went to Āyirattaḷi and had his anointment performed there, went to Puliyūr and paid obeisance to the god Naṭarāja, probably as a thanks-offering, and proceeded to Poṉṉamarāvati where he, inviting the Chōḷa king, presented to him—or rather his son—the crown and kingdom. The numerous stone inscriptions of the king range in date from the 2nd[1] to the 24th[2] year. In the earliest of these, *viz.*, the one dated in the 2nd year, '*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa*' (who took the Chōḷa country) occurs. As such, the country must have been taken in A.D. 1216-17. Since this event, which happened soon after Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I assumed regal powers, '*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa*' became the short title and distinguishing mark of the king. And it is particularly worthy of note that even the inscriptions which commence with the introduction *Pūmaruviya* and register all his achievements, when they come to mention the name of the king, mention him with this short title. It thus appears that '*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa*' had become almost a part of his name, that being the first great achievement. As the presentation of the Chōḷa country is specifically stated to have been made to Kulōttuṅga III in two stone inscriptions[3] and as his latest inscriptions show that he reigned for 40 years[4], *i.e.*, until A. D. 1217, it is clear that the country was given back soon after it was taken in 1216-17. There is no doubt that the Chōḷa opponent of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I was Kulōttuṅga III and not Rājarāja III, for even though the latter's regnal years are counted from A.D. 1216, his actual rule commenced two years later. Here it may be noted that in the case of most South Indian kings—especially the Chōḷas—we know that the regnal years are counted not from the actual date of accession to power but from a prior date which we may take to be the year of their nomination. In some cases, these two dates are very near each other, while in others they are abnormally distant. The specific mention of the fact noted above, *viz.*, that the Chōḷa country was given back to Kulōttuṅga III precludes our carrying the event to a later date than A.D. 1216-17 up to which only Kulōttuṅga III's inscriptions are found and nothing can be argued

[1] No. 549 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

[2] No. 204 of the same collection for 1917.

[3] No. 72 of the same collection for 1924 and No. 9 of 1926.

[4] No. [illegible] of the same collection for 1909.

from the omission of the epithet '*Sōṇāḍu vaḻaṅgi*' (who presented the Chōḻa country) in the records of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated prior to the 6th year.[1] Generally, the capturing of a country may be said to have been accompanied by the giving it back to the defeated king on his owning the overlordship of the conqueror and perhaps also on his agreeing to pay a stipulated tribute. Now can it not be said that Rājarāja III was the legitimate son of the Chōḻa king that had the strange honour of being invested with a crown by the enemy Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I under very humiliating conditions? One of the points in favour of this view is that Rājarāja III counted his regnal year from A.D. 1216 when the capture of the Chōḻa country and its restoration by the Pāṇḍya seem to have been effected. Another may be found in the statement of reasons for the second war against the Chōḻa which certainly took place in the reign of Rājarāja III. The very words of the inscription are "*munnam sonna-kku mudi vaḻaṅgum-ch-chēvaḍi-kkīḻ iruntu vaḻipaḍudal oṇṇādu kaṭṭi eḻar kaḷiṟḍaiyuḍan maṟutta Śeṉai vaḻa tāṉ*," etc. "The Chōḻa (meaning Rājarāja III) who did not mind remaining submissive under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refused to obey his commands, denied him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard (against the Pāṇḍya)." This clearly suggests that it was to Rājarāja III that Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the crown.

Lines 11 to 13 report that the Pāṇḍya king successively liberated from prison the North and South Koṅgu kings, and attended by them, he entered the palatial city of Madura and received their homage.[2] At Madura he heard them describe the ancient limits of their territories, and not being satisfied with the fairness of the division, he made a redistribution, made them agree to it and sent them away warning that if any of them should ever transgress the new limit, he would be made a feast for the god of Death. From the last statement it is clear that the kings of the two Koṅgus fought against each other, one encroaching on the limits of the other, and that Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had to interfere in their politics. It is, however, not known how both the kings found themselves in prison. As regards the identification of the Koṅgu kings that are referred to, we might point out that the ruler of South Koṅgu was certainly **Vīrarājēndra**,[3] whose accession took place in A.D. 1207. Like his predecessor **Vīra-Chōḻa**, he claims to have ruled over the two Koṅgus[4]; and his latest year of reign known so far is the 46th[5] corresponding to A.D. 1253. But it is likely that he lived two years more.

The king of North Koṅgu whom Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I rescued from prison may refer to one of the Adigaimāṉ rulers of Tagaḍūr who had possession of North Koṅgu from very early times[6] or to one of Koṅgu-Chōḻa origin that might have had an independent rule over any part of that province. So far, we know none of the latter. If the reference be to the former, the king may be either **Viḍugādaḻagiya-Perumāḷ** who figures as a subordinate of the Chōḻa king Kulōttuṅga III in his 22nd year[7] (A.D. 1200), or his immediate successor. This Viḍugādaḻagiya-Perumāḷ (called also Viḍugādaḻagiyāṉ or Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala) is

[1] Nos. 341 and 364 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

[2] The conquest of the two Koṅgus is also referred to in Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926.

[3] No. 133 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Komaralingam is dated in the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṉ Vīrarājēndra and couples the 25th year of his reign with Śaka 1153 (= A.D. 1231).

[4] No. 108 of the same collection, dated in the 30th year, gives him the title 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'. A number of records attribute to him the surname Rājakēsarivarman (see Nos. 121, 128 and 136 of 1909).

[5] No. 120 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Koḻumam. No. 144 of the same collection is dated in the 21st year of Parakēsarivarman Tribh. Vīra-Chōḻa 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'.

[6] *A. R.* on Epigraphy for 1906, Part II, para. 34.

[7] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 332-3, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

described as the son of **Rājarāja Adhikan**[1] (Adhika, Adhikēndra, Adigaimāṉ or Adhikēśa) and a lineal descendant of the Kēraḷa king **Eḻiṉi**[2] (Yavanika). His capital was **Tagaḍai** or **Teṉ-Tagaḍai**, *i.e.*, Dharmapuri in the Salem district and his inscriptions are found at Kambayanallūr, Tirumalai, Cheṅguma, Puṅganūr, Laddigam and Agastyakoṇḍa, written in Sanskrit and Tamiḻ verses.[3] The range of his inscriptions, his descent from Eḻiṉi and his capital Tagaḍai clearly show that he was the ruler of Koṅgu (North). As a Chōḷa feudatory, he appears to have restored the Chōḷa dominion in the Gaṅga territory, being entrusted with the charge of it. He claims to have overcome the Kāḍava, the Magadha and the Gaṅga.[4]

Now a word may be said about the relationship between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. While the South Koṅgu king Vīrarājēndra lived during the time of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, by whom he was liberated from prison and was honoured out of friendship, his predecessor Vīra-Chōḷa was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I. This is made plain by the fact that a certain chief by name Sōḻan Śilamban *alias* Vīrachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, who calls himself one of the *sāmantas* of the South Koṅgu king Perumāḷ Vīra-Chōḷa, figures in a third year record of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I corresponding to A.D. 1193, as donor of a gift to the temple of Mūlasthānamuḍaiya-Paramasvāmin at Teṉkarai near Shōlavandān, 15 miles from Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.[5] This chief continued to live in the reign of Vīrarājēndradēva and made gifts in his 20th year to the temple of Tiruvālanduṟai-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvālanduṟai.[6] The successor of Vīrarājēndra was Vikrama-Chōḷa, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1255.[7] He was the contemporary of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and stood in the relation of *machchunaṉār* (brother-in-law) to both of them.[8] At his influence, these Pāṇḍya kings made provisions for the maintenance of *maṭhas* in Tinnevelly and other places in the Pāṇḍya country where ascetics lived and *tiruññānam* was taught.[9] In the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, which commenced in about A.D. 1167-68 preceding the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I and which was waged between Parākrama-Pāṇḍya assisted by the Singhalese generals Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanātha and Jayadratha-Daṇḍanātha on the one side, and another Kulaśēkhara on the other side, the latter is said to have been succoured by two Koṅgu kings who are stated in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to be the two brothers of his mother.[10] Thus, it would be clear from what has been said above, that, bound by ties of near kinship, the Pāṇḍya and Koṅgu kings were helping each other and were maintaining cordial relationship for nearly a century from A.D. 1167-8.

Lines 14 to 16 describe a fresh war with the Chōḷa king, who, it is said, not only did not obey the commands of his Pāṇḍya overlord who gave him the crown, but refusing to pay the usual tribute, sent forth a large army with a vanguard against him. These were immediately put

[1] This chief figures as a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's 10th and 24th years of reign (No. 536 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 and No. 115 of 1900).

[2] Ancient Tamiḻ literature reveals the name of some kings that ruled over Koṅgu with their capital at Tagaḍūr. One of them was Eḻiṉi. It is interesting to note that he is styled a Kēraḷa.

[3] Nos. 544, 545, 547, 552 and 565 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906, paras. 31 and 32.

[4] No. 552 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 110, No. 296. The inscription is dated in the 21st year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I and has the introduction *Pūmalar-vaḷar*.

[6] No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

[7] No. 565 of the same for 1906 dated in the 2nd year and Śaka 1179, and No. 578, dated in the 7th year and Śaka 1183.

[8] *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1920, Part II, para. 12, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 155 and 157.

to route and many of the cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry were cut to pieces and the field was made a feasting ground for kites and crows. After the success in this war, the Pāṇḍya king is reported to have received a *paraṇi*, a particular kind of Tamil poem, composed in honour of himself celebrating all his heroic actions. This second war with the Chōḷa king was no doubt conducted against Rājarāja III, for it seems to have taken place some years after the first war and at a time when Kulōttuṅga III had ceased to rule. The introduction ends saying that the Pāṇḍya king, seated along with his queen Ulagamuḻududaiyāḷ, was crowned in the hall at Mudikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, at all the entrances of which he had ordered golden pillars of victory to be put up.[1]

A word may now be said about the second war of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas. The one permanent theme of the imperial Chōḷas from the time of Parāntaka I down to Rājarāja III was the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country and they had several times defeated the Pāṇḍyas in battle. As such, Rājarāja III must have felt keenly the pitiable position of owning the overlordship of, and paying tribute to the Pāṇḍya king to which he was reduced by the daring act of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I committed at the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The inscription under publication, as we have already noticed, gives clear evidence that he wanted to free himself from this plight by refusing to pay the tribute and by sending a contingent of forces against the Pāṇḍya. Tamil inscriptions do not help us much to determine exactly when it was done. But it can be fixed within narrow limits from other sources as we shall see presently. The Hoysaḷa king Narasiṁha II, who stood in the relation of father-in-law to the Chōḷa Rājarāja III, is said to have marched on the island of Śrīraṅgam[2] in about A.D. 1222 and soon after, i.e. in A.D. 1224 assumed the title "the establisher of the Chōḷa country".[3] This and the other claim of his that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya, shows that he was requisitioned by the Chōḷa king to help him against his enemy the Pāṇḍya king Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Our inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king waged a deadly war with the Chōḷa and caused great damage; but the fact that the Hoysaḷa king was able to establish a new capital soon after in the Tamil country on the borders of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya territories, i.e., at Kaṇṇanūr alias Vikramapura, 5 miles from Śrīraṅgam, shows that the allied forces of Narasiṁha II and Rājarāja III gained their object. Thus the second encounter of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas, which was more in the nature of repulsing an attack made by the latter, might be placed in the period A.D. 1222 to 1224. The earliest inscription that refers to Kaṇṇanūr is dated in Sarvadhārin (=A.D. 1228) and it states that Vīra-Sōmēśvara was ruling at the place.[4] But as Narasiṁha's reign lasted till A.D. 1233, Kaṇṇanūr should have been made a Hoysaḷa capital during his time and Vīra-Sōmēśvara stationed there to guard the Chōḷa king from being molested. In fact we are given to understand that it was Vīra-Sōmēśvara that built the new capital in the country which he had conquered by the power of his arm,[5] showing thereby that he took an active part in the war undertaken by his father. Here we may fitly consider one other claim of Narasiṁha and of his enemy Peruñjiṅga. While the former calls himself 'a very Janārdana in destroying the demon

[1] It must be noted that this portion is found in earlier records immediately after describing the first war with the Chōḷa, where its proper place is, and being almost in the form of introducing the king is bodily removed at the end of all introductions, earlier or later.

[2] Above, Vol. VII, p. 162.

[3] *Ibid.*, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 506.

Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kaḍava king'[1], the latter is styled *Karṇāṭa-lakshmī-nāśa-mandhana* and *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*.[2] These claims are sufficient to establish the fact that the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya was allied with the Pallava Perañjiṅga even before the latter actually assumed regal powers.

The grant portion of the inscription gives us to understand that in the **20th year** and **374th day** of the king's reign, when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Maḷavarāyaṉ in the hall of the bed-chamber of the palace (or temple) at **Tirunelvēli** in **Kīḻ-Vēmba-nāḍu**, both the *dēvakaṉmis* of the temple of **Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār** and **Śaṅkaraṉ Alagiyaperumāḷ** *alias* **Maḷavarāyaṉ of Kālaḍi**, the Premier, made a request that certain lands of **Kayattāṟkuṟuchchi**, which formed part of the *jīvita* not only of the latter but also of his great grandfather **Maḷavarāyan**, who like him held the office of the Premier, should be made tax-free and given to the temple to meet the expenses of offerings and worship to the image of **Śokkaṉār** which the Premier had caused to be set up in the temple; and the king complied with their request. It is worthy of note that the chief office of Premier of the country was held by Maḷavarāyaṉ and his great grandfather. In fact, some of the offices in early times were hereditary and persons appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them.

The **geographical names** that occur in the inscription are **Tañjai**, *i.e.*, Tanjore, **Uṟandai**, *i.e.*, Uṟaiyūr,[3] **Āyirattaḷi**, which was also called Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapuram and of which Paḷaiyāṟu formed part,[4] **Puliyūr**, *i.e.*, Chidambaram, **Poṉṉamarāvati**[5] in the Pudukkoṭṭai State, **Madurai**, *i.e.*, Madura, **Kālaḍi**[6] which is situated in the Travancore State, **Tirunelvēli**, *i.e.*, Tinnevelly, **Kayattāṟkuṟuchchi**, also in the Tinnevelly district, **Veṭchiyūr** *alias* **Mummaḍi-śōḻanallūr** and **Śakkarapāṇinallūr** among villages; and **Miḻalai-kūṟṟam**, **Tirumalli-nāḍu**, **Kīḻ-Vēmba-nāḍu** and **Śevvirukkai-nāḍu** among divisions.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maruviya Tiru-madandaiyum Puvi-madandaiyum poṟṟ-attiruppa nā-maruviya Kalai-madandaiyum Jaya-madandaiyum nalañ-chiṟappa kōl-ō[r*]nda [kaṉa]-ppu[li]yuñ-koḍa[i]-chilaiyuñ-kulainda-o[lippa] vāḷ-ā[r*]nda poṟ-[ka]imeṉ varī-kkayal[ga] vi[ḷai]yāḍa irun-kaḍal-va-

2 [ḷai]yatt-uḍal-agam perun-kavunā-Kali kaḍindu śen-kōl naḍappa oru-kuḍai-ni[ḷa]l[7]-iru-nilañ-kuḷira mū-vagai-t-Tami[ḻ]-muṟaimai[yi]l viḷaṅga nāl-vagai-Vēdamu[m*] nāvinr-uḍaṉ vaḷara aiy-vagai-vē[ḷ]viyuñ-chey-viṉaiy-iyaṟṟa aṟu-vagai-chchamaiyamum aḻagu-uḍan tiḻa[ḻ]a eḻu-

3 vagai-[ppāḍa]lum-iyaṉḍaṉ parava eṇ-[ṭi]śaiy-aḷavuñ-chakkarañ-chella-kKoṅgaṇar Kaliṅgar Kōśalar Māḷuvar[8] Śiṅgaḷar[9] Teliṅgar Kiṉṉara[r*][10]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.

[3] It is a suburb of Trichinopoly and the ancient capital of the Chōlas.

[4] This is evident from No. 72 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924 and from No. 9 of the same collection for 1926. The place is bereft of early inscriptions at present.

[5] The inscriptions of this place are registered as Nos. 2 to 23 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

[6] This is reputed as the birth place of Śrī-Śaṅkarāchārya and is stated to be on the bank of the Pūrṇā river in the Kērala country (see Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*).

[7] Read *niḻalil* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[8] *Māḷuvar* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[9] *Śiṅgaḷar* is the form in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[10] *Kiṉṉarar* may be replaced by *Śīṉar* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, and No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

Gujjarar Villavar Magadar Vikkalar Śembiyar Pallavar mudaliya[r] pā[r*]ttivar ellām=uṟaiy-iḍam=aruḷ-ena oruvar-man̤u-oruvar muṟai[1] [1]muṟai kaḍava tan-tiṟai[2]

4 ku[ṟa]i[r*]nd-iṟaiñcha ilaṅg-oḷ-maṇi-muḍiy-Indiran pūṭṭiya polaṉ[3]-kadir-āram mārvimir-puliya paṇi-malar[4]-ttāmarai-tTiraimugaṉ paḍaitta Maṇi-maṇi taḷaippa maṇi-muḍi śūḍi-pPoṉṉi-sūḻ-nāṭṭu[5]-ppuliy-āṇai[6] pōy-agala Kaṉṉi-śūḻ-nāṭṭir=kayal-āṇai kai(y)vaḷara[7] vañ-chinav-iruḷiyum

5 vēḷamum[8] parapazappi[9]-tTañjaiyum-Uṟandai[yu]ñ-chen-taḷal koḷuvi kāvi[10]-nilamum niṉṟu kavin-iḻaṟṟa[11] āviyum=āṟum=aṇi-nīr-malaṉ[12]-aḻittu kūḍamu-mā-madiḷun=gōpuramum=āḍ-araṅgum [13] māḷigaiyum maṇḍapamum pala iḍitta toḷudu=vand-aḍaiyār nirupar-tan=tōgaiyar=aḻuda kaṇṇīr-āṟu parappi-kkaḷu-

6 dai-kuṇḍ-u[ḻu]du kavaḍi vichchi[14]-chChembiyaṉai-chchiṉam viriya[15]-pporuśin śūram[16] pugar-ōṭṭi paim-poṉ-maṇi-muḍi paṟittu-pPāṇḍikku-kkoduttu-aruḷi pāḍ-arum-chiṟappiṟ-paruḍi-vāḷ-tōyum[17]-ādaga-pparuśaiy[18]-Āyiratta[ḷiyi]ṉ [19]Śirā-Vaḷa[vaṉ] abhishēka-maṇḍapattu vīrā(a)bhishēkam paṇṇi[20] puga[l] viritta nāḷum

7 paṇ-vāḷar nāma-ttalai piḍuṅgi mīḷum-ta[ṟu]kaṇ-mada-māṉai[21] mēl-koṇḍu nir-āḻi-vaiyya-mulud(u)[m] poḍu[v-i]ḻitta[22] kūr-āḻi[yu]ñ-cheyya-tōḷumōy[23] koṇḍu-pōy ayyappaḍāda[24] [a]ṟu-maṟai-tēr=amlaṇar vāḻ deyva-pPuliyūr-tiruv-ellaiyu[ṭ]-pukku[25] -ppoṉ-am[ba]lam poliya āḍuvār pūvaiyaḍaṉ ma-

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[1] The letter mu is written below the line.

[2] The letter ṟ is entered at the beginning of l. 4.

[3] No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *paran* in place of *polaṉ*.

[4] Read *malar-tā*.

[5] *Nāṭṭu-ppuli* is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[6] *Āṇai* is the Tamil form of *ājñā* through its Prakrit equivalent. No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V has *pāṇai*, which is evidently a mistake of the engraver.

[7] *Kayal vilaiyāḍa* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[8] The ō-sign of vē is entered at the end of line 4.

[9] Before *parappi* the letters *para* may be taken as having been wrongly entered or read as *pāṟ*.

[10] After *kāvi*, the syllable *yum* has been omitted.

[11] No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *iḻappa*, while No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, agrees with our text.

[12] While No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, agrees with our text, No. 300 of Vol. V. has *mīḷaṉ* and No. 520 of 1911 has *araṇ* meaning 'protection'.

[13] The word *mālaiyum* has been omitted before *māḷigaiyum*. *Cf.* Nos. 300 and 372.

[14] *Vīri* is the reading in the Tiruppārkaḍal inscription. See also text-line 10, below.

[15] No. 372 has *chiṉam iriya* and No. 300 *-piriya*. No. 520 gives *eriya*.

[16] Read *śūram*.

[17] It is only *tōy-ādaga* in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[18] Read *paridhi*.

[19] The reading Śiravaḷavaṉ is clearly wrong. Note that *śirā* rhymes with *virā*, but not *śira*.

[20] The word *paṇṇi* is replaced by *śeydu* in Nos. 300 and 372.

[21] Read *pīṇal* as in No. 372.

[22] Other readings of *iḻitta* are *aḻitta* (300) and *ajitta* (No. 372).

[23] No. 300 has *mē* for *mōy*.

[24] The reading *adaippaḍāda* given in No. 300 is an evident mistake.

[25] *Pugunda* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

8 ṉṉaṉ=tiru-mē[ṉi] kaṇḍu ma[na]ō-kaḷippa[1]-kkōla-malar-mēl-A[ya]ṉuṅ-kaḷir-taḷāy-Māḷum ariyā malar-chchēva[ḍi] vaṇaṅ[ga][2] vāṅgu-śiṟaiy-aṉṉan-tuyil=oḻiya vaḷ=eḻuppum pūṅ-kamala-vāvi-śūḻ **Poṉṉamarāpati[yi]ḷ**[3] oḷ-uḷagam-tāṅgum=uḷ[ya[4]]r[5]-Mūvarai=kkoṇaṇḍu[6] vaitt-amaiya śōdi-maṇi-maṇḍapatt=iruntu[7]

9 śōlai-mali pala-naṟ-**Chōṇāḍum**=tāṉ=iḷanda[7] māṉai mudiyum=tara[8] varugaveṉṟ-aḷ[ai]ppa [9]vāṉa-mālai kuḷaiva **Vāla[giri]kk**[10]-appuṟattu-ppōga Vaḷavaṉ urimaiyuḍaṉ[11] puguṇḍu peṟṟa puḍalvaṉai niṉ-pēr-eṉṟu[12] muṉ kāṭṭi-veṟṟiy-ariy-aṇai-kkīḻ viḻundu toḻud-irappa-ttāṉ=ōḍi muṉṉ=[13]iḷanda veṉṉaiy-

10 nāḍ[14]=kaiyy-agala dāṉ-[15]ō[u]ḍaka[m] paṇṇi taṉ-ḍār-muḍi[yu]daṉē viṭṭa[16] agal[17]-iḍam=taṉ mār-vēḷaikku[18]-ttaliya[19] iṭṭapaḍikk=eṉṟum idu piḍipāḍ-āgav-eṉa-ppoṉṉi-ti[ri][20]-ñālattu=ppū-pālar tōḷa[21] viḷaṅguñ-chuṅ-kayal-koṇḍ=ōṉṟum=tirumugamum [22]paṇḍ-iḷanda Chōḷapatiy-eṉṉu[m*] nāmamum-toṉ-nagaru-muḷa

11 vaḷaṅgi viḷai-kuḍuttu viṭṭ-aruḷi [|*] ōna[23]-kkaḍar-pāni vēndargaḷ[ai]kk-[24]aṟṟalaṅga[ḷ][25] [ti]ḷkun[26]=kaḍavuḷ-ivaṉ-eṉ-eṉi=tta[ḷai]y-aṟṟ-aḍaiyā[d]ār[27] taṇḍal-iḍai[yi]ḷ=kiḷaiy-uṟṟeṉa[28] maḻuḍaḷ-kōṭṭ-araṇ eṉ=ṟiṭṭi[29] vaṇaṅgum Vaḍa-Koṅgeṉal[30] iṟaiyum miṭṭa[31] kaḷaṉ-koḷ-aru-niṟa[32]-ttōḷ-mālai kaḻitt=el-vaḷaṅgi-

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[1] *Kaḷima* is found in Nos. 300 and 372.

[2] Read *vaṇaṅga* as in the other two inscriptions.

[3] *Puḷiyil* is replaced by *puḷiyaḍaiṇḍa* in No. 520 of 1911.

[4] *Mā* takes the place of *uṟai* in No. 300.

[5] *Koṇaṇḍu* (No. 300) and *koṇarndu* (No. 372) are other forms that occur.

[6] Read *irundu* as in the other two inscriptions.

[7] *Iḷanda* is the reading in No. 520 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.

[8] *Tarugu suvaṉ* is the reading in the above.

[9] *Māṉa* is another reading (No. 520 of 1911).

[10] *Vāṉagarekku* is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, but it is Vāḷagiri in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[11] Nos. 372 and 300 have *uḍaṉ* in place of *uḍag*. No. 520 of 1911 adds *taṉ* to *uḍaṉ*.

[12] *Eṉa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

[13] The insertion of *ṉa* after *ṉ-i* in No. 372 is not supported by the reading of the other two inscriptions, *viz.*, Nos. 300 and 411.

[14] Of *ṉa* the *ē* sign is at the end of line 9 and *ṉ* at the beginning of the next line.

[15] Delete *ō*.

[16] *Viṭṭa* may be taken as the hardened form of *viḍa* adopted for metrical purposes.

[17] No. 372 has *paṉai-*.

[18] Read *vēḷaikku*; No. 520 also reads *vēḷaikku*. Other inscriptions read *mārvēḷaikku* which must be corrected into *mārvēḷaikku*.

[19] Read *tāḷiya*.

[20] Read *tirai*.

[21] Read *tōḷ* as in Nos. 372 and 300.

[22] Read *ōḍa* as in No. 520 of 1911.

[23] The letters *ṉa* and *ṟi* are entered below the line.

[24] Read *vēndargaḷaik-*.

[25] The reading *Ōḍuṟṟaṅgaḷ* obtained by deleting *ḍu* in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, is clearly wrong. The engraver has omitted *u* between the *ē* sign and *ḍ* of *ḍu*. This supplied, the reading would be *aṟṟu-ōḍuṅgaḷ*. It is to be noted that *ōḍu* rhymes with *ōḍa*.

[26] Read *tiḷkka-*.

[27] No. 520 of 1911 has *aḍaiyār* for *aḍaiyādār*.

[28] Read *uṟṟeṉa*.

[29] In place of *eṉṟ-iṭṭi* No. 520 has *eṉ-kōṭṭ*.

[30] Read *Koṅgu* as in No. 520 of 1911 instead of *koṅga[ṉ]ṉai* of the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V. The text may also be read *Koṅgugaṉa*.

[31] There seem to be mistakes in the passage immediately following *miṭṭa*. [32] Read *niṟa-*.

12 y-aral[ra pin[o*]poru-nā] guṟṟ-āṟa-mulaṅga muraśu-kkaḍal-ṛ-jñal-[mun] puguṇḍu Tan-Koṅgai[n*] vand-iṭṭa daṇḍanaikku miṉ-puṉgu-chchāndiya[1] āharaṇan-takkad-e[ṉa] vaḷaṅgi ā[ṟā]la[2] peru-naṉbiṉ[3]=avaṉ āṟaiyu=miṭṭu Tirumāl[4] yiru[5]-maruṅgu Śandira-Sūriya[r*] śēvikka śeṅ-kaṭ-karu[mā]l-kaḷi[kki]ṟṟil[6] varu-Muṭkaṭ[7]-kaḍavuḷ-eṉa māḍa-Maduraiyiṟ-

13 tāṉ pōndu [pu]vaṉi[ri]lō [8]kūḍa-iru-Koṅgarai[yuṅ-ku]mbiḍu-koṇḍa[varkku] toḷlai-ppaṟvi[kku]m-iṉaḍaṟāmaṟ=tāṅ[9]=eḻuṉa ellaikku=niṟpa iśaimiṭṭu peṟpa[10]-kkoṇḍ-ivaṉṟu[11] śeyyād=oḻiyil iyamakku[12] veṟu[13]-vāḷ-virund-ākkudo[m=u]ḷmaiy-eṉa viṭṭ-araḷi muṉṉa[m*] namakku muḍi-vaḷaṅgi[ṉ*]=[chē]vaḍi-kkī[ḻ] iṉṉa-

14 m vaḷiṉaḍuvōm=eṉṟāḍu piṉ[ṉ=e]ṟu-nāḷ kāva[la]ṉaḍu Puṉa[l*]-nāḍ-e[ṉ*]ṉum=kaḷiyāl=āval=eḍir-śellād[14]=iṟal maṟutta Śeṉṉi viḍu tōḷiyum pēr-aḷiyum [nkka-chchu]ṟuṇḍ-oḻuṅgi vāḷiyum vāraṇamum tīrum=aḍaṟ-karu[va]-kkālaṉum[15] veṭṭ-aṉṉa-kkaḷa[n-i*]ṟaṇḍu-mayaṅ[ga-k]kaiy-[k*]koṇḍu[16] vālā-vaḷaiyattu viḷnd-avaṉ pōy maṟ

15 naḍuṅga a[m]b-aruṇḍum=ā[r*]tta-kaḍal-maṇḍalikar[17]-uḍal veṉ-paruṉḍ[18]-uṉ[ṇa] a-kkaḷattil āṇaiyiṉ veṉ-maruppuṅ=kaiyuṅ=ku[ṟ]aitti=aṅgal Miṉavarku pāl-kuḍam-āni=eṟu tāṉ viṟar-kōṉ[19] [ni]āga-muṉaḍu taḍavi maḷal maḍu-kkum kāṉa-neḍum-pandar- . . . . d-āḷalum kāṉaiyum pāḍalut-kaṇḍum kāṭṭuṅ-kaḷitta ōḍal-karaṅ-kūn-

16 ḍal vaḷḷ-eyiṟil śevvāy periya āḷakkavalli[20] pali koḷga eṉa vāḻtti veṉ-ṟu[21] vagaiyil migaiy=oḷiya vēndalaṟ=kkoṉṟu[22] tiṉan=taṉiyā=kkoṟ-rava[23]-neḍu-vāḷ uyarku śeṅ-kuruḍi nīr-ālt=aḷi-śeydu teṉ-pulattu veṉ-kavaḍi[24] vitta vīra-muḷud=oḍuttu=ppāḍum paraṇi taṉ pār-vēndar kēṭ-pikka āḍum-tirumaṅ-

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[1] Read *chāttiṉa*.

[2] *Vāṟāla* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

[3] *Naṉpiṉ* is the reading in the above.

[4] The metrical line commencing with *Tirumāl* occurs as under in No. 520 of 1911. "*Tirumāla-Nāṉ-maṟaiyavaḷ-kki kaḷḷa-vaḍi-ḷaṉ-kaḷ.*" [illegible]

[5] Read *iru-*. [6] Read *kaḷiṟṟil*. [7] Read *Mukkaṭ-*.

[8] This has been read as *kūṭṭuḷ* by mistake in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 431.

[9] Read *pā-*.

[10] There seems to be an engraver's mistake here which is not apparent. Perhaps *ar-ṟpa-kkoṇḍ-* or *aṟkkoṇḍ-* is intended.

[11] Read *ivaṉṟu*. [12] Read *Iyamaṉukku*. [13] Read *veṉ-vāḷ*.

[14] Another variant is *śellāḍ* (No. 520 of 1911). [15] Read *kālaṉum*.

[16] Instead of *kaḷa-iraṇḍu* . . . . . *kkaiy-kkoṇḍu*, No. 520 of 1911 has *kaṇḍu kaṇṇ-kaṇḍu* which is metrically a better reading.

[17] *ṉ-ṭōḍal* is a variant (No. 520 of 1911).

[18] The metrical line *veṉ-paruṇḍ-*, etc., *-kaḷattil* is better expressed in No. 520 of 1911 which gives the reading *veṉ-paruṇḍum pēyum nirval-eṉṉa akkaḷattu-*. It is clear from this that there is an omission of *m-pēyum nirval-* in our text.

[19] No. 520 of 1911 gives the variant *taṉ viṟar-lō]* for *tāṉ viṟar-kōṉ*.

[20] *Āḷakkavalli* is replaced by *āḷakkai vil* in No. 520 of 1911.

[21] For *veṉṟu vagaiyil* No. 520 has *veṉṟum puṟamum*.

[22] Read *kkoṉṟu-*.

[23] The syllable *va* is omitted in No. 520 of 1911.

[24] *Kavaḍi* is synonymous with *va-ṉā-varagu* and *vē-varagu* (*Puṟapporuḷ*, VI. 26).

17 jaṉa-nīṅga[1] maṉ-kuḻira ōṅg-avaṉ [2]ṉigai-kkaṟṟaṉattu kaṟpu taṉakk=āgāy ōṅg[3]-urimai-kkuḻāmn=oru-kai-tiśai[4]-koṇḍum=uri-maṇi-ppaṭṭañ-kaṭṭi mudi śūṭṭi māṟbil [a]ṇaittu Vaḻavaṉavaṉ-tuṇdai-dēviy=eṉṟu pēṟ[5]-peṟṟa[6] vañji mundalāya pey-vaḷaiyār poṅgu-puṉal-kuni[ṉa]ḻa[7] mudalāya polavar[8] pugal ||

18 maṅgala[ō*]gaḷ eṭṭum maṇi-kk[ai*]-talattu=ēṉ[a]l kodi-koṇḍa veṟṟi niṟaitta [9]ggōpurañ=chūḻ Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapura-maṇḍapattu puguttu[10] tiśaitoṟum śom[11]-poṟ-cheya-tta[mbam] nāṭṭi vāgai-kkadir-vēl vaḍa-vēndar tam pāda[m]-m=āga=ttaḷaiy-agiya[12] vīra-kkaḻal=aṇindu viḷaṅgiya maṇiy-aṇi[13]=vīrasiṁhā-saṉattu

19 vaḷañ-keḻu-kavariy=iru-maruṅg=asaippa kaḍal-eṉṉa muḻaṅguñ=kaḷi-nall-iyāṉai vaḍa-pula-vēndar[14] maṇi-ppuyam piriyā ilaṅgu-kuḻaiy-ari[va]var[15] toḻudu niṉṟ=ēttum[16] Ulagumuḻududaiyāroḍum vīṟṟ-irund=aruḷiya śrī-kō-Māṟapaṉ[ma*]r=āṉa Tribhuvanachchakravarttigaḷ śrī-Śōṇāḍu koṇḍu Muḍikoṇ-

20 ḍaśōḻapurattu vīrar-abhishēkam paṇṇi aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 20-vadu nāḷ 374-nāl Kīḻ-Vēmba-nāṭṭu-tTirunelvēli-kkōyil-paḷḷiyaṟai-(k*)kūdattu=ppoḷḷippīṭa[m*] Maḷavarāyaṉil eḻundaruḷiy=i[ru]ndu Uḍaiyār-Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyar=kō[vi]ṟ=pati-pā[da]mūla=p-

21 [pa]ṭṭ-uḍ[ai]-ppa(ñ)ch-ā[chā]riya-dēvarkaṉmigaḷ śey[ya]-ttiruvāy-moḻind=aruḷiṉa-paḍi [K]ūlaḍi-chChaṅkaraṉ A[ḻ]agiya p[e]rumā[ṉ-āṉa] Ma[ḷa]varāyar piḷ[ḷ]ittu i-kkōyilil ātrayaliṅgam-āga eḻundaruḷivitta Śokkanār(r)kku tiruppa[ḍ]imāṟ[ṟ]-uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍum niva[n]daṅgaḷukkum i-

22 var piṟanda Śadaiyattu-nāḷ viśēsha-pūjai śeyya amudupaḍi śāttuppaḍiy-uḷḷiṭṭu vēnduvaṉavukkum Muḷḷi-nāṭṭu Irājarāja-chchaturvvē[di]maṅgala-ttu piḍāgai Kayattāṉkuṟuchchiyil kā[ṇ*]-paśāṉam viḷaiyu[m*] nilattu maṇḍala-mudaṉmai[k]ku ivar pitākkaḷ appāt[t*]ar Maḷava[r]-

23 āyaṟku jīvitamāy [pi]ṉbu ivaṟku maṇḍala-mudaṉmaikku jīvitamāy varu-gira nilattu talai-varuśai[17] nilattilē i[v]v-ūr kaḍamaiy=iṟakkuṅ-kōlāl eṉṟ-aṉal[18]-vē[li] nilam irubad-āvadu ediram-āṇḍu-mudal antar[ā]yamum uḻudāy-kuḍiyum uṭpaḍa=ddēvadāṉa iṟaiy-iliyāy iruppadāga i-

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[1] Nīrā maṉṉa- is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.
[2] There must be a better reading for the passage that follows tiṉai.
[3] Read ōṅgum-.
[4] No. 520 of 1911 has nēkka-kkai; for oru-kai-tiśai.
[5] Read pēr-.
[6] Kaḍattu is a variant.
[7] Read kuniṉa.
[8] Read polavar.
[9] Delete the first g and read gōpurañ=.
[10] Read puguṉda.
[11] Read śom.
[12] Read aṇiya as in No. 520.
[13] Maṇiy-aṇi is replaced by kadir-maṇi in No. 520 of 1911.
[14] The letters ṉum are inserted in No. 520.
[15] Read ariveyar.
[16] -ēttu is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.
[17] Read variśai.
[18] Read aṟai.



24 ḍa-ppeṟa-vēṇum-eṉṟu ivar namakku-chchonnamaiyil i-ddēvaṟku-ttiru-ppaḍimāṟ-uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍum-nivandaṅgaḷukkum ivar piṟa[n*]ḍa Śaḍ[ai*]yatta-nāḷ viśēsha-pūjai śeyya amudupaḍi śāttu[p]paḍi uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍuvaṉavukku[m] Muḷḷi-nāṭṭu Rājarāja-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu paḍā-

25 gai Kayattāṉ[ku]ṟichchiyil kār-paḍāgam viḷaiyum nilattu maṇ[ḍa]la-mudan-maikku ivar piṭākka[l] appāṭṭa[r] **Maḷavarāyarku** jīvitamāy piṉbu ivarku maṇḍala-mudanmaikku ji[vi]tamāy varugiṟa nilattu talai-varmai[1] nilattu[kk] ivv-ūr kaḍamaiṟ-iṟukkum-kōlāl oṉṟ-arai-vēli nilam iv-

26 v-āṇḍu-mudal antarāyamum uḷḷiḍāṉ-kuḍiyum utpada dēvadānay-iṟaiy-iliyā[y]ṟ-iruppadāga iṭṭu vaṟiyilār eḻuti-iṭṭa uḷ-vaṟiyum naṅ ōlaiyum tara-[ch]chonnōm kai-kkoṇḍu tiruppaḍimāṟ-u[ḷ*]ḷiṭṭa nivandaṅgaḷ śella-ppaṇṇu-gav-eṉṟum ip[paḍi] Śandir-Ādittavaṟ-chelvad-ā

27 ga kalliluñ-chembilum veṭṭivittu-kkoḷgav-eṉṟu tiruvāymoḻind-aruḷiṉapaḍikku ivai Tirumalli-nāṭṭu-tTaḍaṅgaṇṇichchiṟṟūr-uḍaiyāṉ **Śōḻaṉ** Uyyaniṉ-ṟāḍuvāṉ-āṉa Kurukulattaraiyaṉ eḻuttu — ivai Miḻalai-kkūṟṟattu Kīḻ-kūṟṟu Veṭchiyūr-āṉa Mummuḍiśō-

28 ḻanallūr Vēḷanūruḍaiyāṉ Araiyaṉ Śivallavaṉ-āṉa M[ādevarājaṉ] eḻu[t]tu || Ivai Śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu-chChakkarapāṇinallūr Arai[yaṉ[2]] Viraśaiyoḻichchāṉ-āṉa Pallavarājaṉ eḻuttu ||[3]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1—4.)—Hail! Prosperity! The goddess of Wealth abiding on the lotus flower and the goddess of the Earth, residing in his arm; the goddess of the Arts abiding on the tongue and the goddess of Victory, growing in their excellence; the angry tiger filled with strength and the fierce bow, hiding themselves, being shattered; the scaly fish sporting on the shining golden mountain (*i.e.*, Mēru); Virtue increasing abundantly on the earth surrounded by the expansive ocean; the righteous sceptre swaying (*in all directions*) driving away the black Kali (*age*); the wide earth becoming cool under the shade of (*his*) single parasol; the three kinds of Tamiḻ[4] glowing in order; the four kinds of the Vēdas[5] being learnt (*by students*) and growing simultaneously; the five kinds of sacrifices[6] being performed in accordance with (*established*) practice; the six kinds of faiths being[7] finely expounded; the seven kinds of music[8] spreading along with *iyal*; (*his*) disc moving as far as the eight quarters; all kings such as the **Koṅkaṇa, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Māḷuva, Śiṅgaḷa, Teliṅga, Kinnara, Gurjjara, Villava, Magadha, Vikkala, Śembiya** and the **Pallava**, bringing with them the tributes due, and rushing before one another and praying for places to be assigned for their residence; the beautiful garland set with lustrous

[1] Read nilattu.

[2] Read Araiyaṉ.

[3] In continuation of this is engraved an inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṉ.

[4] These are *iyal*, *isai* and *nāḍagam*.

[5] These are the Ṛig, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan; the upa-Vēdas are also four, *viz.*, Āyur-, Dhanur-, Artha- and Gāndharva.

[6] *Vēḷvi* means *yāga* or *pūjā*. The reference is apparently to the five *yajñas*, *viz.*, Brahma, Daiva, Bhūta, Pitṛi and Mānusha.

[7] These are Bhairava, Vāma, Kāḷāmukha, Māvrata, Pāśupata and Śaiva. There are six other *Samayas*, *viz.*, Lōkāyata, Bauddha, Jaina, Mīmāṁsā, and Bhaṭṭāchārya or Māyāvāda.

[8] As *pāḍal* is here distinguished from *iyal* (prose), it must have reference to *isai* (music). As such, the seven kinds of music correspond to the seven *svaras*, *viz.*, *Nishāda*, *Rishabha*, *Gāndhāra*, *Shaḍja*, *Madhyama*, *Daivata*, and *Pañchama*. *Cf.* *Ēḻu-isai-pāḍal* with *Ēḻ-isai* in Ēḻisaimōgaṉ and Ēḻisaivallabhi.

gems put on by Indra[1] shining in his breast; (*the Pāṇḍya*) was crowned to widen the path of Manu who was brought into existence by Brahmā residing on the dew-settled lotus flower.

(Ll. 4—8.)—Causing the tiger to be removed from the country surrounded by the **Ponni** (*i.e.*, the Kāvērī), and the fish to spread in the country surrounding **Kanni**[2] (*i.e.*, Kanyākumārī), sending forth (*his*) angry steeds and elephants and setting on blazing fire (*the cities of*) **Tañjai** and **Urandai**[3] (*i.e.*, Tanjore and Uraiyūr), and causing the *kāvi* and *nīlam*[4] to lose their bloom; destroying tanks, rivers and other water sources; breaking down several halls, ramparts, towers, theatres, palaces, and pavilions, and causing to flow rivers of tears shed by the queens of kings who were not friendly to him, and ploughing (*their lands*) with asses and sowing seeds of *kavaḍi*[5] and fighting with the **Sembiyan** (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa) so as to deprive (*him*) of his anger and driving (*him*) out to enter the forest, taking (*his*) golden crown set with gems and bestowing (*it*) on the **Bāṇa**[6]; performing the anointment of heroes in the anointing hall of the unfriendly **Valavan**[7] (*i.e.*, Chōḷa) at **Āyirattaḷi**[8] the glory of which is hard to be extolled and whose golden walls touch the sunny sky; (*and thus*) extending (*his*) fame, (*he*) daily cut off the fearful heads of enemy kings. Mounting again on (*his*) fierce rut-elephant, (*he*) removed the commonness of the whole of the sea-girt earth. (*Then*) carrying only (*his*) sharp disc and (*his*) well-formed shoulders, (*he*) entered the sacred limits of the holy **Puliyūr** (*i.e.*, Chidambaram) where live Brāhmaṇas studying the rare Vēdas without the least doubt, saw the sacred form (*of Naṭarāja*) united with (*his*) consort, finely dancing in the golden hall; and (*his*) mind being filled with ecstasy, (*he*) prostrated at the flowery feet (*of the god*), which could not be known (*even*) by Brahmā who resides on the beautiful lotus flower and by Vishṇu who wears a cool garland of *tulasi*.

(Ll. 8—11.)—At **Ponnamarāvati**[9] which is girt with tanks bearing lotus flowers where the bees (*by their humming*) rouse from sleep swans with bent wings, staying in a pavilion (*set with*) lustrous gems presenting the appearance of the world-supporting Mēru brought and placed there (*he*) invited (*the Chōḷa king*) to go (*to him*), saying that (*he*) would give (*back*) the **Chōḷa country** covered with gardens and water streams, and the wreathed crown which he (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa) had lost. (*On hearing this*), the Valavan, who, being shorn of his high state, had gone beyond

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[1] The smaller Sinnamanūr plates make mention of the wearing of the garland of Indra and of securing one-half of his throne among the achievements of unnamed mythical Pāṇḍya kings. Similarly the Sanskrit portion of the larger Sinnamanūr plates refer to a Pāṇḍya king's wresting the garland of Indra and of another's sitting on his throne. The Tamil portion also speaks of a Pāṇḍya sovereign appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace. The Vēḷvikkuḍi plates refer to a Pāṇḍya sharing with Indra one-half of his throne and his garland. In the historical introductions of the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. it is said that he took from the king of Ceylon the garland of Indra which a Pāṇḍya king formerly deposited with him.

[2] The Pāṇḍya king is often referred to as *Kanni-kāvalan*.

[3] These were the capitals of the Chōḷa kings. For references to Urandai, see *Sirupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*, line 83 and *Paṭṭinappālai*, vv. 39, 58, 68, 352.

[4] *Kāvi* and *nīlam* are the names of flower plants.

[5] See note 14 on p. 10 above. I am indebted to Rao Saheb C. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar, Coimbatore, for drawing my attention to *Puṟappoṟuḷveṇbāmālai*, VI. 29.

[6] *Bāṇan* means also 'a bard'. We cannot be certain if a Bāṇa chief or a bard is meant. In the later records of Pāṇḍya kings, there figure chiefs bearing the name or surname Mavali-Vāṇādirāyan.

[7] With the existing traces the word may be read as 'Sēra-Vaḷavaṉ' or 'Sēṉ-Vaḷavaṉ.' The latter, which rhymes well with 'viṟal-Valavaṉ,' means 'of the enemy Valavan'. If the former reading is adopted, it may be taken as the proper name of the hall. But it would mean 'the thief Valavan' and it seems unlikely that the anointing hall of the Chōḷa king was so termed.

[8] Āyirattaḷi was a place of considerable importance in mediæval Chōḷa times.

[9] Ponnamarāvati was the scene of two battles during the war of Pāṇḍya succession in the 12th century A.D.

Vēḷagiri, returned with his queen[1], and presenting his son before (*the Pāṇḍya*) saying ' he is yours', fell down (*i.e.*, prostrated) at his victorious lion-throne, extolled and begged (*the Pāṇḍya*)[2]. Making a libation of water which removed the heat caused by his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) flight and prior loss of territory, and saying ' this shall always be the deed of support (*piḍipāḍu*) for having given back to his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) son a wide ground along with cool-wreathed crown ' and giving him a royal writ[3] (*tirumugam*) impressed with the fish which shine on the shoulders of kings ruling the earth girt with surging waves, together with the surname *Chōḷapati* which he had formerly lost and his ancient city, (*the Pāṇḍya king*) gave him leave to depart.

(*Ll.* 11—13.)—Considering (*the Pāṇḍya king*) to be god in removing the faults of kings in this world surrounded by the roaring ocean, the **North Koṅgu** king bowed to him and extolling him begged to be heard fully how he was fettered and had undergone suffering in the war with those who did not join him (*i.e.*, his enemies). (*On hearing it, the Pāṇḍya*) rescued him from prison, removed the garland from his glorious shoulders and showed him the way (*out*). One other day when the **South Koṅgu** king, entering the van of the ocean-like army resounding with the noise of the war drum, made salutations, he (the Pāṇḍya king), considering (*him*) as fit (*for it*), gave him a shining ornament which (*he himself*) had worn ; and out of excessive love removed his captivity also. Like the three-eyed god (*i.e.*, Śiva), he (the Pāṇḍya), mounted as it were on a red-eyed huge bodied black elephant (*and worshipped on either side by the two Koṅgu kings*) just as the god Vishṇu[4] is worshipped by the Sun and the Moon, entered **Madura**, the city of palaces[5], and received simultaneously in the world the salutations of the two Koṅgu kings.[6] Not agreeing to the ancient (*limits*) of (*their*) kingdom, he made them remain within the limits prescribed by himself ;[7] and then despatched them saying that if any failed to do as bidden, he would make him a feast for the god of Death with his trident.

(*Ll.* 13—14.)—On a subsequent day, when the Chōḷa king, (*resolving*) not to remain submissively under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executing the commands and refused to pay tribute, actuated by the proud thought that **Punal-nāḍu** belonged to its ruler, and sent forth a van guard and large army, (*the Pāṇḍya*) cleared them

[1] The word *urimai* generally means ' possession '. It has also the special significance of ' wife '. Though it may not be improper to translate the phrase ' *urimaiyoḍum pugundu* ' as ' entered with confidence ', it seems better to render it as ' returned with his queen and son ' who were his only possession now, having been deprived of his crown and country.

[2] The passage " *tan-dār-maḍiyuḍanē*, etc., *piḍipāḍāga* " is not free from scribe's errors. Besides, there are some variations in reading. The proper division of words and differences in reading have to be pointed out to make the meaning clear. Our text has :—*tan-dār-maḍiyuḍanē* ... *tiruvaḍi* ... *piḍipāḍ-āga* ... Here *eḍuḷukka* is a mistake for *eḍukka* and *tilaya* is a mistake for *iḍiya*. A different reading is *uḷamagaikku* which has also to be corrected into *urimaimagaikku*. In either case, the meaning is ' legitimate son ' and corresponds to the Sanskrit ' *aurasa-putra* '. The word ' *piḍipāḍu* ' may be rendered into ' deed of support '.

[3] It is worthy of note that the order of the king was impressed with the royal crest.

[4] That the two Koṅgu kings went attending on the Pāṇḍya is made evident not only by the comparison instituted with Vishṇu attended by the Sun and the Moon but also from what follows, *viz.*, ' *vāḍa iru-Koṅgar kumbiḍa koṇḍu* '. They were despatched to their country only after returning to Madura.

[5] Madura is known as ' Nāṉ-māḍa-Kūḍal '.

[6] Though, perhaps for administrative purposes, the Koṅgu country was divided into two divisions ' North ' and ' South ', there appear to have been more divisions in it. Pērūr is described in the *Dēvāram* as being in Mēl-Koṅgu, *i.e.*, West Koṅgu. The division Naḍu-Koṅgu occurs in the Śōḷamaṇḍār plates.

[7] From this passage it is clear that the Koṅgu country was simultaneously administered by at least two kings and that the extent of each one's territory was also settled. Sundara-Pāṇḍya brought about a repartition.

off and cut to pieces the horses, elephants, chariots and the fighting proud infantry. (*At seeing this*), he (*the Chōḷa king*), his two eyes becoming dim, fell down on the ground and fled (*from the field*), his body quaking with fear. The fierce kite ate the (*dead*) bodies of the *maṇḍalikas* (*lying stretched like*) the noisy ocean, the water of which the clouds were imbibing.[1] The chiefs of heroes cut off the white tusks and trunks of elephants in the field thinking they would serve as milk-pots to their king **Mīṉavaṉ** (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya). Finishing the conquest, the king made the following invocation to the goddess :—" Let her who wears the *arkka* garland and huge trident, who has white teeth, red mouth and fearful black locks, who is ever pleased at seeing the dances and hearing the sounds and songs of . . . . . under the canopy of crows which touching the top of the sky, reaches the very region of the clouds, receive this war-oblation ".

(Ll. 16—20.)—The victor, whose anger was not abated by killing kings that had not given up impermissible excesses, who for keeping up the life of his long sword gave it the water of red blood and made it shine (*forth*), who sowed white seeds of *kavaḍi* in the field of battle, who made his vassals hear the *paraṇi*[2] composed to celebrate all his heroic deeds, who made the earth cool with the water of his sacred bath, who, taking from his harem[3] a multitude of wedded[4] queens whose constancy to him (*ever*) remained un-impaired, and putting them on elephants' back, fastened to them fillets of gems, crowned and embraced them to his breast. Celebrated damsels like the prime queen of Vaḷavaṉ bearing bangles holding in their jewelled hands the eight kinds of signs such as pots filled with water which the poets describe as auspicious[5], he entered the pavilion at **Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram** surrounded with towers whose tops were fitted with flags, set up golden pillars of victory in all the directions and put on the heroes' ankle-rings linked with the ornament of foot-chain, his feet being worshipped by northern kings holding shining javelins and wearing *vāgai*-garlands. King **Māṟavarman** *alias* the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**, the emperor of the three worlds, after taking the Chōḷa country and performing the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne ornamented with lustrous gems, attended with the waving of lusty fly-whisks on either side, along with **Ulagamuḻuduḍaiyāḷ** who was praised by damsels wearing *kuḷai*[6] and who never part from the jewelled shoulders of northern kings having armies of fine fat elephants sounding like the roaring of the ocean.

(Ll. 20—28.)—In the **20th year and 374th day of** (*the reign of the king*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Malavarāyaṉ in the hall of the bed-chamber of (*his*) palace at **Tirunelvēli** in **Kīḻ-Vēmba-nāḍu**, the *dēvakanmis* wearing silk garments and observing five-fold precepts, attached to the feet of the god in the temple of **Uḍaiyār-Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār** having orally expressed that, for meeting the daily scale of expenses of **Śokkaṉār** which **Śaṅkaraṉ Aḻagiyaperumāḷ** *alias* **Malavarāyaṉ** of **Kāḷaḍi** had worshipped and had subsequently been pleased to set up as an *āśrayaliṅga* in this temple and for offerings and unguents required during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star Śadaiyam, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes, from out of

[1] Comparison is intended between the cloud and the kite as well as the ocean and the dead bodies.

[2] *Paraṇi* is a poetical composition in praise of a chief who, at the head of battle, has killed 1,000 elephants. Many such pieces are referred to in the historical introductions of Tamiḻ kings and these have not come down to us.

[3] Provisionally, I have taken the word [illegible] to mean a harem.

[4] The word *urimai* is used in the sense of 'wife, queen'.

[5] These marks are :—*chāmara* (fly-whisk), *pūrṇa-kumbha* (pot filled with water), looking glass, *tōṭṭi* (elephant-goad), *muraśu* (drum), lamp, flag and double fish.

[6] *Kuḷai* means an ear ornament.

the lands of **Kayattāṅkuṟuchchi**, a hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** in **Muḷḷi-nāḍu** yielding crops in *kār* and *pasānam*, which was at first given as *jīvita* to **Maḷavarāyar**, the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom, and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (*Maḷavarāyar*) for his premiership of the kingdom, should be entered tax-free and (its) *antarāyam*, *viḍḍāḍbaḍi*, etc., should be given as *dēvadāna* from the year opposite to the 20th year, and Maḷavarāyar having re-narrated the same to us (*i.e.*, the king), we declared that for the expenses of the daily requirements of this god and for the requirements of offerings and unguents during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star Sadaiyam, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes from out of the lands of Kayattāṅkuṟuchchi, a hamlet of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Muḷḷi-nāḍu yielding crops in *kār* and *pasānam* which was given as *jīvita* to Maḷavarāyar the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (*Maḷavarāyar*) for the premiership of the kingdom, shall be entered tax-free and (its) *antarāyam*, *viḍḍāḍbaḍi*, etc., given as *dēvadāna* from this year and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register as well as our order shall be issued : (*and therefore*) receiving this, let the expenses of daily requirements, etc., be met, and let it be so incised on stone and copper so that the same may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of Sōma Uyya-ninṟāḍuvān *alias* Kurukulattaraiyan of Taḷaiṅgaṇṇichchiṟṟūr in Tirumalli-nāḍu. This is the signature of Viḍaṇḍuraiyaraiyan Araiyan Śivallavan *alias* Mūlavarājar of Veḷichiyūr *alias* Mummaḍichōḷanallūr in Kīḻ-kūṟṟu a subdivision of Miḻalai-kūṟṟam. This is the signature of Araiyan Virmalanmuḷḷichchān *alias* Pallavarājan of Śakkarapāṇinallūr in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu.

No. 11.—JAINAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMARA JAGADDEVA.

By Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D., Benares.

The sub-joined inscription belongs to the reign of the king Jagaddēva of the main branch of the Paramāra family, who held sway over Mālava in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. No other inscription of this monarch has hitherto been noticed. The epigraphic records of the Paramāras do not even mention his name. The new inscription is engraved on a slab of stone, now lying detached on the floor of a *maṇḍapa* attached to a temple in the village of **Jainad** about six miles north-east of Adilābād, in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. There are remains of another temple in the vicinity, and close by is a heap of carved slabs, which are reported to have been brought to this locality from a tank in the neighbourhood. Mr. Muhammad Yasin, Talukdar of the District, brought this record to the notice of Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Mr. Yazdani made a short notice of this inscription in the *Annual Report* of his Department for the year 1925-26. Its transcription with short introductory notes, prepared by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, and a facsimile have been embodied as Appendix B of the *Annual Report* of the above mentioned Archaeological Department for the year 1927-28, but Mr. Krishnamacharlu's reading is not free from errors. I edit this inscription with the permission of Mr. Yazdani, who very kindly sent me an ink-impression of it.

The inscription contains 28 lines of writing covering a space 1' 6½" long and 1' 4" broad. Some letters in lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, are badly broken, and a number of letters at the beginning of the line 28 are completely effaced.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th century. Attention may be drawn to the forms of *sth* (in *sthira*, l. 3), *shṇ* (in *Vishṇu*, l. 4), *ksh* (in *lakshmī*, l. 9), and *bh*. The signs for *ksh*, *tva*, and *kk*, and those of *h* and *dy* are so much alike that sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the whole inscription with the exception of *ôṁ namaḥ sûryâya* at the beginning is written in prose. There are altogether 28 verses in different metres. As regards **orthography** the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; sometimes dental sibilant is used instead of palatal (*e.g.*, *prasasti* for *praśasti*, l. 10; *rāsibhiḥ* for *rāśibhiḥ*, l. 20; *suddhô* for *śuddhô*, l. 25). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *sarvv-orvvî*, *bhânur-nnirvvighnam* (l. 1), etc.

The inscription records that **Jagaddêva's** father was **Udayâditya**, and his paternal uncle was the king **Bhôja** (v. 6). Jagaddêva is stated to have invaded the country of the **Andhra** king, and inflicted a severe defeat on him (v. 7). He uprooted the king of **Chakradurga** (v. 8), and slew many soldiers of the king of **Malahara** at **Dôrasamudra** (v. 9).[1] He also won victory over the **Gûrjara** warriors near the **Arbuda** mountain (v. 10). He conquered the king **Karṇa** (v. 12).

Bhôja referred to above was evidently the great king of the same name, who ruled in Mâlava from about 1000 to 1055 A.D. The history of Bhôja is well known to us from other sources. The latter part of his reign was unhappy. Shortly before 1055 A.D., the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhîma I made an alliance against him, and invaded Mâlava from the east and the west. When the battle was progressing, Bhôja suddenly died of a malady, and Mâlava was taken possession of by the Kalachuris and the Chaulukyas[2]. In that difficult period, Jayasiṁha, the son of Bhôja, sought help from the Châlukya Sômêśvara I, king of Kalyâṇi, and with the aid of the latter's son Vikramâditya (VI) succeeded in regaining his throne by ousting Karṇa and Bhîma from Mâlava[3]. Since that time Jayasiṁha remained a staunch friend of Vikramâditya, who was under his father, the governor of Banavâsi in the third quarter of the 11th century. Vikramâditya was deputed by his father to protect the interest of his empire in the south. The Eastern Châlukya Râjarâja, the king of Vêṅgi, died in 1062 A.D. His son Râjêndra II (later on Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa I) was too young to govern his kingdom. Vikramâditya intended to avail himself of this opportunity of conquering Vêṅgi, and organised a vast army for that purpose. Jayasiṁha, who was indebted to Vikramâditya for his past services, seems to have joined him in this expedition in order to help his cause. The allied armies advanced towards Vêṅgi and threatened the Eastern Châlukyas. The young Râjêndra could not resist their onslaught, and Vêṅgi fell in the hands of Vikramâditya and Jayasiṁha. In that predicament Vijayâditya VII, the younger brother of the deceased Râjarâja, took up the cause of his nephew, and appealed to the Chôḷa Vîrarâjêndra (A.D. 1062-1069) for assistance. The Chôḷa king responded to his prayer and marched towards Vêṅgi at the head of a large army. He confronted his enemies on the bank of the Kistna near Bezwâda (Vijayavâḍa). In the action that followed the Karṇâṭas and the Paramâras were severely worsted, and the cousin (or younger brother) of Jayasiṁha with many other generals lost their lives. Vêṅgi was reconquered by the Chôḷas, and Vîrarâjêndra appointed Vijayâditya to rule it on behalf of Râjêndra-Chôḷa.[4] The Tiruvenkâḍu inscription[5] of the second year of the reign of Vîrarâjêndra tells us that he defeated the army sent into Vêṅgainâḍu by Vikramâditya. The Karuvûr inscription[6] of the fourth year of his reign records that 'he despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads surrounded by garlands (worn) on battle-fields, of Vaṛaṇ, of the [Kêraḷa], (who wore) large ankle-rings, (and) of the younger brother (or cousin) of Ja(na)nâtha of Dhârâ.' The Maṇimaṅgalam

[1] [See note 5, p. 56.—Ed.]
[2] Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandha-chintâmaṇi*, by Tawney, pp. 73-75.
[3] Bilhaṇa's *Vikramâṅka-charita*, *Sarga* III, v. 67.
[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 192.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

inscription[1] of the fifth year (1067 A.D.) of his reign gives us a more detailed information. It states that 'having moved (his camp), he declared :—"(*We*) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēṅgai, which (*we had formerly*) subdued. You,[2] (*who are*) strong, come and defend (*it*) if (you) are able!"—That army . . . . which had for its chiefs Jananāthaṉ, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Rājamayaṉ, whose *must* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Muppa-raiyaṉ.'

Jananātha, referred to above, is in all probability identical with Jayasiṁha, who was at that time on the throne of Dhārā[3]. Others, mentioned, seem to have been officers of Vikramāditya. In the latter part of his reign, Jayasiṁha had to encounter a catastrophe, which was more severe than the previous one. After the death of Sōmēśvara I, his son, Sōmēśvara II, ascended the throne of Kalyāṇi in 1068 A.D. He soon entered into a quarrel with his younger brother Vikramāditya.[4] When the Chālukya empire was threatened with a fratricidal war, Jayasiṁha turned against Sōmēśvara II, and probably intrigued with Vikramāditya for the overthrow of the Chālukya king. This seems to have provoked Sōmēśvara to declare war against Mālava. He made an alliance with the Chaulukya Karṇa (A.D. 1063-1094), the successor of Bhīma on the throne of Gūjarāt, for the destruction of the Paramāra sovereignty, and in order to help him in his military operation despatched his general Gaṅga Udayāditya, and his feudatory, the Hoysaḷa Ereyaṅga, with a large contingent. Jayasiṁha made a strenuous effort to defend his kingdom against this incursion of Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas but utterly failed. In the fierce battle that followed he lost his life, and Mālava was easily conquered by the invaders. During this cataclysm Udayāditya, a scion of a junior branch of the Paramāra family, who was probably a subordinate chief in the Bhilsa District, drove the invaders from Mālava with the help of the Chāhamāna Durlābha III, king of Śākambharī, and himself became the king of the country.[5]

The Nāgpur stone inscription,[6] dated 1104 A.D., composed by Udayāditya's son Naravarman, describes Udayāditya as the '*bandhu*' of Bhōja. The inscription under discussion states that Bhōja was the '*pitṛivya*' (father's brother or cousin ; or any elderly male relation) of Jagaddēva, son of Udayāditya.

Critical examination of these two evidences leads me to suggest that Udayāditya was not the brother of Bhōja but a cousin. This gains support from an inscription[7] of the 15th century, which records Gōndala and Śūravīra as the father and grand-father respectively of Udayāditya. The last known date of Udayāditya is 1086 A.D.[8]

The *Rās Mālā*[9] relates that Oodayadit had two wives, one belonging to the Solunkhee dynasty and the other to the Waghela clan. By the Solunkhee queen he had a son named Jug Dev, and by the Waghela queen another son named Rindhuwul. Prince Jug Dev was an intrepid warrior, and his fame as a general spread all over India. He had three wives. The first was the daughter of Rāja Rāj, the Dak Chowra king of Took-Toda, which, since Rāja Rāj himself was blind, had

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[2] This is addressed to the king who held Vēṅgi.

[3] [Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar is of opinion that there is no warrant to take Jananātha figuring in inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra as the king of Dhārā (above, Vol. XXI, p. 236, n. 3 and p. 242 and n. 2).—Ed.]

[4] *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Introduction, p. 23, ed. by Bühler.

[5] Above, Vol. II, p. 185 ; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 104 ; *E. C.*, Vol. V, Ak. No. 120a ; Vol. VII, Sk. No. 64 ; Vol. IV, part II, p. 10 ; Sōmēśvara's *Surathōtsava*, *kavi-praśasti*, v. 20 ; *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya*, *Sarga* V, vv. 74-75 ; above, Vol. I, p. 236 ; author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 127-132.

[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

[7] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 548.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 241.

[9] Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

been under the regency of his son Beerj. The second was the daughter of Sidh Râj Jusingh Dev, the king of Gujarât, and the third was the princess of the house of Râjâ Phool of Bhojnagar. Rindhuwul married the daughter of Gumbheer, a chief of Gord. Udayâditya, influenced by his Waghela queen, made Rindhuwul his heir-apparent. Jug Dev, through the jealousy of his step-mother, was reduced to poverty. He left Mâlwâ, and, in order to make a living, accepted military service under Sidh Râj in Gujarât. Within a very short time he became a favourite of his master on account of his valour and faithfulness. On one occasion he sacrificed his son, and offered his own life and that of his wife to ensure the safety of Sidh Râj from some impending peril. Sometime afterwards, learning that Sidh Râj was making preparations for the invasion of Mâlwâ, he resigned his office, and left for Dhârâ in order to defend his native country. He was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him his successor superseding Rindhuwul. Soon afterwards Oodayâditya died, and Jug Dev ascended the throne of Mâlwâ, which he occupied for fifty years.

According to Mērutuṅga,[1] Jagaddēva entered the military service of Paramardin (a title of Vikramâditya VI), king of Kuntala, and was highly honoured by the Chaulukya Siddharâja.

The above statements of the Gujarât chroniclers are marred by gross chronological inaccuracies. Udayâditya could not have been a contemporary of Jayasiṁha-Siddharâja, who ascended the throne in 1094 A.D.[2] Even then Jayasiṁha was a minor, and his government was under regency.[3] Jagaddēva certainly did not rule for fifty-two years, since Udayâditya's another son, Naravarman, ascended the throne of Mâlava sometime before 1094 A.D.[4], and enjoyed it till 1133 A.D., when he was succeeded by his son Yaśōvarman.[5] Naravarman, in his Nâgpur stone inscription, does not make any mention of Jagaddēva, and states that he was preceded by his brother Lakshmadēva, who succeeded to the throne of Udayâditya.[6] Lakshmadēva is not referred to in any other inscription of the Paramâras. It cannot be said definitely whether Lakshmadēva and Jagaddēva were identical person. But that Jagaddēva occupied the throne of Mâlava sometime between 1086 and 1094 A.D. cannot be disputed. Two Hoysala inscriptions,[7] one of them being dated 1136 A.D., describe him as the king of Mâlava.

The inscription under review narrates the military achievements of Jagaddēva. The king is said to have won victories over the Gūrjaras near Mount Abu. The verse 10 states that 'even to-day (*i.e.*, at the time of composing the inscription) the sound of the flood-tide of the tears of the wives of the Gūrjara warriors indicates the twang of the bow of Jagaddēva, which is nothing but the announcement of the valour of Jayasiṁha.' This signifies that Jagaddēva fought under Jayasiṁha against the king of Gujarât, and the battle took place long time before the inscription was composed. In these circumstances, Jayasiṁha, who was a friend of Jagaddēva, can reasonably be identified with the king of the same name, who was the son of Bhōja. Jayasiṁha, as has been referred to above, drove Bhîma of Gujarât along with the Kalachuris from Mâlava with the help of Vikramâditya. Jagaddēva might have pursued the conquest further, and inflicted another defeat on Bhîma on the foot of the Mount Abu.[8]

[1] Tawney, *Prabandha-chintâmaṇi*, p. 180; *cf.* Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Sarga* II, v. 33.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[4] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1923-24, p. 135.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 351.

[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

[7] *E. C.*, Vol. VI, *Tarikere Taluq*, No. 45; *ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 349, p. 168.

[8] [If the translation given by us in p. 62, n. 1, is correct then Jayasiṁha referred to in v. 10 should be looked upon as an enemy and not a friend of Jagaddēva and thus cannot refer to the Paramâra Jayasiṁha. The mention of Gūrjaras would tempt one to identify him with Jayasiṁha Siddharâja of Aṇahilapâṭaka. This might, however, give rise to some chronological difficulty if it was true that Jayasiṁha was still a minor at the time of his father's death.—Ed.]

Jagaddēva led successful raids over Andhra and Chakradurga. Andhra was the name of the country between the lower courses of the Kistna and the Godāvari, the capital of which was Vēṅgī. Chakradurga is evidently identical with Chakrakōṭa, which is situated in the modern Bastar State. During this period, Andhra was under the sway of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, and Chakrakōṭa was ruled by a Nāga dynasty.[1] Jagaddēva probably led these expeditions during his own rule. But attention is drawn to the fact that the Paramāra Jayasiṁha was accompanied by his cousin (or younger brother) in his expedition against the Andhra country.[2] Jagaddēva, who was the cousin and general of Jayasiṁha, may be considered as identical with the latter.

After the invasion of Andhra, Jagaddēva might have followed Jayasiṁha in his campaign against Chakradurga. Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, when he was a 'Yuvarāja' (i.e., before 1070 A.D.), defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa. King of Dhārā, referred to, was, during that period, Jayasiṁha.[3]

Karṇa, the adversary of Jagaddēva, appears to have been the king of Gujarāt of the same name, who ruled from 1064 to 1094 A.D. After the death of Udayāditya, Karṇa probably made an attempt to reconquer Mālava but was discomfited by Jagaddēva.

The fact of Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is reported also by the records of his enemies. Dōrasamudra, modern Haḷebīḍ, in Mysore, was the capital of the Hoysaḷa dynasty, the early rulers of which were subordinates to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. They were enemies of both Vikramāditya and Jagaddēva. The Hoysaḷa Ereyaṅga, on behalf of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, and in alliance with the Chaulukya Karṇa killed Jayasiṁha in battle, and conquered Mālava. The dates of the inscriptions of Ereyaṅga range from 1062 to 1100 A.D.[4] He had three sons Ballāla, Vishṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya. In the latter part of the 11th century, the Hoysaḷas made an attempt to throw off the yoke of subordination of the Chālukyas. But Vikramāditya determined to keep them under control. He appears to have sought the help of Jagaddēva. Jagaddēva lent his service to the Chālukya king, and being accompanied by the Karṇāṭa army, proceeded to Dōrasamudra, and besieged it. The present inscription records that he succeeded in killing a large number of soldiers of the king of Malahara at Dōrasamudra. Malahara appears to have been the ancient name of Malabar.[5] The Hoysaḷas, though suffering a preliminary reverse, eventually succeeded in repulsing their enemies. In this terrible struggle the sons of Ereyaṅga, viz., Ballāla, Vishṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya played magnificent parts. An inscription,[6] dated 1196 A.D., relates that "Ballāla drove back in battle the force which came to

[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178 f.

[2] Vide ante, p. 55.

[3] The late Rai Bahādur Hiralal suggested that the verse of the inscription (KSL., No. 750) means that Kulōttunga-Chōḷa conquered the king Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa (above, Vol. IX, p. 179, fn. 2). But Drs. L. D. Barnett, and Wickremasinghe, of the London University, advise me to accept the interpretation of Hultzsch, viz., Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa. [The actual reading found in Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions is Śakkarakōṭṭattu Dhārāvarshaṉai or Dhāravarshaṉai which means 'Dhārāvarsha or Dhārāvarsha (i.e., Dhārāvarsha) at Sakkarakōṭṭa'.—Ed.]

[4] E. C., Vol. VI, introduction, p. 11; ibid., Vol. V, Ak. No. 102a. [It is uncertain if the date given at the top of the inscription before the invocatory verse is the date of the record. Only if this were so, Ereyaṅga's last date can be taken as A.D. 1100.—Ed.]

[5] [Malahara is nowhere known as the ancient name of Malabar. Malaharakshōṇīśa in v. 9 seems to be the translation of the Kanarese epithet Malaparol-gaṇḍa a title assumed by the Hoysaḷa rulers. Malapa or Malēla was the name of a hill tribe to the family of whose chiefs the Hoysaḷas probably originally belonged (cf. E. C., Vol. VI, Introduction p. 14). Ra in Malahara is the genitive termination in Kanarese. This way of retaining the original termination in the later Sanskritised forms occur even in earlier inscription, cf. for example shāhānushāhi in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta where ānu is to be taken as the original Saka termination used in the genitive plural.—Ed.]

[6] E. C., Vol. VI, Tk., No. 45.

attack him, so that even the Mālava emperor, Jagaddêva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Well done horseman'; to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vīra-Ballāla', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world." The Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription,[1] dated 1159 A.D., states that "Vishṇu, powerful like Yama, striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mālava king, Jagaddêva, and others sent by the emperor (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI)". The Belur Taluk inscription,[2] dated 1117 A.D., registers the fact that "in Dōrasamudra they (Vishṇu, and Ballāḷa) defeated the army of Jagaddêva, painted the goddess of Victory with the blood of his elephants for vermilion, and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace." The Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha I's inscription,[3] dated 1164 A.D., records that the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu, and Udayāditya destroyed the army of Jagaddêva in Dōrasamudra. The earliest known date of the record[4] containing the report of Jagaddêva's defeat is 1100 A.D.

Jagaddêva seems to have later on entered into a quarrel with Vikramāditya, as the result of which the latter had to surrender the northern part of his dominion to the Paramāras. A pillar bearing an inscription[5], dated 1087 A.D., of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, is lying in the village of Sitabaldi, 6 miles to the east of the city of Nāgpur. Though there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that the kingdom of the Chālukyas extended up to Nāgpur in that period, the existence of the pillar there strongly suggests to that effect. If this proves to be true, Jainad, where the new inscription was discovered, was evidently within the dominion of the Chālukyas about that time. Jainad is situated few miles south of the Penganga. As the stone, bearing the inscription, is an ordinary slab, there is less likelihood of its being carried there from a great distance. In all probability, it belonged to one of the temples in that locality. If my suggestion proves to be true, it is to be maintained that the Paramāra kingdom extended at least up to the Adilābād District in the latter part of the 11th century. The Nāgpur stone inscription,[6] dated 1104 A.D., likewise suggests that Vikramāditya VI lost his hold over that part of the country sometime before that time. This new acquisition of territories was, in all likelihood, made by Jagaddêva.

Jagaddêva was a handsome person. The Paramāra Arjunavarman, in his *Rasikasañjīvinī*,[7] states that his predecessor, Jagaddêva, was very graceful, and that his beauty is described by Nachirāja. Sāmalavarman, the king of east Bengal, married Mālavyadêvī, the daughter of Jagaddêva.[8]

The **object** of the inscription is to record that Padmāvatī, the wife of **Lōlārka**, erected the temple of Nimbāditya, in the city, the name of which is not mentioned. Lōlārka was the minister of Jagaddêva, and appears to have been enjoying that position since the time of Udayāditya. His father was Guṇarāja, and his grand-father was Mahēndu whose wife was Suṅgā. All of them belonged to the **Dāhima** family.

The poet **Aśvatthāmā** composed the verses of the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 20, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 7-12, 14, 15, 18, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 16, 17, 19, *Sragdharā*; vv. 5, 6, *Upajāti* and v. 13, *Mandākrāntā*.]

1 [ओं] नमः सूर्याय ॥ पद्मालेपि रवेश्चारि निरव(ब)पुषोत्समेऽयं । प्रत्यहं पुरुषत्मानुर्विस्व्ययमुपास्यतां ॥१॥ तं वन्देमहि वाक्योत्स-

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Ins. at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, No. 349, p. 168.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Bl., No. 58.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ng., No. 30.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak., No. 34. [In this inscription Jagaddêva is not described as the king of Mālava.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. III, p. 304.

[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

[7] P. 5.

[8] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X, p. 127.

2 निर्वेर्व्वैलावनालीखिरखानं खाखानभेद्यमाद्यममितच्छायातिमात्रोच्छ्रयं । उन्मी-
लन्ति व(ब)हि: प्ररोहसमये यस्य त्रिलोकीच्छलान्मध्ये-

3 व्योम[दिग]न्तरालमतुला: शाखाशिखापल्लवा: ॥२॥ तद्भूर्भंगविघट्टितं भगवतो
भर्गस्य भव्याय वो भूयात्सङ्गुलिताङ्गुली किसलये पाणौ च-

4 नु: पञ्चत: । दग्धुं [चो]णि पुराणि यत्र ग[श]नैर्ज्ज्वालवल्लिता संभितं यत्राविर्भवति
स्म भास्वरशरव्याजेन विष्णोर्व्वपु: ॥३॥ आसीदाशीर्व्वचोभि: मन-

5 समुनिजनैर्म्मानितो मं[दिनीन्द्रे] राजा मुद्रां वहद्भि: शिरसि व(ब)हुविधैर्व्वा(र्व्वी)णित-
चाटुवादै: । विश्वाभिख्यप्रतापक्षपणयनिपुण: प्राप्तजन्मा

6 वसिष्ठस्यानाघुमख्य[माद्य] त्रिभुवनविदित: सत्वसार: प्रमार: ॥४॥ तदन्वये
सान्वयनामधेय: श्रीमान् जगद्देव इति क्षितीश: । अभूद-

7 भूपालदिगन्तराला[न]र्भागनिर्व्यूढभुजप्रमीर्य(यम्) ॥५॥ यस्योदयादित्यनृप: पिता
सोऽदय: पितृव्य: स च भोजराज: । विरेजतुर्यौ

8 वसुधाधिपत्यप्रासप्रतिष्ठाविव पुष्पवन्तौ ॥६॥ यन्मुधीमरगीतय: प्रतिपरिस्फूराचिरं
यत्रमूर्वाहच्युतखुरारप्रखपिक्षत-

9 भुवि चीणा: स्वलन्त्योध्वनि । नीयन्ते नवनीतकोमलपदास्ताम्रप्रभै: पल्लवै-
र्द्दवात्व(ब)नमम्ब्(म्बु)धे: परिसरश्रीवल्लितार्व्विभि: ॥७॥ क्री-

10 डोद्घाटितचक्रदुर्गनृपतेरद्यापि यस्याज्ञया दस्वानीतगजेंद्रदानसलिलैर्व्वासां ॥स(श)-
स्तिं परां । निर्व्वावृत्ति पठन्ति जाघनुठितै: कै:

11 केर्खिनादैर्यदा शैलोपान्तवसुन्धरासु विपिनीकर्गेषु भल्लाङ्गना: ॥८॥ मध्ये दीरसमुद्र-
मद्रिशिखराकारां कपालावलीमालोक्य

12 [द्वि]रदें[1]द्रदन्तमुसलप्रान्तस्पृसां[2] प्रेयसां । साक्रन्दै: प्रतिमन्दिरं मकरध्वजोत्पोस[3]चित्तो-
दरे शूलं [प]ल्लवयन्ति ता[भ्य]सलिलै[4]र्यद्वैरिणां व-

13 क्रमा: ॥९॥ आचर्यं जयसिंहविक्रमकथा स्वाध्यायसन्ध्या[5]घनध्वानं यस्य धनुर्द्ध-
(र्ध्व)नि नरपतेर्व्वञ्चन्ति विस्तारिण: । अद्याप्यर्बुदपर्व्वतोदर-

14 दरीद्वारेषु रात्रिंदिवं क्रंदद्भूर्ज्जरवीरकर्ण्णवनितावाष्पाम्बु(म्बु)पूरोर्म्मय:[6] ॥१०॥ एक-
चामृतयुद्धमूर्धनि धनु:सन्धानवीर: कर: कीर्तिं कंदल-

15 य(स)[म]यत्नविरतौ यस्यारिसर्व्वंहय: । यन्नवाम्बु(म्बु)धिवीचिकांचिवसुधामध्ये मनुष्य-
न्द्रिभि: सूक्तै: सत्वधय: शतं व्यवसिता: स्तोतुं तयाप्यक्षमा: ॥११॥

[1] Read dvirad-endra.

[2] Read labhante.

[3] Read sandhyā.

[4] Read spriśati.

[5] Read sādhya°.

[6] [See note 1, p. 53.—Ed.]

16 उत्तमः प्रतिपक्षक्षार्णवपर्वतैस्थैव पद्मोचितः संसारोदरसारसंपदसद्दाध्यायो निधिः
पावसां । यस्या[म्य]पर्वनिय[ब्ध][1]पण्डितशताला-

17 पाविगम्यानिशं[2] [नि]:शंकः कलराजहंस(हंस)विवर्त[वदा]प्यमन्दोत्सवः ॥१२॥
कीर्तिः पार्श्व प्रकृतिपुरुषः पौरुषोत्कर्षभूमिर्भूमिर्भर्तुः भुवनत्रयि-

18 न[3] यस्य मूर्तः प्रतापः । श्रीलीलार्कः समजनि जगदप्रभो वा(बा)लभावादा-
रभ्यैव प्रथितमहसामन्वये दाक्षिमानां ॥१३॥ एकामिव मनी-

19 षामभिनवोत्सेवेन रे[खा]मुखा[4] शुंगाम्युग्य महेन्दुविल्वभिधया वीतान्ध[5]विस्फूर्जितः ।
लोके यस्य पितामहः शुचिमहःपुञ्जविजबाट-

20 यस्याद्यापि दिपदन्तकुंदकुमुदच्छायैयशोरासिभिः[6] ॥१४॥ आसीदस्य पिता पितामह-
मुखाम्भोजैश्चतुर्भिश्चिरं गीतः श्रीगुणराज इत्यति-

21 शयादिग्वेषु वीराग्रणीः । एकः शूरसहस्रसाचिषि रणे चोदयमः [सार्जु]नः[8] प्रौढ़ः
पल्लवयं(यन्) प्रतापमुदयादित्यस्य नित्यमियः ॥

22 १५॥ [च]ञ्चिविचित्रविक्रमध्वजपटपटलैः पाण्डुरैरातपत्रैः पंक्तिन्यस्तैरपास्ताप्रलयघनरवे-
र्भीमढक्कानिनादैः । आ(या)यन्ते यस्य सैन्यान्यविर-

23 लतरलैर्वाजिभिर्वत्रपुंजमा[यैः] प्रासासिपाशप्रणयिभिरपरैरक्षवारैश्च वीरैः ॥१६॥
या[न]भान्सु[:](प्रांशुः) सितांशुप्रतिनिधिवदनः पद्मपत्रायताक्षः

24 पीना[सो] दीर्घबाहुः कनकगिरिशिलासन्निभोरस्थलश्च [।] बाहश्च[ड]स्थितारवकिसलयित-
श्रोत्रमूर्च्छेषु गच्छन्तो मध्ये राजपुत्रेष्वपि य(ब)हुषु परि-

25 भ्राजते रेखयैव ॥१७॥ सुधी[9] वाचि शचिर्मनस्य[जि][10] जगदेव[प्रतीपैरिह दंड-
दंडहर][11]समवनुदिनं वा(बा)ल्याप्रभृत्येव यः । यद्वयामरस-

26 मरेण महतीं रा[ष्ट्र]श्रियं निश्चलां वि(वि)भ्राणः◡ ◡—◡—[12]दलयति देवश्रुमः
पार्थिवान् ॥१८॥ तत्पत्नी पद्मपत्रायतनयनयुगा पद्म-

27 [संकाश][वक्त्रा] नाम्ना पद्मावतीति त्रिजगति विदिता [यमतः सेत]पद्मा ।
एतस्मिन्नपहारे हठहृतवालुपि कारयामास निम्बादित्यप्रासाद-

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[1] Read *vishanna*.

[2] Read *jagi-sañ*.

[3] Read *smitā-sya*.

[4] Mr. K. reads *āśliṣam ell*.

[5] Read *mukhām*.

[6] Read *rāśibhiḥ*.

[7] Read *mukh-āmbhōjaiś-*

[8] [Probably we have to read: *kshida-bhamaḥ (sa)rjo-ch-Arjunaḥ*.—Ed.]

[9] Read *śuddhā*.

[10] Read *suchir-mmanasy-api*.

[11] The reading of the portion with in the brackets is extremely doubtful. It is given by Mr. K. It can be stated with tolerable certainty that there is no such word as *pratishair-iha*. The facsimile reads *pati* ◡ *ha* and there is no space for two letters between *ti* and *ha*. The expression *dandda-dandda-haran* does not yield any plausible sense. [Reading seems to be *dvandvam dvandva-haran*, etc., which might mean, bowing to the couple (*i.e.*, Śiva and Pārvatī) destroying the two bad qualities (*viz.*, passion and ignorance).—Ed.]

[12] Here the letters look like *pra sa* ◡ *ta* ◡ [Reading is *prasabhād-upaḥ*.—Ed.]

28 — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —[1] ॥१९॥ लभतां जगतां
योचैः संगमं हृदयंगमा । सकलसन्यस्तभारेयमन्नलालावचेः कृतिः ॥२०॥

TRANSLATION.

Ôm Salutation to Sûrya!

(V. 1.) Let the object-fulfilling sun be worshipped faultlessly on Sunday, even at an unusual hour with the flowers and shoots of the *Nimba* tree.

(V. 2.) We reverence the tree-like Śiva who is indivisible and first born, who possesses a great extension of shade and is lofty and stands firm in the range of the wood on the shore of the western ocean, the matchless sprouts of whose branches blossom forth at the time of growing in the shape of the three worlds in between the sky and all its quarters.

(V. 3.) May the movement of the eye-brows of the lord Śiva, who looks at the bow (*held*) in his hand with its sprout-like fingers bent, on which (*bow*) when hundreds of serpents had provided it with a string, the body of Vishṇu manifested itself in the guise of a radiant arrow in order to burn the three cities—be (*the cause of*) your prosperity.

(V. 4.) There was a very powerful king named **Pramâra**, known in the three worlds, much regarded by sages through blessings, roused from sleep with many a flattering word by the kings bearing his seal on their heads, who was born of fire through the meditation of Vasishṭha, and was adept in defying the valour of Viśvâmitra.

(V. 5.) In his family was born **Jagaddêva**, the lord of the earth, whose name was true to its sense, and the exertions of whose arms were applied to render all the quarters kingless (*i.e.*, free from enemies),

(V. 6.) whose (Jagaddêva's) father was **Udayâditya**, and whose uncle was the king **Bhôja**. These two kings (*Udayâditya and Bhôja*), having secured the stability as sovereigns of the earth, shone like the sun and the moon.

(V. 7.) Abandoned for ever by their lord, the deer-eyed (*ladies*) of the **Andhra** king, with their butter soft feet, stumbling down, helpless as they were, on the roads, the ground of which was trampled by the hoofs of the horses of his (Jagaddêva's) army, are led by the rows of creepers (*growing*) on the sea-shore supporting them (*as if were*) with their copper-coloured twigs.

(V. 8.) He in sport uprooted the king of **Chakradurga**, and at his command, even now, the streams on the slopes of the mountain, and the female bees in the midst of the forests, recite without ceasing, in different notes coming out of their throats, his all surpassing eulogies, fixed with (*the libation of water in shape of*) the rutty fluid of powerful elephants of his army.

(V. 9.) In every house the weeping widows of his enemies, having seen in **Dôrasamudra** the peak-like heaps of the skulls of their lords, who came in contact with the pointed club-like tusks of his best elephants, increase with tears the acute pain in the heart of the chief of **Malahara**[2].

(V. 10.) It is a matter of great wonder, that, even now, the great flood-tide of tears of the wives of the **Gûrjara** warriors, weeping day and night in the cave-entrances of the **Arbuda** mountain,

[1] This portion is badly mutilated.
[2] [See above, p. 48, n. 5.—Ed.]

indicates fully the twang of his bow, as if it were the deep sound of the recitation of *mantras* in the form of the stories of the valour of **Jayasiṁha.**[1]

(V. 11.) On the one hand, in front of the wonderful conflict, his hand, capable of totally destroying his enemies, and skilled in fitting the bow, does not stop acquiring fame, on the other hand, the poets by hundred in the land which has the waves of the ocean as its girdle, are engaged in praising him with honey-oozing hymns, but even then are unable (*to father the vastness of his glory*).

(V. 12.) It was he who subdued the king **Karṇa** and produced[2] the only fitting lake which rivalled the ocean in collecting beautiful gems in the cavern of the universe. The swans, even now, having heard the hundreds of learned men discoursing together sitting close to it (*i.e.*, the lake) continue without fear, the celebration of his victory.

(V. 13.) There was born in the renowned family of **Dāhimas** an illustrious personage named **Lōlārka**, who, ever since his very childhood, had been dear to the world, who was a repository of fame and excellent valour, who was bravery incarnate, and was a minister of **Udayāditya**, the lord of the earth, and the conqueror of the world.

(V. 14.) His grand-father was **Mahēndu** by name, who, having obtained the only beautiful lady **Suṅgā**, referred to with ever new words of praise and (*bearing auspicious*) marks on her face shone by the sacrificial glamour, and even now gives expression to his pure brilliance in this world with his accumulated fame shining (*white*) like the tusks of elephants, *kunda* flowers, and lotuses.

(V. 15.) His father was **Guṇarāja**, who, on account of his excellence, was the leader of the warriors of the (*three*) worlds, was ever praised by the four lotus-like mouths of Brahmā, who (Guṇarāja) was mature, was like Arjuna alone capable of standing (*any*) test in a battle, witnessed by thousands of warriors, and who, having increased his valour, became ever dear to Udayāditya.

(V. 16.) His armies are known by many waving banners with various designs, by white umbrellas arranged in a line, by loud beatings of (*war-*) drums that could drown even the sound of thundering clouds at the time of the destruction (*of the universe*), by the horses glittering incessantly like a heap of diamonds, and by the riders with lances, swords and nooses.

(V. 17.) Tall like a *Śāla* tree, with his face representing the moon, with his eyes broad like the petals of lotuses, his shoulders bulky, arms long, and chest like the stone of the Kanaka-mountain, he was clearly recognised by these marks among many princes whose ears resembling young shoots were deafened by the neighing of the multitudes of his horses.

(V. 18.) He was, to the satisfaction of Jagaddēva, truthful and pure-hearted, and ever since his childhood he had been paying obeisance to Śiva every day. He maintaining the great and steady royal prosperity, without (*the privilege of the use of*) waving chowries (*only*), crushed forcibly the inimical kings.

(V. 19.) His wife named **Padmāvatī**, resembling Lakshmī in beauty, with lotus-like face, with a pair of eyes wide like petals of a lotus, famous in all the three worlds, built this palace (*i.e.*, temple) of **Nimbāditya** in this city, the corruptions of which were removed by force. . . . .

(V. 20.) May this heart-touching composition of the poet **Aśvatthāman** secure association of the ears of the (*people of this*) world with its responsibility placed upon the learned.

[1] [The proper translation of the verse seems to be :—" It is strange that even to-day the extending waves of the flood of tears of the wives of the Gūrjara heroes weeping night and day in the cave entrances of the Arbuda mountain, indicate the twang of the bow of this king which was (*on the other hand*) the evening thunder in the study of the accounts of Jayasiṁha's valour ". The *Smṛitis* enjoin that the study of the Vedas should be stopped when there is an evening thunder, *cf. Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (T. S. S.), I. 144.—Ed.]

[2] *I.e.*, dug out.

No. 12.—A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, DATED SAKA 806.

By A. S. Altekar, M.A., D. Litt., Benares.

The grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa branch, which is here being edited for the first time, has been neither referred to nor published so far. The set of copper plates on which the grant has been engraved belongs to Mr. Pratapbhai H. Barot of Santa Cruz, Bombay, who very kindly forwarded them to me (through Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University) for decipherment and publication.

The **plates** are **three** in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 11·8" x 8·3". The thickness is about ·1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. The plates are strung together by means of a ring passing through holes perforated at the centre of the upper sides of the plates, about ·3" from the rims. The ring, which is ½" in thickness, has an inner diameter of 2". Its ends have been soldered together by means of a **seal**, being 2" in height and 1½" in diameter at the bottom. Countersunk in its surface is a seated figure, 1" in height, holding hooded snakes in either hand. This is undoubtedly to be identified with the figure of Garuḍa, which is found on many other copper plate grants of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The seal bears no writing.

The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The whole of the record does not seem to have been engraved by one and the same mason. The first plate and the first side of the second one are by the same hand; the latter has no doubt more lines with greater number of letters in each than the former, but this is probably because the mason had at this stage realised that unless economy in space was made, the record could not be finished in three plates. The second side of the second plate and the third plate show a distinctly different and less elegant duct of engraving and are almost certainly by a different engraver.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation. In a few cases, some letters have been damaged but they can be made out from the traces left behind. The surface of the plates has been dressed fairly well, but in a few cases there still remain natural depressions, due to which in some places marks have appeared in the ink-impression which look like letters or medial vowels. Thus at the end of l. 26, the plates have clearly *sachivāvapati* (?) only; but the ink-impression shows *sachivāt-avapati* (?) owing to a depression on the surface to the left of *va* (?) which looks like *t*. In ll. 36 and 39 the mason has correctly engraved *param* and *mayā* respectively, but owing to a depression on the surface after the letters *ra* and *ma* the facsimile show *parāṁ* (?) and *māyā* (?) respectively. In l. 36 the letter *vi* in *vidyut-lōlām* (?) appears like *di* in the facsimile owing to the same cause.

In this document the engraving of individual letters is distinct, but every line is full of several blunders because the mason did not obviously understand what he was copying. Otherwise he would not have written *sūrya-mudāi-cha* (?) *sāvaḥ* (?) for *sūrya-sutāi-cha gāvaḥ* (?) in l. 61. The climax in this respect is reached at the end of the l. 40 and the beginning of l. 41 where the mason has engraved *bhagavaih-chudā-ādhiṣhṭhānā* (?) for *bhagavad-Buddh-ā* (?). It would appear that the copy issued from the secretariate was written in a careless handwriting; the masons, who engraved the document, could not make out all the letters and wrote what they believed to be written on the manuscript before them. The State Record Office did not care to revise and correct the innumerable mistakes committed during engraving.

In Gujarāt during the 9th century two scripts were current, one was the proto-Dēvanāgarī and the other was the lineal descendant of the 'Valabhī' alphabet. The **characters** of this

record belong to the first variety. The signature of Dhruva II, who issued the plates, is, however, engraved in south Indian old-Kanarese characters as is the case with the sign manuals of Karkka and Dhruva I of the Gujarāt branch on their Nausārī[1] and Baroda[2] plates respectively. There can be no doubt that in these records, as in the present one, the masons are imitating the actual duct of the handwriting of the donors. It is therefore clear that even as late as 884 A.D., the date of the present record, the members of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa royal family were accustomed to write in a script which was current neither in northern India, nor in Gujarāt, nor in Mahārāshṭra but in Karṇāṭak. This circumstance is in my opinion very important for determining the home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed. If the original home of the family were in northern India as Fleet had first suggested,[3] or in Mahārāshṭra as Mr. C. V. Vaidya opines,[4] we cannot understand how the princes deputed to rule over Gujarāt could have been using south Indian old-Kanarese script as their mother script.[5] It is true that as early as 779 A.D., the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire had embraced practically the whole of Karṇāṭak including the State of Mysore. But if the royal family had originally belonged to Mahārāshṭra or to northern India, its members deputed to rule over Gujarāt and domiciled there for more than a century, would not have continued to use for their sign manual a script current neither in Rājputāna, nor in Mahārāshṭra, nor in Gujarāt, but in the far-off Karṇāṭak. Karkka was carrying on the administration of the empire at Mālkhed for a long time during the minority of Amōghavarsha I. He and perhaps his son Dhruva I may therefore have picked up the old-Kanarese script, prevailing at Mālkhed, and even used it for their sign manuals in their grants. But by the time of the present grant the Gujarāt branch had long ceased to have any intimate connection with Mālkhed, and the donor of the present grant, Dhruva II, would not have used old-Kanarese characters for his signature, if the former had not been the mother script of the family, carefully preserved by its members even after their domicile in Gujarāt for more than a hundred years.[6] The fact that Krishṇa III of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa house should have used in his Jura inscription[6] Kanarese characters and language to proclaim his victories to the people of Bundelkhand, would also show that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed originally belonged to Karṇāṭak, rather than to Mahārāshṭra or Telangaṇa or Northern India. The whole question of the home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed cannot be discussed here[7]; attention is merely drawn to the light which the sign manuals of the present and some other records of the Gujarāt branch throw on the subject.

A few points of **palaeographical** interest may be noted here. *Ōṁ* at the beginning of the record is denoted by the usual symbol. Two forms of the letter *ra* have been used side by side, cf. *rājasu rāja-siṁhaḥ*, l. 3; the same is the case with the letter *śa*, cf. *śa* in *Śatakratu*, l. 7, with the *śaa* in *Śatakratu-sadṛiśaḥ* in l. 8. The form of the letter *ksha* is highly cursive in some cases, cf. *kshe* in *vaidhurya-daksha* and *kshapa-raya* in l. 14; in other cases, however, the constituent elements of this conjunct can be clearly distinguished, cf. *lakshmīmān*, l. 24. The record contains final *t* and *m*, but the sign of *virāma* has been written in two different ways. In *bhūt*, l. 11, and *sarit*, l. 44, *t* is denoted by a vertical with a slight notch or protrusion on the left; in *vallabhā-bhūt*,

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 135 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XII, pp. 158 ff., and XIV, pp. 199 ff.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 384. In *ante*, Vol. VII, pp. 225-6 he abandons this view and suggests that Lāṭṭalūr may have been their home.

[4] *History of the Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 152-53.

[5] The fact that the signature of the present donor in his Bagumrā grant, dated 867 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 181 ff.) and in Dantivarma's grant of the same year (*Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.), is in proto-Dēvanāgarī characters is obviously due to no attempt being made there to copy the precise script used by the kings.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff.

[7] See Altekar: *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp. 21-5.

l. 29, and *dadyāt*, l. 62, a different symbol of two curves, the larger being above the smaller, is used to denote the same. This very symbol but in the reversed form, the smaller curve being above the larger, has been used to denote *m* in *chitram* in l. 37; while in the case of *m* in *ānumadānām* in l. 71, the *virāma* is written as in modern Dēvanāgarī. When the same words like *yasya* and *tasya* occur consecutively twice in ll. 64 and 65, the numeral 2 is used after the word to indicate that it is to be repeated in reading. The *avagraha* has been denoted in one place only by the modern Dēvanāgarī symbol in *dēya-'ṁśa*, l. 47.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. Engraver's blunders apart, there are only a few mistakes in *sandhi* as noted in the next paragraph. The formal part of the record is in prose; the rest of it is in poetry excepting the letter *ōṁ* at the beginning and the words *tadā ch-āttaṁ Rāmabhadrēṇa* in ll. 64-65.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. (1) *Va* has been throughout used for *ba*. (2) Consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r* have usually been doubled (cf. °*r-ggīrvvāṇaśākhī*, l. 3, °*r-ddhṛiti-dhṛiti-*, l. 5, etc.) with a few exceptions (cf. °*r-bhṛityaiḥ*, l. 9, *sārtha* and *Pārtha*, l. 25). (3) The *anusvāra* is preferably indicated by a dot; if the following letter is a dental, it is usually changed into *n*, but in no place has it been changed to a *ṅ* or *ñ* before a following guttural or palatal. (4) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed, but there are a few exceptions. In vv. 19 and 29 the last letters of the first verse-halves have been coalesced with the first letters of the second verse-halves, and in l. 21 we find a *sandhi* made between the last letter of the v. 15 and the first letter of the v. 16.

The **date** of the record is given in words in ll. 49-50, but the expression giving it is defective. After making the necessary grammatical corrections the expression reads as follows: *Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatēshu shaḍ-uttarēshu*. The most important word denoting the number of centuries has been omitted by inadvertence. There can be, however, no doubt that the expression was intended to be °*saṁvatsara-śatēshv=ashṭasu shaḍ-uttarēshu* and that the record was issued in Śaka 806. This date falls between the latest date of the grantor, known at present, Śaka 799 (supplied by the plates of Dantivarman[1]), and the earliest known date of his successor, Śaka 810, supplied by his Bagumrā plates.[2] Astronomical calculations also confirm this conclusion, for the *Dhanus-saṅkrānti* of Śaka 806 (elapsed) did actually take place on the second day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha as stated in the record. The year had an intercalary month, and so *Dhanus-saṅkrānti* occurred in Mārgaśīrsha instead of Pausha, as is usually the case. The corresponding date according to the Christian Era is **the 23rd of November 884 A.D.** The record thus supplies a new date for Dhruva II, the significance of which will be soon brought out.

The **object** of the present charter is to inform us that when **Dhruva Dhārāvarsha,** son of Akālavarsha, was encamped at **Śrīkhēṭa(ṭa)ka**, *i.e.*, modern Kaira, he granted a village named **Dhaḍayāsaha**, to the Buddhist *vihāra* of **Kāmpilya.** It may be pointed out that this is the same *vihāra*, which had received a donation seven years earlier from Dantivarman, a younger brother of the present grantor.[3] It is tempting to suggest, as has been done by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, that Kāmpilya of this record is identical with the ancient Kāmpilya, situated in Farrukhābād district of U. P., but such is not the case. Kāmpilya of U. P. is of hoary antiquity, while Kāmpilya of this record is said to have been founded by a Buddhist monk of the same name. The former is situated in Farrukhābād district, but Kāmpilya of this record was situated in the ancient district of **Kāntāragrāma**, which is identical with Katargām, situated on the

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.

outskirts of Surat. We must therefore look for our Kāmpilya in Surat district. Our record informs us in ll. 40 and 41 that Kāmpilya-*tīrtha* was situated on the Maddāpī, flowing in Kāntāragrāma district. This Maddāpī river seems to be the same as the Mindhōlā river, which flows in Surat district and joins the Arabian Sea about 10 miles to the south of Surat. I would suggest, not without some hesitation, that Kāmpilya-*tīrtha* of our record, situated on the Maddāpī in Kāntāragrāma district is very probably the village Kāpliā situated on the southern bank of the Mindhōlā, about 25 miles east of Katargām. Kāpliā may be an *apabhraṁśa* of Kāmpilya, or Kāmpilya may be a Sanskritised form of the Prakrit name Kāpliā.

Buddhism was on the decline in the western presidency at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, and it is interesting to note that we come across very few grants recording donations to Buddhist establishments subsequent to the departure of this Chinese traveller. Kāmpilya monastery of Gujarāt probably represented one of the last strongholds of Buddhism. Our record states that 500 monks were residing in this monastery in 884 A.D. Whether this number 500 is a real number, or whether it is a conventional one like that of the disciples of the Buddha mentioned in Buddhist sacred literature, is difficult to determine.

No information is available about the monk Kāmpilya who was the founder of this monastery. The grant was made at the request of the monk Sthiramati,[1] who seems to have been the presiding abbot of the monastery in 884 A.D.

The opening verse of the record contains a salutation to the gospel of the Buddha. The next 31 verses give the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa line. Of these vv. 2-16 describe the rulers of the main line, and the rest those of the Gujarāt branch. Only a few points need be mentioned about the account of the main line supplied by this record. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, his father Indra and grandfather Dantivarman being left out. None of the verses in this record is a new one, and except in the case of Dantidurga, no specific historic exploit is described in connection with any of the emperors of the main line. The account is brought down to Amōghavarsha I. Kṛishṇa II of the main line, who had succeeded his father before the issue of this grant, is passed over, probably because his accession being recent, the secretariate in Gujarāt had not yet got any verses ready in his eulogy. The hostility between the two houses had ceased by this time, and therefore that would not have been the cause of the omission of the name of Kṛishṇa II, especially when we remember that his father, who was the cause of the war, is duly mentioned in the record.

The account becomes more specific with v. 17 when the history of the Gujarāt branch commences. Here also none of the verses is new; they all occur either in the Baroda plates of the donee's grandfather[2] or in his own Bagumrā plates.[3] A few points, however, deserve to be discussed in order to remove some current misunderstandings about the history of the Gujarāt branch. Like most other records, this document also does not mention the prince Gōvinda (a younger brother of king Karkka), who had issued the Kāvi plates in 827 A.D.[4] This circumstance had led Dr. Hultzsch to suggest that he was a usurper against Karkka and is therefore passed over in the charters issued by his successors.[5] Dr. Bühler's view was also the same; he thought that the omission of Gōvinda's name was intentional and was meant as punishment for

[1] The syntax is rather peculiar here. The text reads as *Sthiramati-nāmnā bhikshuṇ-ā*[illegible] *abhyarthya* [illegible]. From what precedes and follows this clause, we expect here a clause in dative, stating that the monastery was presided over by so and so. Instead we have an absolute clause, meaning 'being inclined, *i.e.*, induced (to make the gift) (*abhyarthya*) by the monk Sthiramati,' who was obviously the chief of the establishment. [*Abhi-ruj* may also mean 'to choose' or 'to bring into possession'; [illegible] here probably signifies 'being accepted.'—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 181 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197.

his disloyalty.[1] This opinion of these two distinguished scholars seems to be untenable. It is now shown by the v. 26 of the Sanjān record of Amōghavarsha that he was born at Śrībhavana or Sarbhon in southern Gujarāt in c. 808 A.D., when his father was encamped there at the end of his northern expedition. He was thus a boy of about 6 at the time of his accession. His uncle Karkka was his guardian in his minority. He had to fight hard to reinstate his cousin when the feudatories had rebelled against him; it is therefore clear that he must have spent most of his time at the imperial capital Mālkhed, down to 827 A.D., when the Kāvi plates were issued, if not till a later date. Karkka therefore had naturally to select a deputy to rule Gujarāt on his behalf during his long and continuous absence from his own capital. He had no doubt a grown up son, Dantivarman by name, who is mentioned as the dūtaka in his Baroda plates of 812 A.D.[2] But since Karkka was succeeded not by Dantivarman but by Dhruva, it is clear that Dantivarman predeceased him and died very young. V. 20 of the present record further suggests that Dhruva was born to Karkka probably in his old age after he had spent many a sleepless night owing to his anxiety for having a son. In c. 820 A.D. it is therefore clear that Karkka had no son old enough to be deputed to govern Gujarāt, and therefore his choice naturally fell on his younger brother Gōvinda who was old enough to be entrusted with office as early as 812 A.D.[3] It is worth noting that the Kāvi plates of Gōvinda do not mention his succession at all.[4] He was merely a princely regent appointed by his brother. The later records of the Gujarāt line omit his name, because he was a collateral who had never ascended the throne, and not because he was a usurper. In his Kāvi plates Gōvinda devotes as many as full four verses to the praise of his elder brother Karkka, and two of these, which contain a genuine and heartfelt tribute to his administration, do not occur in any grant either of Karkka himself or of any of his successors.[5] Is it likely that a usurper or a rebel would go out of his way to describe in glowing terms the administration, of the king whom he had ousted! Nor could Gōvinda have been a rebel against Amōghavarsha I. It is true that the Kāvi plates take the genealogy of the main line to Gōvinda III and omit altogether the reigning sovereign Amōghavarsha I. But this omission must be regarded as accidental, for if Gōvinda had been a rebel against Amōghavarsha, he could not have been an admirer or friend of his elder brother Karkka, who was Amōghavarsha's guardian responsible for his restoration. It is clear that all the known facts can be best explained on the assumption that Gōvinda of the Kāvi plates was Karkka's deputy, governing the Gujarāt kingdom on behalf of his brother, while he was absent at Mālkhed during Amōghavarsha's minority.

Vv. 20-31 describe the reign of Dhruva I, Akālavarsha I, and his son, the grantor, Dhruva II. All these three kings were engaged in a continuous war with a king named simply as Vallabha in this and other records. This Vallabha can be none other[6] than Amōghavarsha I of

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 181.

[2] See Tōrkhēḍē plates, ante, Vol. III, p. 57.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

[4] [Similarly this inscription also does not explicitly mention the succession of Dhruva I but we cannot infer from it that he never succeeded.—Ed.]

[5] Cf. one of these (after the necessary corrections) :—

Svarājya-jalpē [illegible] pūrvam-asō [illegible] lōkais tu nṛipasya [illegible] v. 32.

[6] This ruler cannot be the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Parabala, mentioned in the [illegible] pillar inscription dated 861 A.D. (ante, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff.). This record no doubt mentions that an elder brother of Parabala's grandfather had conquered Lāṭa, after conquering a Karṇāṭaka army, and that Parabala himself had inflicted a crushing defeat on a king called Nāgāvalōka. The record, however, does not mention Vallabha as an epithet either of Parabala or of any of his ancestors. The conquest of Lāṭa ascribed to the unnamed elder brother of Parabala's grandfather, supposing it was real, must have taken place much earlier than 835 A.D. after which this was occurred; for Parabala himself was ruling in 861 A.D. The name of the opponent of Parabala himself was Nāgāvalōka, and there is no evidence to show that it was an epithet of any member of the Gujarāt branch.

the main Rāshṭrakūṭa line, who was a contemporary of all these three rulers. *Prithivīvallabha* and *Lakshmīvallabha* appear as his *vallabha*-ending epithets in his Sanjān plates and Nīlgund inscription.[1] It would appear that the cordial relations existing between the main line and the Gujarāt branch came to an end soon after 835 A.D.[2] Either Amōghavarsha was ungrateful, or Dhruva I became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father who had restored Amōghavarsha to the throne. A war ensued between the two in which Dhruva lost his life. V. 23 of this record no doubt says that the armies of Vallabha were routed out in battle, though Dhruva had to lay down his life as the price of the victory. But this statement cannot be accepted at its face value, for v. 25 admits that Dhruva's son and successor Akālavarsha had to re-occupy his paternal kingdom. Akālavarsha's task was not an easy one, for some of his followers had deserted him after his father's death on the battlefield. His victory, supposing it was a real one, did not make matters very easy for his son and successor Dhruva II, the grantor of the present charter. For v. 28 informs us that he was attacked by a mighty Gurjara force, one of his brothers joined the enemy, and Vallabha, i.e. Amōghavarsha, refused him help. Bühler had suggested[3] that the Gurjaras, who had attacked Dhruva II, were the Chāpōtkaṭas. This view has to be abandoned, for v. 41 of the plates of Dhruva II, dated 867 A. D., mentions the mighty Mihira, famous for his cavalry, as the opponent of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[4] This Mihira can be none other than Pratihāra ruler Bhōja I. It is therefore clear that the old historic hostility between the Pratihāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas continued during the reign of Amōghavarsha. Bhōja tried to take advantage of the estrangement between the Gujarāt branch and the main line by launching an attack on Gujarāt. This record no doubt claims that the invasion of the Gurjaras was repelled single-handed by Dhruva. He was however too small a ruler to achieve this feat, and it is not unlikely that realising the disastrous consequences of the annexation of Gujarāt to the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, Amōghavarsha may have eventually hurried help to his rescue. At any rate we know from the Bagumrā plates[5] that Dhruva's successor Krishṇa was receiving help against the Gurjara-Pratihāras from Amōghavarsha's successor Krishṇa II. The same probably may have been the case in Dhruva's time after the conclusion of peace between him and Amōghavarsha.

The relationship between Dhruva II and his successor Krishṇa II is obscure, and the present record throws some new light upon it. Dr. Bhagwanlal had thought it not impossible[6] that this Krishṇa may have been a son of Dantivarman, a son of Karkka, who is mentioned as the *dūtaka* in his Baroda grant dated 812 A.D.[7] It is however very improbable that a son of Dantivarman who was a grown-up prince in 812 A.D., could have ascended the throne more than 72 years later than that date—as shown now by this grant—after the succession had passed to his brother's line for three generations. Dantivarman, mentioned in the Bagumrā record, is almost certainly the younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling as his governor in 867 A.D. as shown by his charter.[8] The Bagumrā plates no doubt suggest that Krishṇa Akālavarsha, the successor of Dhruva II, who had issued that charter, was a son of Dantivarman, the son of Karkka. But this grant is very corrupt and omits altogether Dhruva I, Krishṇa I and Dhruva II, who had undoubtedly ruled over Gujarāt after Karkka. It would appear that one of the *tāḍapatras*, which contained an account of the three missing rulers, was lost in transit when the manuscript

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 99.
[2] Baroda plates of Dhruva I, dated 835 A.D., do not mention the war with Vallabha.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.
[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 127-8.
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.

was sent to the engraver for engraving, and no one subsequently cared to correct the mistake. This would become clear from the last line of verse 19 of that record which, after making the necessary corrections, runs as follows [*Babbhū*]*ra sūnuḥ śrī-Dantivarmmaṇaḥ prabala-pratāpaḥ*. It is obvious that there is a lacuna in this verse after the word *sūnu* in its 4th line. Other records of the Gujarāt branch show that this verse ends as: *Babbhūva sūnur-Dhruvarāja-nāmā*, and describes the birth of Dhruva I, the son and successor of Kakka. It would appear, as suggested above, that one of the *tāḍapatras*, which commenced with the word *Dhruva-rāja-nāmā*, and contained an account of the next three rulers, was lost when the document was despatched by the secretariate to the mason. The extremely corrupt text of the plates convincingly proves that no responsible officer cared to revise the document, as engraved by the mason, and so the omission of the three rulers remained unattended. These plates therefore do not show that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, who succeeded Dhruva, was a son of Dantivarman, who acted as *dūtaka* in 812 A.D.[1]

Was he then the son of Dantivarman, a younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling under him in 867 A.D. as conjectured by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,[2] and had this Dantivarman's reign intervened between the reigns of Dhruva II and Kṛishṇa II, as postulated by Dr. Hultzsch ?[3] The present record makes both these views very improbable. It shows that Dhruva II was ruling down to Śaka 806, and so the interval between the last known year of Dhruva and the first known year of his successor Kṛishṇa II, *viz.*, Śaka 810, is now no longer of 21 years but is reduced to the short period of less than four years. It is therefore very improbable that Dantivarman could have ruled during this interval. It may be further pointed out that the Bagumrā plates of Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha II simply mention the name of Dantivarman, without stating that he had ascended the throne.

The verse 19 of the grant quoted above is followed after one fragmentary and two complete verses, by the name of Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, who had issued the grant. This undoubtedly lends support to the view that Dantivarman was Kṛishṇa's father as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. But we must note that there is a clear lacuna after the words *babbhūva sūnuḥ* and that they were really followed by *Dhruvarāja-nāmā* as shown above. It is therefore difficult to maintain that the Bagumrā plates show that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha was a son of Dantivarman. As a matter of fact the name of Dantivarman remains as an isolated and disconnected name in that very corrupt document, and its existence cannot be satisfactorily explained. The present record mentions a hither-to-unknown son of Dhruva II, Karkkarāja by name, who was the *dūtaka* of the grant. He must have been a grown-up prince in Śaka 806, and since he is not designated as a *yuvarāja*, it is clear that he had another elder brother living at this time.[4] It is difficult to believe that a son of Dantivarman, who was loyal to Dhruva II, could have ascended to the throne after ousting these two sons of the latter within less than four years after the issue of this grant. The names of the son and grandson of Dhruva I were Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha and Dhruva II respectively. It is therefore not improbable that according to the family tradition the eldest son of Dhruva II may have been named after his grandfather Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha and may have been none other than Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha of the Bagumrā plates.[5] This view cannot be yet regarded as proved, but it may be found to represent real history when

[1] [That Bhagvanlal's view was untenable was proved by D. R. Bhandarkar long ago (above, Vol. VI, p. 287). Kielhorn also does not appear to have accepted this view (see above, Vol. VIII, Appendix II, p. 9).—Ed.]

[2] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 287.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 66.

[4] Since Śaka 806 was the fag-end of Dhruva's reign, his successor being known to be ruling in Śaka 810, it is not very probable that Karkka, though the eldest son, may not have been designated here as *Yuvarāja* because his *yauvarājyābhisheka* had not yet taken place.

[5] [The point that Dhruva II had two sons is not at all proved. It is not impossible that Karka was not appointed *Yuvarāja* by this time.—Ed.]

a well preserved and well revised charter of Krishṇa Akālavarsha II of the Gujarāt branch is discovered.

Of the **places** mentioned in this record, **Kāmpīlya, Kāntārugrāma** and **Maddāpī** river have been already discussed. From a very detailed map of Mahuvā and Bardoli *Talukas*, supplied very kindly to me by Dr. S. M. Pagar, the Subhā of Navsari Prant, it is clear that the village **Dhaḍayāsaha**, given by this charter, is the same as the village Dhuṇḍesā, situated in the Mahuvā *Taluka* of Navsari Prant of the State of Baroda. According to the charter, the **Pūravī river** and the villages **Liṅgataḍāgikā, Padhamasṭaṇa** and **Vaḍavallī** were situated to the south, west, north and east respectively of Dhaḍayāsaha. These are to be identified with the Pūrṇā river, Śaṅkaratalāvḍī, Pathrāṇ and Valōḍ respectively, which are situated to the south, south-west, north and east respectively of Dhuṇḍesā. Liṅgataḍāgikā has obviously changed its name to Śaṅkaratalāvḍī in subsequent centuries. **Śrīkhēṭaka** is obviously a mistake for Śrīkhēṭaka, which is the same as modern Kaira. The identification of **Sōmēśvara-tīrtha**, where Dhruva had bathed before making the grant, is difficult; according to the information kindly supplied to me by Muni Vijaya Indra Sūri, there are two other Sōmēśvara-tīrthas besides the well known one at Prabhāsa. The second one is situated at Siddhapura, near Pāṭan in northern Gujarāt, where the rivers Ganges, Jumna and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet, and the third one at Karnālī near Chandod in Baroda district on the confluence of the rivers Orsang and Narmadā. The first two of the above Sōmēśvara-tīrthas were very probably not included in the dominions of Dhruva; the last mentioned one may therefore probably have been the place where he had bathed on the occasion. **Kavarikā** and **Suhilā**, which are mentioned in the record as headquarters of districts of the same name, cannot be identified.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres :—vv. 1, 13, 15, 32, 35 and 36, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2-5, 7, 9, 14, 18, 19 and 21, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6, *Gīti*; vv. 8, 16, 23-27, 29-31 and 39, *Āryā*; vv. 10 and 17, *Sragdharā*; vv. 11 and 20, *Upajāti*; v. 12, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 22, *Indravaṁśā*; v. 28, *Pṛithvī*; vv. 33 and 34, *Indravajrā*; v. 37 *Śālinī* and v. 38, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] स्वस्त्यस्तु भगवतो(ते) सुगतमाम्नाय ॥ स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यं(यन्) नाभिकमलं कृतं(तम्) । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुक-

2 लया कमलंकृतं(तम्) ॥[१*] आसीद्वि(द्वि)षत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिम्न-यन्नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु । भूपः शुचिर्व्वि(वि)-

3 धुरिवाप्तदिम(ग)न्तकीर्त्तिर्ग्गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसि(सिं)हः ॥[२*] दृष्ट्वा चमूमभिमुखो(खीं) सुभटाट्टहासामुन्ना-

4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्य(त्यम्) । दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटि(टिं) ललाटे खड्गं कुलं(लं) च हृदयं च निजं च सत्वं(त्त्वम्) ॥[३*] त-

5 स्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतशुभ्रकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूप-स्त्रिविष्ट(ष्ट)पनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञो(ज्ञः)

[1] From the original plates.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] [illegible] looks like [illegible] in the facsimile owing to the slipping of the instrument.

6 श्रीकक(र्क)राज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बं(र्ब)भूव ॥[४*] तस्य प्रभिन(न्न)ताट-
(करट)च्युतदानदन्ति(न्ति)दत्त(न्त)प्रहारक(रु)चिरोल्लखि(खि)ताक्ष(ंस)-

7 पीठः । क्ष्मा(क्ष्मा)पः क्षि(क्षि)तौ क्ष(क्ष)पित[1]शत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्र(द्रा)ष्ट्रकूट-
कनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[५*] तस्योपार्ज्जितम-

8 हसस्तनयश्च(श्च)तुरुदधिवलय(य)मालि(लि)न्याः [।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक(क्र)तु-
सदृशः श्रीदन्ति(न्ति)दुर्ग्गराजोभूत् ॥[६*] काञ्ची-

9 श(श)ह(के)रलनराधिपचोलपा(पा)ण्ड्यश्रीहर्ष्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्ष(क्षम्) । क(क)-
र्ण्णाटक(कं) ब(ब)लमचिन्त्या(न्त्य)मजेयमन्त्यै(न्यै)र्भृ-

10 त्यैः(त्यैः) कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिमा(गा)य ॥[७*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते
वल्लभराजे [2]क्षतप्रजाबा(बा)धः । [श्री*]कर्क्कराजसूनुर्म्म-

11 हीपतिः श्री[3]कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[८*] गाढप्रमाणभुजजातव(ब)लावलेपमाजौ(जौ)
विजित्य(त्य) निशितासिलताप्रहारैः ।

12 पाली(लि)ध्वजावली(लि)शुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमे[4]श्वा(श्व)रतां
ततान ॥[९*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविक-

13 रमा(रा)तप(ता)पात्सलीलं जग्मे नासीरधूलीधवली(लि)तशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः
सदाजौ । श्रीमद्गोविन्दराजो जि-

14 न(त)जगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्षः[5]स(त्स्त)स्यासीत्सू(त्सू)नुरेकः क्षणरणदलि(लि)तारा(रा)ति-
मत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१०*] तस्यानु-

15 जः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावोप्रहतप्रत्य(ता)पः [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्र-
चक्रः क(क्र)मेण बा(बा)लार्क्कव(व)-

16 पुर्ब्ब(र्ब)भूव ॥[११*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सद्भू(द्भू)पचूडा[6]मणौ
गुर्व्वी(र्वी) तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सु-

17 स्वामिनि प्रत्यहं(हम्) [।*] सत्यं सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्ष्मामासमु-
द्रा(द्रा)न्ति(न्ति)कामाशीद्धर्म्मपरे गु-

18 णामृतनिधौ(धौ) सत्यव्रताधिष्ठि(ष्ठि)ते ॥[१२*] रक्षता येन निःशेष(षं) चतुर-
म्भोधिसंयुतं(तम्) । राज्यं

[1] Here we have the alternative form of the letter श.

[2] The horizontal bar of ए in क्ष is missing.

[3] Metre requires श्री to be omitted here. The letter has been wrongly transposed from कर्कराज to कृष्णराज.

[4] Here we have the alternative form of श.

[5] This form of स्त is quite common in this plate.

[6] Owing to the slipping of the instrument ड looks like थ.

Second Plate; First Side.

19 धर्म्मेण लोकाना(नां) कर्ता वृद्धि[:*] परा हृदि ॥[१३*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति गोत्रललाम-

20 भूतः । त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रताप[:*] सन्तापिताहितजनो जनव-ल्लभोभूत् ॥[१४*] तत्पुत्रे च गते नाक-

21 मारोपितरिपुव्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्व्वाख्यः ख्यातो राजाभवद्गुणी[1][:॥१५*] र(य)र्थिषु यथार्थतां यः समभीष्ट-

22 फलावाप्तिलब्ध(ब्ध)तोषेषु । वृद्धिं निनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[१६*] राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूभ(द्भूत्यभा)-

23 वैकहेतुर्ल्लक्ष्मीमानिन्द्रराजो गुणनृपतिकरोतचमत्कारकारी । रागादन्यान्व्यु(न्व्यु)-दस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपा[:*] सेव-

24 माना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावं(वम्)[2] ॥[१७*] श्रीकर्क-राज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारः कुलस्य तनयो

25 नयशालिशौर्यस्त(र्यः ।[3] त)स्याभवद्विभे[4](भ)वनंदितवं(बं)धुसार्थः पार्थः सदैव धनुषि प्रथमः शुचीनां(नाम्) ॥[१८*] स्वेच्छागृहीतविषयान्द्र(न्दृ)-

26 ढसंघ(घ)भाजः प्रोद्वृत्तदृप्ततरशुल्किकराष्ट(ष्ट्र)कूटान्(न्[5] । उ)त्खातखड्गनिजबा(बा)-हुब(ब)लेन जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरा[त्][6] स्वपदे

27 व्यधत्त ॥[१९*] पृथ्वीपतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृती कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्यो(र्यः[7] ।) [8]वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रवृन्दो ब(ब)भूव सूनुर्ध्रु(र्ध्रु)वराजनामा ॥[२०*]

28 मन्दो जडो हिमगिरिस्त्वहिम[:*] प्रकृत्या वातश्चलश्च प(त)प[न*]स्तपनस्वभावः । क्षारः[9] पयोनिधि[10]रिति तैस्समस्य नास्ति येनोपमा

29 निरुपमस्तत एव गीतः ॥[२१*] ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमेतत्किमिति प्रजासृजा न सम्यमाणेन पुरा विनिर्म्मि(र्म्मि)तं(तम्) । एवं विचिन्त्य ध्रुवराजकीर्त्ति-

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[1] Here not only are the usual *dandas* omitted, but a *sandhi* is made between the last letter of v. 15 and the first one of v. 16.

[2] Owing to a natural depression on the plate, there appear in the *facsimile* three vertical lines at the end of this verse; really there are only two in the original.

[3] The usual *danda* at the end of the half-verse is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

[4] The medial *e* mark is quite clear on the original, though not in the facsimile.

[5] Here also the *danda* at the half-verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

[6] Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the facsimile shows a faint trace of त्; on the plate, however, no त् has been engraved.

[7] Here also the *danda* at the half-verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

[8] The letters वृषि are damaged but they are clear on the original plate.

[9] क्ष is damaged but clear on the plate.

[10] Metre requires us to read पयोधि.

30 र्व्विधातुरासीद्भुतरामसूयिनी ॥[२२*] तस्मि(स्मि)न्नपि खड्गखातैन्वनभदंड पदा-
प्रबोधलक्ष्य । स(श)स्वमतखड्गदेवः [1]धर्म्मसमादिक

31 एवासी ॥[२३*] तस्याशेषनराधिपस्तनयस्तः सर्व्वलोकगतकीर्त्तिः । श्रीमान-
कालवर्षस्तनयः स समभूत्कृष्णराजस्व(स्य) ॥[२४*] वसुम-

32 दश्वाक्रान्तं विघटितदुष्टानुजीविवर्गेण । पितृपर्य्यागतम[2]चिरात्कमलजमप्याजितं
येन ॥[२५*] प्रियवादी सत्यधनः श्रीमान-

33 नुजीविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपक्षक्षोभकरः शुभतुङ्गः शुभकरः सुहृदाम् ॥[२६*]
तस्मिन्स्वर्गो(र्गं) भूते गुणवति गुणवान्गुणा-

34 धिकप्रीतिः [।*] समभूद्ध्रुवराजसमो ध्रुवराजस्तुहिनकरकीर्त्तिः ॥[२७*] यस्तोभि-
मुखमाप[त*]द्व(ब)लगूर्जरराजं ब(ब)लं ।[3] यतो विसृजद्व-

35 भी विकृतिमागता वां(बा)धवाः । यतोनुगधिकुर्व्वितं गमगमनागमस्तं भयादशो
स्फुरणमङ्गलं निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥[२८*] गूर्ज्जरव(ब)ल-

36 मतिव(ब)लवत्[4]सुयद्युपहृ(ड्ढ)ङ्क्रितं[5] च कृष्णेन । यत्नाविनैव विजितं पराङ्मुखं
लीलया येन ॥[२९*] यथाभिषिक्तमात्रः पर[6] श्रम-

37 स्यागमी[7]र्त्तितोवाय । शुभतुङ्गजीवितुमं पदं [व]दाप्नोति गो चित्रम् ॥[३०*]
वैनिदमनिलविधुतचलमालोक्य जीवितमसारं [।*]

38 क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो धर्म्मदायोयं(यम्) ॥[३१*] स च समधि-
गताशेषमहाशब्द(ब्द)महासामन्ताधिपतिश्री(र्धी)रावर्षश्रीध्रुवरा-

39 जदेवः सर्व्वानेव समनुवो(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदित(तम्) ॥ यथा मया[8]
श्रीखेग(ट)ककटकावस्थितेन[9] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चै(श्चै)हि-

40 कामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चिरंतनजयविकापर[10]विषयसंज्ञा(ज्ञ)ान्तर्गतसमन्तारया-
मप्रतिब(ब)द्धमहापौ[11]महितोरे भग-

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[1] The letter [illegible] is damaged but quite clear on the plate.

[2] The letter [illegible] is damaged.

[3] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Read [illegible].

[4] Letters [illegible] are clear on the plate.

[5] Read सद्युत इंडित.

[6] Owing to a depression on the plate surface, the letter र appears like रा. No medial *ā* sign has, however, been engraved.

[7] Letters [illegible] are faint in the facsimile, but clear on the plate.

[8] Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the letter [illegible] appears like [illegible]. The medial [illegible] mark has, however, not been engraved at all.

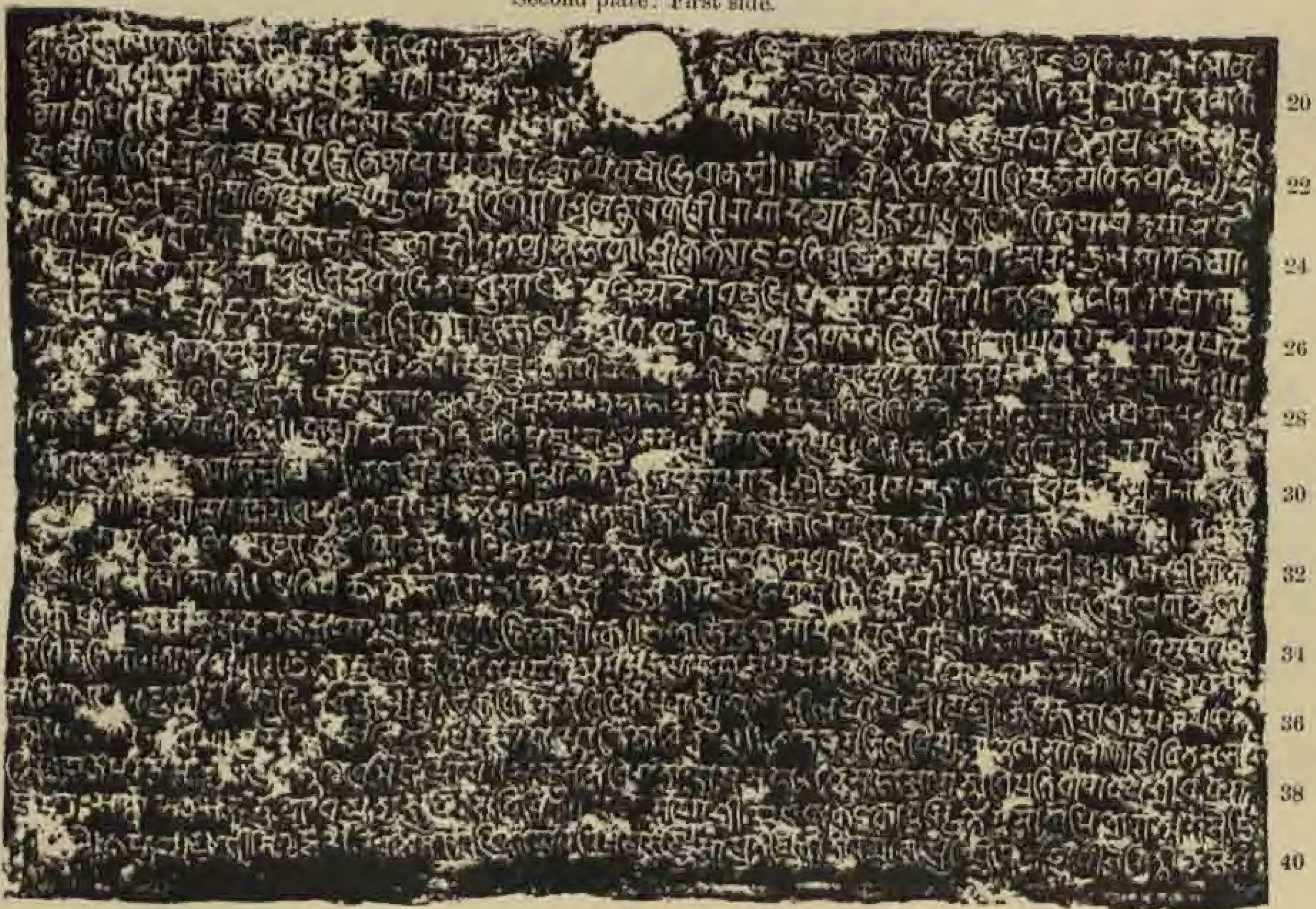
[9] The letter [illegible] has been only half engraved.

[10] [Reading may be *Kamrit-Śikhu*.—Ed.]

[11] [Reading of this name is doubtful.—Ed.]

A New Copper Plate of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Branch, Saka 806

Second plate: First side.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3300 E'34—425.

Scale three-quarters

Survey of India, Calcutta.

A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, SAKA 806

Second plate: Second side.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI

Reg. No. 3350 E'34—425.

SCALE: THREE-QUARTERS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

41 वसुधाधिष्ठाने[1] पंचशतानि तीर्थानां विनयित्वा[2] कापित्थमुनिना कारित-
मठाधिष्ठा-
42 [3]नं वसनाय कापित्थतीर्थकर्मप्रकाय स्थिरमतिनाम्ना भिक्षुणाचर्यं च श्रीमते
43 दु(दु)र्गभट्टारकाय सुविज्ञाविषयान्तर्वर्ती भडयासखाभिधान(न)ग्रामो यस्याघा-
44 टनानि पूर्वतो वडवली ग्रामसीमा ॥ दक्षिणतः पूरावो सरित् ।[।]
पश्चिमतो लिम्ब[4](ब)-
45 तडागिकाग्रामसीमा ॥ उत्तरतः पठमगूच ग्रामसीमा ॥ एवमयं
चतुराघाट-
46 नोपलक्षितः सोद्र(द्र)ङ्गः स(सो)परिकरः स(स)सीमापर्य(र्य)न्तः सन(र)क्षितः
सवृक्षमा-
47 लाकुलः सद(द)ण्डदशाप(प)राधः सविष्टिकादेयो[5]ऽचाटभटप्रवेश्यः[6] वालोहरी-
48 यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो ॥[7] आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमका-
49 लीनः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायवर्जि(र्जि)तोऽभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या शकनृपकालातीत(त)-
सं(सं)-
50 वत्सरशतेषु [षट्सु*] षट्(ड्)त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु मार्ग्गसिरब(ब)हुलद्वितीयाया(यां) भगवति
सवितरि धनुषि संक्रा-
51 न्ते महापर्वणि सोमेश्वरसंगमतीर्थे स्नात्वोद[8]कातिसर्गेण गन्धपुष्पधू-
52 पदी(दी)पैत्यादिक्रियोपवर्त्तनार्थं तथा बालाध्ययनस्य(स्य) खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्थं
च वि-
53 हारस्य प्रतिपादितस्त[स्य*] यतसमुचितया[9] देवदायस्थित्या भिक्षुविषय-
स्थोभिक्षु-
54 स्त(स)स्य प्रतिवासतो भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतो न परिपन्थना
55 कार्या [।*] तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदान(न)फल(ल)-

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1 Read वसपुरा°.

2 Read विनय.

3 Space for two letters has been left out at the beginning of this line. [No space is left out; the first three letters are to be read as 'rigiya'.—Ed.]

4 [This conjunct letter appears to be seen in the impression.—Ed.]

5 Anusvāra in the modern form occurs at this place only in this record.

6 Read °देयो.

7 These dandas are superfluous.

8 Read either कारिद° or कालादोद°.

9 Read समुचितया.

Third Plate.

56 मित्यवधार्य ¹विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्व(श्व)र्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबि(बि)न्दुचञ्च-
57 लं जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यः² ॥
58 यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छि(च्छिं)³द्यादाच्छिद्यमान(नं) वानुमोदेत स
पंचभिर्म्महापातकै-
59 रुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं⁴ च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं⁵
वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
60 र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छे(च्छे)त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे⁶ ॥[३२*]
अग्नेरपत्य(त्यं) प्रथम(मं) सुवर्ण्ण(र्ण्णं) भूर्व्वे(र्व्वै)-
61 ष्णवी सूर्य(र्य्य)सु(सु)ताश्च(श्च) गा(गा)वः । लोकास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता
यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[३३*] यानीह
62 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
तानि को नाम साधुः
63 पुनराददीत ॥[३४*] विन्ध्य(न्ध्या)द(ट)वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं ह-
64 रन्ति ये(ये) ॥[३५*] ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता⁷ राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य २⁸ यदा तु(भू)मिस्तस्य २⁸ तय(दा) य(फ)लं(लम्) ॥[३६*] तथा
65 चोक्त(क्तं) रामभद्रेण ॥ सर्व्वा(र्व्वा)नेतान्भा(न्भा)विनः पार्त्थिवेन्द्राय(न्) भूयो २⁸
याचते री(रा)मभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसे(से)-
66 तुर्न्नृपाणां का(का)ले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[३७*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)-
बि(बि)न्दुलोलां श्रि(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनु-
67 ष्यजीवितं [च] ॥⁹ अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्न्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो-
प्याः ॥[३८*] श्रीक-
68 ण्ठराजनामा तदाकर्णे(र्ण्णो)वापि दापको दूतः । याचकजन(न)चित्तचिन्ता-
(म्बो)तापहीनोमिकुसु-
69 दानाम् ॥[३९*] स्वहस्तो(स्तो)यं श्रीभुवराजदेवस्य¹⁰ ॥¹¹ लिखितं चैत-
70 न्यरा(या) वलभी(भि)वास्तव्यमहासान्धिविग्रहिकमहापटलाधिपतिश्रीदीन्तेन(न) श्रीक-
71 दवलोकितानन्देनेति ॥

¹ Owing to shallow engraving, the letter फि appears like हि in the facsimile.

² Read पालयितव्यः ।

³ Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, an anusvāra appears over the letter च्छि, whereas none in fact has been engraved.

⁴ The letter क्त has been damaged.

⁵ Read षष्टिं वर्ष°.

⁶ Read वसेत् ।

⁷ The letter क्ता is damaged.

⁸ The numeral 2 is used to indicate that the preceding word is to be repeated in reading.

⁹ Here two dandas are wrongly engraved instead of one.

¹⁰ The signature is in old Kanarese characters.

¹¹ After the signature and before the word लिखितं is engraved an ornamental design.

A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, SAKA 806

Third plate.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

Reg. No. 2350 E'38-425.

SCALE: THREE-QUARTERS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

NO. 13.—BRAHMANAPALLI GRANT OF KARKKA SUVARNNAVARSHA : SAKA 746.

By B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., Baroda.

The copper-plate grant described here consisting of **three plates** joined together by means of a circular ring to which is attached a seal, was purchased from a resident of Barodā and is now preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute at Barodā. This is one of the unpublished records of Karkka Suvarṇṇavarsha of Gujarāt and is unquestionably of great historical value for the State of Barodā, if not for the Bombay Presidency ; indeed, this as well as other copper-plates granted by the same king refer to grants of lands and villages all situated in the territory of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Barodā, and some of the old names can with little difficulty be identified with the names of villages now in existence.

The plates measure 11″ by 8″ and are of about ¼″ in thickness with the rims fashioned thicker than the rest for the protection of the writing. A hole is bored at the top through the middle of all the three plates, and through this hole passes a massive ring, slightly oval in shape, ½″ thick and 4½″ in diameter, which holds them together. On the ring appears a **seal** circular in shape and 1¾″ in diameter on which is embossed a figure of Garuḍa without any legend. The plates and the writing are very well preserved and the letters are very distinctly incised. The first and the third plates are incised on one side only while the second is engraved on both sides. The **script** of the record resembles that usually found in the inscriptions of the Valabhī rulers. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of the symbol at the commencement, the portion recording the grant (ll. 52-68) and the concluding lines (ll.77-80) the rest of the inscription is in verse. The signatures of the king **Suvarṇṇavarsha** and his overlord **Amôghavarsha** appear at the end and are in distinctly different characters which are more akin to the Southern script than the Northern. The verses of this grant occur in other grants, particularly the Nausāri plates[1] of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Karkka I and also in the Kāvi plates[2] of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Gōvinda. The weight of the plates including the seal is 9 lbs.

With regard to **orthography** the following are worthy of note : (i) the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* ; (ii) the almost invariable change of the *visarga* to *s* when followed by *p* ; (iii) the doubling of *d* and *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* or *v* and (iv) the substitution of *jihvāmūlīya* for *visarga* in all cases when followed by *k*.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Brāhmaṇapallikā** in the **Māhishaka**-*vishaya* of forty-two villages, which is bounded by the villages of Kavaḷāikā in the north, Likkavalli in the south, Nāhaḍa in the east and Dhāḍiyappa in the west. The **date** of the inscription is the **full moon day of Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 746, Mahāvaiśākhaparvan** and probably corresponds to Sunday, the 17th April, 824 A. D. The *Dūtaka* was **Durgarāja** and the name of the officer who drafted the order was **Nārāyaṇa**, the *Sāndhivigrahika* or the Minister of Peace and War. The grant was ratified by the Emperor *Śrīmad*-**Amôghavarshadēva**, son of Śrī-Jagattuṅgadēva. At the end of the inscription are given the sign manual of Karkkarāja the donor, as well as that of his overlord Amôghavarsha.

The present record refers itself to the reign of **Karkka-Suvarṇṇavarsha**, son of Indra belonging to the **Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.** Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III, is here spoken of as becoming the lord of Lāṭa which was given to him by Gōvinda.

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 135 ff.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.

According to Bühler[1] 'Lāṭa' corresponds to what is now known as Central and Southern Gujarāt —the country between Māhi and Koṅkaṇa, but he held from the traceable localities mentioned in the Kāvī and Barodā inscriptions that Lāṭa was confined in the 9th century to much narrower limits. But we know from the Nausāri plates[2] that the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas ruled over a tract of country lying between the two rivers Māhi in the north and the Narmadā in the south.

Indrarāja had two sons, namely, Karkkarāja and Gōvindarāja. Karkka had given several grants of land during his life time and four of them including the present have so far come to light, namely, the Barodā plates[3] the Nausāri plates[4], the Surāt plates[5] and the present one which may be called for the sake of convenience as the Brāhmaṇapalli grant. The Barodā plates are dated in Śaka 734, the Nausāri in Śaka 738, the Surāt in Śaka 743 and the Brāhmaṇapalli in Śaka 746. It appears, therefore, that Karkka ascended the throne sometime before Śaka 734 and continued to rule till 746 or a little later. But from the above it cannot be assumed that Karkka's reign was entirely uneventful or even continuous, for in the Śaka year 735 we find his younger brother Gōvindarāja[6] giving away a village near Barodā as a bhūpāla showing that he ruled over Central Gujarāt in the same year. The second grant[7] made by him is dated in Śaka 749 or fourteen years later. Now, this gives rise to a chronological tangle which has not been satisfactorily explained by any writer of Gujarāt history up till now. The discovery of the present inscription which is the last in the Karkka series of grants, so far known, makes it all the more imperative to examine the question more thoroughly.

Two explanations of this unique circumstance may be offered. Several inscriptions of the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas' state that Karkka restored the kingdom of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa from the hostile claimants and placed the rightful owner Amōghavarsha on the throne[8]. This event must have taken place sometime in 736 Śaka (A. D. 814)[10] because we find the name of Amōghavarsha mentioned in a charter of Śaka 738[11] which is perhaps the first during his rule so far obtained. Karkkarāja who was ruling over Gujarāt naturally had to leave his own kingdom to assist Amōghavarsha of the main line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and probably during his absence he directed his younger brother to look after his dominions. He must have subsequently come back, and we find him issuing a second charter in the year Śaka 738[12]. The inscriptions issued by his younger brother both in Śaka 735 and 749 testify to his great devotion and loyalty towards his elder brother Karkkarāja[13].

The other explanation that can be offered in solution of the difficulty above referred to, is by assuming that the younger brother definitely became hostile in about 735 Śaka towards his elder brother when he had not quite settled down and with the help of adventurers overthrew him by treachery. Karkka thus was obliged to go back to the south to seek the help of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the main line at Mānyakhēṭa. He must have there discovered a conspiracy to deprive the legitimate claimant Amōghavarsha from obtaining the throne, amongst his relatives. He naturally supported the rightful claimant and by his prowess set him up on the ancestral throne, and as a mark of favour obtained from Amōghavarsha the necessary help to overthrow his

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.
[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 140, ll. 40-41.
[5] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.
[6] Tōrkhēḍē plates (above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.).
[7] Kāvī plates of Gōvindarāja, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, 144.
[8] See e.g., Barodā plates of Dhruvarāja I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 199 ff.
[9] *Ibid.* . . . . [illegible] ॥
[10] [Dr. Altekar places this event between A. D. 817 and 821 (above, Vol. XXI, p. 129).—Ed.]
[11] The Nausāri plates *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 135.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] [Dr. Altekar also has come to a similar conclusion, above, p. 68.—Ed.]

brother Gōvindarāja who had unrighteously obtained the kingdom of Gujarāt. Till we are in possession of further details it will be futile to draw any definite conclusions and the historians are left to judge for themselves which of the two alternatives will be more acceptable.

A third explanation that both the brothers Karkka and Gōvinda ruled at the same time is hardly admissible because in that case this fact would have been mentioned in the charters issued by both. Both these brothers give away land near about Barodā, and Vaṭapadraka is mentioned as either the principal village or a surrounding village in the charters attributed to both, and it is not possible that the kingdom of Gujarāt should be so divided as to permit two brothers to rule at the same time over two different tracts.

Another point to which attention of historians may be drawn is the significance of the signs manual of the two kings Karkka and his overlord Amōghavarsha, for this has a direct bearing on the question of the relation between the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the main line of Mānyakhēṭa. It may be noted in this connection that the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas persistently call themselves as *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and sometimes as the ruler of the *Lāṭīya-* or *Lāṭēśvara-maṇḍala*.[1] But it is in the present inscription that we find the earliest example of the practice of putting in the joint signatures of the *Sāmanta* and his overlord. This proves beyond doubt that in so far as the present inscription is concerned, Karkka acknowledged the suzerainty of king Amōghavarsha of the main line. In the earliest inscription of Karkka which is dated Śaka 734 there is the signature of Karkka but not of his overlord. In the next two inscriptions issued in Śaka 738 and 743 there is also one signature of Karkka but no signature of the overlord who in these cases is Amōghavarsha. In the Tōrkhēḍē inscription[2] of Śaka 735 his brother Gōvindarāja calls himself a *bhūpāla* and Buddhavarasa as his *Mahāsāmanta* who was enjoying an estate called the Sīharakkhī Twelve which was given to him by Gōvindarāja. No signature either of Gōvinda or Karkka or the overlord appears in the inscription. Though ostensibly a negative point, the omission of signatures in the grants issued by the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas from Śaka 734 to 746 is nevertheless significant, particularly because in the grant under consideration the signature of the overlord makes its first appearance. Be it noted, however, that the name of the paramount sovereign does occur in inscriptions, though not the sign manual.

All the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas have a special topographical interest for the State of Barodā, as most of the villages granted by the kings are situated in the Barodā State. It will be out of place here to take up all the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa kings and make an attempt to identify the villages mentioned therein, as this is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. I, therefore, propose to deal with the grants of the land specially made by Karkka in his inscriptions[3], so far available, and make an attempt to identify the places in order to correct some of the old inaccuracies.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 184. [2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.

[3] I do not take into account the places mentioned in the Surat Plates, as according to the editor, Dr. Altekar, all these are situated in the Navasāri District of the Barodā State. But these identifications are open to doubt since we feel that Karkka's territories were confined to the country situated between the Māhī and the Narmadā. If we accept Dr. Altekar's identifications we shall have to conclude that Karkka extended his sway much beyond the Narmadā so as to include Navasāri within his kingdom. But for this, there is no evidence in the inscriptions of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas except the doubtful identification of Nāgasārikā with Navasāri, the river Pūrṇā with Pūrṇā and the river Vaṅkikā with Vaṅki Creek 30 miles further south of Navasāri. The village Ambāpāṭaka which is described as contiguous to Nāgasārikā (*Nāgasārikā-pratibaddha*) is identified with Āmadpur which is on the other side of the Pūrṇā river at a distance of 5 miles. And I do not see any reason why the Vāpī is given to the Jaina Āchārya when the donor is 30 miles away from the place. Frankly, I have grave doubts as regards the correctness of these identifications, though I am not able to offer anything better. (See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.) [Dr. Altekar says that in Gujarāt fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them and hence Hiraṇyayōgā-Dhāshu-vāpī is the name of a field.—Ed.]

The first records the grant of a village named as Vaṭapadraka also known as Vaṭapura which was included in the *vishaya* of Aṅkōṭṭaka consisting of eighty-four villages. The main village was bounded by villages Vagghāchchha in the north, Mahāsēnaka tank in the south, and the villages Jambuvāvikā in the east and Aṅkōṭṭaka in the west.[1] For the history of Barodā the above grant is extremely valuable in as much as this is the earliest mention of the village of Vaṭapadraka which is now known as Barodā, the capital of the most enlightened House of the Gaekwads. Aṅkōṭṭaka and Jambuvāvikā have been identified by Fleet with the modern villages of Aṅkōṭ and Jambuvā. Mr. (now Dr.) Altekar[2] has identified the village of Vagghāchchha with the modern village Vāghoḍiā.

The Nausāri plates[3] record the gift of two different villages to a Brāhman issued from the same place Khēṭaka. The first consists of a village included in the territory lying between the Māhi and the Narmadā, known as Śamīpadraka which is bounded by the villages Dhāhadva in the north, Chōrundaka in the south, Gōlikā in the east and Bharthāṇaka in the west. The village Chōrundaka has been identified with the modern village of Chōranḍā, Bharthāṇaka the modern Bharthanā and Dhāhadva the modern Dhāvaṭa in the Karjan *tālukā* in the Gaekwad's territories.[4] If we take these three villages as the three boundaries we find that enclosed within there is no village in modern times which can be identified with either Śamīpadraka or Gōlikā which are, therefore, unidentifiable. The identification offered by Dr. Bhandarkar of Śamīpadraka as 'Sandāra' does not seem to be reliable.

The second grant in the same inscription refers to the gift of a village in the District of Maṅkaṇikā, by name Sambandhī which is bounded by the villages Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa in the north, Brāhmaṇapallikā in the south, Sajjōḍaka in the east and Karañjavasahikā in the west. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies the village Sajjōḍaka with modern Sajod and Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa with modern Māṇḍwā both of which seem to be incorrect, because we have to look for their identification in the Saṅkheḍā *tālukā* and not in the Āṅkleswar *tālukā* as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar. Maṅkaṇikā has to be identified with the well-known village of Māṅkṇī in the Saṅkheḍā *tālukā* of the Barodā State, Sambandhī with modern Samadhī, Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa with Kāṭhmāṇḍvā, and Brāhmaṇapallikā with modern Bāmṛōlī, all situated in the Saṅkheḍā *tālukā*.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription the village **Brāhmaṇapallikā** should be distinguished from the village of the same name which is included in the Maṅkaṇikā district, as here it forms a part of the **Māhishaka** district. The regular phonetic equivalent for **Kavalōika** is Kōilī or Kōyalī and this is the name of a modern village situated in the Barodā *tālukā*. Taking Kōilī as the starting point and travelling south we reach a village named Bāmangām which seems to be the village now representing the ancient village of Brāhmaṇapallikā in the district of Māhishaka. The other names, however, cannot now be identified.[5]

TEXT.[6]

First Plate.

1 ओं[7] स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलङ्कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलङ्कृतं ॥[१*] पायाद्वियत्निमि-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 164.

[2] *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ*, p. 37.

[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 147.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 136 and 140.

[5] In identifying the different villages named in the grants, I have received considerable help from my esteemed friend Mr. V. Y. Kachalkar who was formerly the Survey and Settlements Superintendent of the Government of Baroda.

[6] From the original plates and photographs.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

2 रम्युद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिं व्रजत्यभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु । भूपः शुचिर्व्विधुरिवास्त(स्त)-
दिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज

3 इति राजसु राजसिङ्घः(सिंहः) ॥[२*] दृष्ट्वा चमूमभिमुखीं सुभटाट्टहासा-
मुन्नामितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।

4 दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृदयं च निजं च
सत्त्वं ॥[३*] खड्गं कराग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभा मा-

5 नो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्त्रयं रिपूणां
विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥[४*] तस्यात्म-

6 जो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूपस्त्रिविष्ट-
[प*]नृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्क्करा-

7 ज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव ॥[५*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्ति ।[1] दन्तप्र-
हाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः ।

8 क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[६*]
तस्योपार्ज्जितमहसस्त-

9 नयश्चतु[रु*]दधिवलयमालिन्या[:*] । भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्ति-
दुर्ग्गराजोभूत् ॥[७*] काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोल-

10 पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं । कार्णाटकं बलमचिन्त्यमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः किय-
द्भिरपि यः सहसा जि-

11 गाय ॥[८*] अभ्रूविभङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रान्तमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतयत्नं । यो
वल्लभं सपदि दण्ड-

12 बलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[९*] आसेतोर्व्विपुलोप(प)लाव-
लिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमालाजलादा-

13 प्रालेयकलङ्कितामलशिलाजालात्तुषाराचला[2] [।*] दापूर्व्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रा-
न्तप्रसिद्धावधेर्य्येनेयं ज-

14 गती स्वविक्रमबलेनैकातपत्रीकृता ॥[१०*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्र-
जाबाधः । श्रीकर्क्कराजसू-

15 नुर्म्महीपतिः श्रीकृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[११*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषोत्सादितारि-
दिक्चक्रं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं

16 चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजः[3]स्य ॥[१२*] शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूद्धरविकिरणं ।
ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखि-

[1] The daṇḍa is superfluous. Read -danti-danta-.

[2] Read -tushār-āchalād ā pūrvā°.

[3] Visarga superfluous.

17 तं प्राइट्कालायते कष्टं ॥[१३*][2] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीहित-
मजस्र[ं*] । तत्त्वगुण-

18 कालवर्षी वर्षति सर्व्वार्तिनिर्व्वापणं ॥[१४*] राजस्यमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपमाजौ
विजित्य निशितासिल-

19 ताप्रहारै[1] [।*] ᳶपालिध्वजावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
ततान ॥[१५*] क्रोधादुत्खातखड्ग-

20 प्रसृतरु(रु)चिचयैर्भ्भासमानं समन्तादाजावुद्वृत्तवैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षोभदक्षं ।

21 शौर्य्यं त्यक्तारिवर्ग्गो भयचकितवपुः क्वापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो दर्प्पाध्मातारिचक्रक्षयकर-
मत(ग)-

Second Plate ; First Side.

22 मदस्य दोर्द्दण्डरूपं ॥[१६*] पाता यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनालङ्कारभाजो भुवस्त्रय्याश्चापि
कृतद्विजामरगु(गु)रुप्राज्याज्य-

23 पूजादरो । दाता मानभृदग्रणीर्गु(र्गु)णवतां योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं
स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं

24 जगा(गा)मामरं ॥[१७*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं जग्मे(ग्मे)
नासीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा

25 वल्लभाख्यः सदाजौ । श्रीमद्गोविन्दराजो जितजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्षस्तस्यासी-
त्सूनुरेकः क्षण-

26 रणदलितारातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१८*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावोप्र-
हतप्रतापᳶप्रसाधि-

27 ताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालार्कवपुर्ब्बभूव ॥[१९*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूट-
तिलके सद्भूप-

28 चूडामणौ गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं [।*] सत्यं
सत्यमिति प्रशासति स-

29 ति क्षामासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्धर्म्मपरे गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥[२०*]
हृष्टोत्कटं योस्मिन्-

30 नाथ सर्व्वं सर्व्वक्रमानन्दितबन्धुवर्ग[3]ᳶप्रादात्प्रहृष्टो हरति स्म वेगा(गा)-
त्याणान्वस-

31 स्यापि नितान्तवीर्य्यः ॥[२१*] रचिता येन निःशेषं चतुरम्भोधिसंयुतं ।
राज्यन्धर्म्मेण लोकानां

[1] Read -*prahāraiḥ | pāli°*.

[2] Read °दृ ।

[3] Read -*varggaḥ | prādāt*.

32 कृता ध्रुटि(:)परा हृदि ॥[२२*] तस्मात्सुतो जगति सत्प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोवि-
न्दराज इति गोचरता-

33 समभूत[१][।*] त्यागी पराक्रमधनप्रकटप्रतापसन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥[२३*]
पृथ्वी-

34 वल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्यापरं जगति नाम [।*] यश्च चतुरुदधिसीमामेको
वसुधां वशे य(च)-

35 क्रे ॥[२४*] एकोप्यनेकरूपो यो ददृशे भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा । परबलज-
लधिमपारन्तरणवदोर्भ्यां

36 रणे रिपुभिः [२५*] एको निर्ज्जितरहं गृहीतमप्ता इमे पुरे पश्चो [।*]
यो नैवंविधमकरोचित्तं स्वप्नेपि

37 किमुत्ताजौ ॥[२६*] राज्याभिषेककलशैरभिषिच्य दत्तां राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
स्वपित्रा । अन्यै-

38 श्चिरानृपति[भि*]श्च बुभिः समेत्य स्त्थ्यादिभिर्मुक्तकलादमवाप्यमानां ॥[२७*]
एकोनिजनरेन्द्रहन्द-

39 महितान्बस्तात्समस्तानपि प्रोत्खातासिकलापगाढविधुरान्बद्धा महासंयुगे ।
लक्ष्मीमप्यच-

40 लां चकार विलसत्सच्चामरग्राहिणी ।[2] संसीदद्गुरुविप्रसज्जनसुहृद्बन्धूपभोग्यां(ग्यां) भु-

41 वि(वि) ॥[२८*] तस्यानुजश्च मतो(तं)ताक्रमाक्रान्तरिपुचक्रो । श्रीमद्धाराज(?)र्व्वाख्यः
ख्यातो राजाभ-

42 वद्गुणैः ॥[२९*] यस्यांघ्रि यवान्विता यः समभोटफलाभिलाषतोयेषु [।*] हवि
जिनाय पप-[3]

Second Plate; Second Side.

43 रमासमौघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[३०*] राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभावैकहे-
तुर्ल्लक्ष्मीवानिन्द्रराजो गु-

44 णिनृपनिकरान्तश्चमत्कारकारी । रागादन्यान्युदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपाश्चे-
वमाना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे

45 सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावं ॥[३१*] निर्व्वाणावाप्तिवाना(?)श्चरितचरितजनोपा-
स्यमानाः सुवृत्तं वृत्तं चि-

46 त्वान्वराज्ञो चरितमुदयमासमावैतो चिरंबैभ्यः । एकाकी दृसवैरिव्वनततिभव-
प्रातिराज्यैरसंकुलाटी-

[1] Read °bhûdinâ ; typhi.

[2] Superfluous.

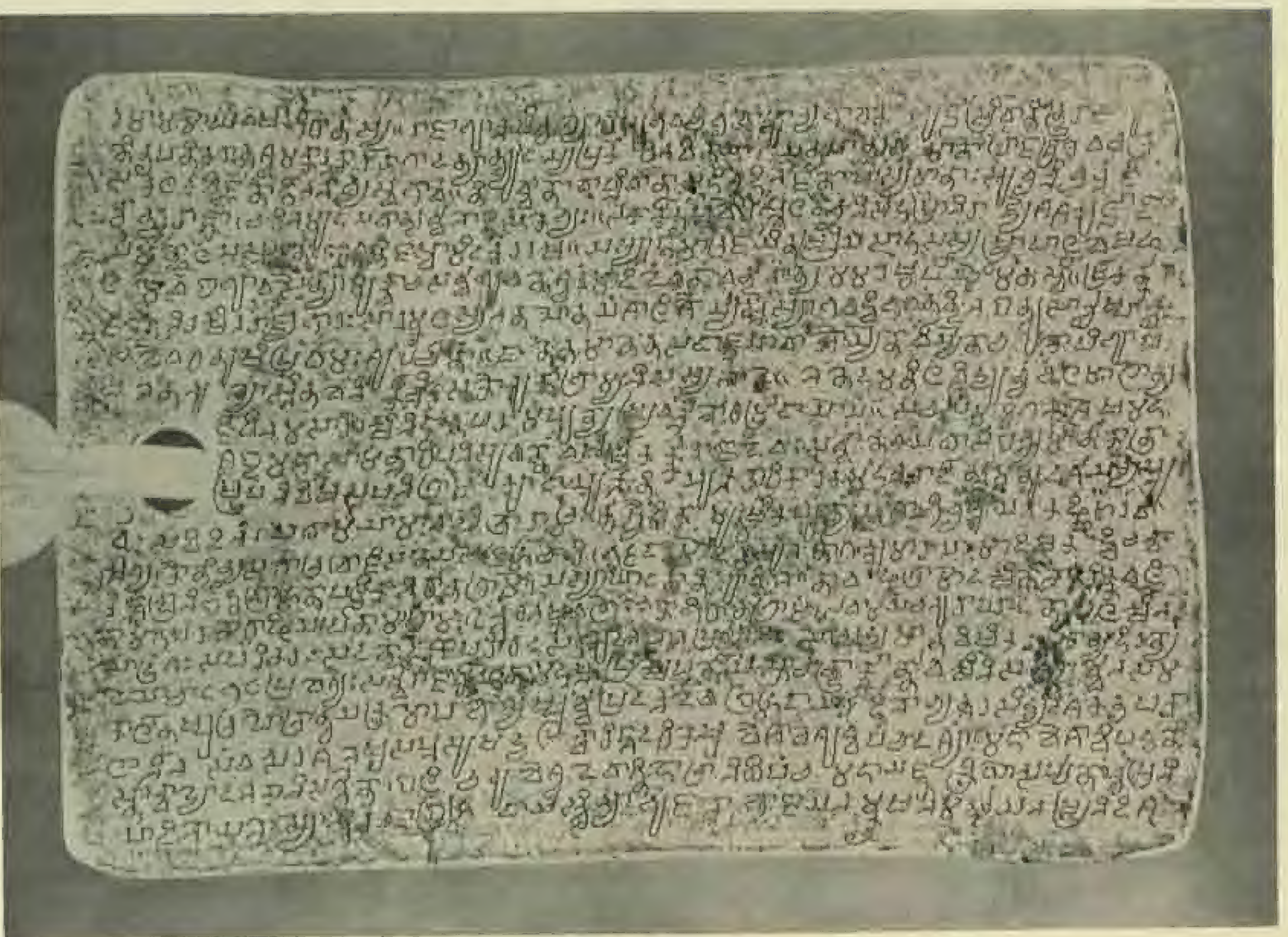
[3] One pa is superfluous.

47 यं मण्डलं यस्तपन इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥[३२*] यस्याङ्गमात्रवि-
न)×(प्रियसाहसस्य च्छायानवेयथ-
48 समेव बभूव सैन्यं । मुक्त्वा च सर्व्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवं नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि
यो मनस्वी ॥[३३*] श्रीकर्करा-
49 ज इति रचितराज्यभारः सारङ्गलस्य तनयो नयशालिशौर्य्ये¹ [।*] तस्याभवद्विभ-
वनन्दितबन्धुसार्थ)×(पार्थः
50 सदैव धनुषि प्रथमः शुचीनां ॥[३४*] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया वा शौर्य्येण
वीर्य्येण च कोपि भूपः [।*]
51 एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेति कीर्त्तिः सकौतुका भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३५*]
तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमालोक्य
52 जीवितमसारं । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य)×(प्रवर्त्तितो धर्म्मदायोयं ॥[३६*] स च
समधिगताशेषमहा-
53 शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिसुवर्णवर्षश्रीकर्कराजदेवः सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकान्रा-
54 ष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु
55 वः संविदितं । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।
कङ्किमरवा-
56 स्तव्य ।² कौशिन्द्यसगोत्र ।² वाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारि ।² भट्टदामोदरसुतनागकु-
माराय ।² काम्पिल्यकाविचल्ला-
57 रिक्कयतिवद्ब्राह्मणपल्लिकाभिधानग्रामो । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो ।² नावडग्रामो
दक्षिणतो लिम्बपल्ली-
58 नामाऽपरतो धाडियप्पनामा ग्रामः । उत्तरतक्ष्यलोद्दकाभिधानग्रामः ।
एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः
59 सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः सभूतवातप्रत्यायः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः
सधान्यहिरण्य-
60 देयोचाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरि-
त्पर्व्वतसम-
61 कालीन)×(पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य(ग्य)×(पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या श-
कनृपका-
62 लातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु षट्चत्वारिंशदधिकेषु वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां ।² महा-
वैशाखपर्व्वणि

¹ Read -śauryaḥ | tasya°.

² Superfluous.

SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE.



BRAHMANAPALLI GRANT OF KARKKA SUVARNNAVARSHA: SAKA 746.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Third Plate.

63 स्नात्वाद्योद(त)[1]कातिसर्गेण ।[2] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपंचमहायज्ञक्रियोत्स-
र्प्पणार्थं प्रति-

64 पादितो यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः×प्रति-
दिशतो

Third Plate.

65 वा न केनचित् परिपन्थना करणीया । तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा
सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य

66 विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्य्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदा-
यनिर्व्विशेषो-

67 यमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य×परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा-
च्छिद्य-

68 मानकं वानुमोदेत ।[2] स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं
च भगवता वेद-

69 व्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव

70 नरके वसेत् ।[३७*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो(स्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवा(वा)सिनः कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदानं हर-

71 न्ति ये ॥[३८*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावो(वः) [।*]
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं

72 यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[३९*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिर्भि(भिःय)स्य यस्य यदा भूमि-

73 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[४०*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि
धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्य-

74 वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि ।[2] को नाम साधु×पुनराददीत ॥[४१*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष न-

75 राधिप । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥[४२*] इति कमलद-
लाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रि-

76 यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्न्न हि पुरुषै×पर-
कीर्त्त-

77 यो विलोप्या[ः ॥४३*] इति ॥ दूतकोत्र श्रीदुर्ग्गराजो(जः) । लिखितं च ।
सान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीनारायणे-

78 न ॥ मतम्मम श्रीजगत्तुङ्गदेवसुतस्य श्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवस्य यदु-

79 परि लिखितं ॥ मतम्मम श्रीमदिन्द्रराजसुतस्य श्रीकर्कराजदेवस्य ।[1]

80 यदुपरि लिखितमिति ॥

[1] Superfluous.

[2] *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

No. 11.—TIRUVALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription[1] is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Naṭarāja shrine in the Vaṭanārāyaṇēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, a small station near Madras on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. It was copied in 1905, but in that year the inscription could not be copied in full as it was partially obstructed by later structural additions to the temple. In the subsequent renovation, most of the inscribed stones were lost so that only a portion of the record[2] is now preserved in the temple. On account of its damaged condition, its importance was not sufficiently recognised hitherto, but it now receives elucidation from two inscriptions copied at Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai[3] and Tirumayānam[4] in the Tanjore district. It is of great value since it throws new light on the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Singhalese history in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D.

It is engraved in the **Tamiḻ** language and script of the 12th century A.D. and is particularly free from orthographical errors.

The record is dated[5] in the **12th year and 157th day** of the reign of the **Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **Rājādhirājadēva** (II) and commences with the usual preamble beginning with the words '*kaḍal-sūḻnda*', etc. The **object** of the inscription is the grant of 10 *vēli* of land in Rājarājan-Paḻaiyanūr situated in Neṉmali-nāḍu, a division of [Arumoḻi]dēva-vaḷanāḍu, free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, to **Vēdavanamuḍaiyān Ammai-appan** *alias* **Annan Pallavarājan** of **Paḻaiyanūr**, evidently for his services to the State in frustrating the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu against the Chōḷa country.

This inscription is the only record so far known that gives a detailed account of the Singhalese activities in the **war of the Pāṇḍyan succession**, for which our only source has hitherto been the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*; but this is biased in its version, especially as it does not give

[1] No. 465 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] In the absence of the original inscribed stones, the impression preserved in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, is the only record now available for this valuable inscription.

[3] No. 433 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; *vide* also above, Vol. XXI, p. 184, where this inscription is published.

[4] No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection. This is highly damaged and appears to be a duplicate copy of the present record.

[5] As regards the initial date of this king there is some confusion. Prof. Kielhorn had fixed it between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. But a record from Nandalūr (No. 571 of 1907), while giving astronomical details couples the 12th regnal year of the king with the cyclic year Hēmalamba which corresponded to A.D. 1177 (above, Vol. X, p. 127). In this case the regnal year intended must be 14th expired or 15th current and not 12 as cited in the record. This apparent difference in date is, curiously enough, reiterated in an inscription recently copied in the Chittoor District (No. 200 of 1932), where the 12th regnal year of this king is also stated to be his 14th year. This would suggest that Rājādhirāja II was a crown prince for two years before he became king. There are, however, three inscriptions of this king (Nos. 371 of 1907, 428 of 1912 and 10 of 1913) which point to A.D. 1166 as the initial year. From the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription we know that Rājādhirāja II was crowned 3 years after his nomination. The initial date of his predecessor, Rājarāja II, is 1146 A.D. and his highest regnal year is 19 (No. 411 of 1906). Rājarāja II must therefore have lived till 1164-65 A.D. The whole position may now be summed up as follows:—

A.D. 1163 Rājādhirāja's nomination,
A.D. 1164-65 Rājarāja's death and Rājādhirāja's succession,
A.D. 1166 Rājādhirāja's coronation.

Since both A.D. 1163 and 1166 work correctly as the initial year, it will be evident that Rājādhirāja II, in some of his records, counted his reign from the year of his nomination and in others from that of his coronation.

any reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The present epigraph, however, lays special emphasis on this point, and therefore as a corrective to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and as a record of contemporary events, it is a valuable document.

It may be divided into two sections : in the first, the services to the country rendered by the Chōḷa general Vēdavanamuḍaiyāṉ Ammaiappaṉ *alias* Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ in counteracting the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu are detailed and in the other is registered a grant of land made to him.

The inscription refers to the Singhalese king **Parākrambāhu** in contempt as *Īḻattāṉ*. the record we learn that Parākramabāhu was hostile to the Chōḷa kingdom from the beginning of his reign and in pursuance of this policy, he made the following three attemps which were successfully foiled by the Chōḷa king :—

(*a*) When the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession broke out, Parākramabāhu espoused the cause of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, one of the claimants to the throne of Madura and also sent an army into the Pāṇḍya country which forced Kulaśēkhara, the rival claimant to the throne, to flee from Madura and seek the help of the Chōḷa king. The Chōḷa army sent to his assistance deposed Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu, completely defeated the enemy's forces killing even their generals and finally placed Kulaśēkhara on the throne of Madura.[1]

(*b*) On the failure of this attempt Parākramabāhu reinforced his strongholds by despatching forces into Ūrātturai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam and Maṭṭivāḷ and constructed ships for a naval attack. But the Chōḷa king frustrated these measures with the assistance of Śrīvallabha, the nephew of Parākramabāhu, by carrying the war into the enemy's territory and destroying a considerable portion thereof.

(*c*) Parākramabāhu then tampered with the loyalty of Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya to his Chōḷa ally and won him over to his side. He could not however satisfy both the Pāṇḍya claimants at the same time. The Chōḷa king, on the other hand, deposed the ungrateful Kulaśēkhara and placed Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the quondam ally of Parākramabāhu, on the throne of Madura.

This inscription in narrating the first attempt of Parākramabāhu (ll. 12-18) corroborates the *Mahāvaṃsa* in the main except the reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The details of the other two attempts (ll. 18-30) are, however, new information.

The present record raises an important issue about Śrīvallabha. His position is clearly explained in it. We know that his father Mānābharaṇa was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon. Śrīvallabha also appears to have aspired for the Singhalese throne. In the protracted struggle for sovereignty Śrīvallabha was captured[2] by the forces of Parākramabāhu, but he subsequently seems to have escaped from his uncle's custody and sought and obtained shelter under the Chōḷa king. Parākramabāhu evidently resented this assistance and so commenced his campaign of hostility against the Chōḷa kingdom. This persistent hostility of the Singhalese king is emphasised in our record in three places (ll. 12, 18 and 20). Śrīvallabha is called the nephew (*marumagaṉ*) of Parākramabāhu and is recognised in the inscription as the claimant to the Īḻam country (*Īḻa-rājjiyattukkuṅ-kaḍavanāy* l. 21). It is also

[1] The details given in this connection are also corroborated by the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 188 ff.) wherein, however, Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ's part in the fight does not find mention.

[2] Mahāvaṃsa Ch. 72, vv. 223-4.

stated that he had already gone (*munbē pōndiruṇḍa* l. 21), thus suggesting his previous arrival in South India, evidently as a refugee seeking shelter under the Chōḷa and possibly also his assistance for the overthrow of Parākramabāhu. Therefore when his help was sought by the Chōḷa king, he readily responded, so that if there was a chance he might gain the throne of Ceylon.

The part played by Śrīvallabha, in this connection, has hitherto been considered as that of a traitor.[1] But if it is understood that he was fighting along with his father Mānābharaṇa for the Singhalese throne against Parākramabāhu, it will be evident that such a charge cannot be levelled against him.

In the rivalry between Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara for the throne of Madura, the Chōḷa king first took up the cause of Kulaśēkhara,[2] but when the latter proved a traitor by allying himself with Parākramabāhu, he was deposed and Vīra-Pāṇḍya was placed in his stead. Though the present record stops with the restoration of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, now with Chōḷa help, it is clear that he must also have rebelled[3] soon after, for when Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III continued the war, he fought against Vīra-Pāṇḍya[4] and in favour of one Vikrama-Pāṇḍya whom he made the ruler of Madura.[5]

It may be pointed out here that the new facts gleaned from this inscription, *viz.*—that Rājādhirāja took up the cause of Śrīvallabha against that of Parākramabāhu, that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor to the Chōḷa king and that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was again installed on the Pāṇḍya throne through Chōḷa help—raise the following fresh issues which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be satisfactorily explained:

Did the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja II actually send any help to Ceylon to assist Śrīvallabha in his struggle for sovereignty or did he only give shelter to him? Why was Vīra-Pāṇḍya made the ruler of the Pāṇḍya kingdom and not Vikrama-Pāṇḍya after Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor? What was the relationship of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to his predecessors and what were his claims to the Pāṇḍya throne?

The territorial divisions, **Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam** (l. 8), **Arumoḷidēva-Vaḷanāḍu** (l. 36) and **Neṉmali-nāḍu** (l. 36) are already known. **Paḷaiyaṉūr**[6], the native place of Vēdavaṉam-Uḍaiyāṉ may be identified with the village of the same name in the Tiruttaṉi *taluk* of the Chittoor district. This village must be distinguished from Rājarājaṉ-Paḷaiyaṉūr[7] (l. 36) in the Tanjore district, where 10 *vēli* of land was granted to this Vēdavaṉamuḍaiyāṉ. The village **Ēlagam**

[1] See *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1906, para. 23.

[2] Why Kulaśēkhara proved a traitor is not explained in the record. Probably he was enticed by Parākramabāhu.

[3] His revolt is referred to in the historical introduction of Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 208ff.

[4] Vīra-Pāṇḍya seems to have occupied the throne for a second time from about 1175-1182 A.D. Like his predecessor Kulaśēkhara he also fell an easy prey to the machinations of Parākramabāhu and thus made himself the bitterest enemy of the Chōḷa king Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III. He made a desperate attempt along with his son to regain the Pāṇḍya throne till at last he lost his life in the battle at Nettūr. Two records from Tribhuvanam in the Tanjore district (Nos. 191 and 192 of 1907) state that Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III who bore the title 'Pāṇḍyan' killed Vīra-Pāṇḍya. See also *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, para. 64, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 217-18.

[5] The Chōḷa rulers played the role of 'king makers'. Kulaśēkhara, Vīra-Pāṇḍya, and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya were successively made rulers of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōḷa sovereigns.

[6] The Tiruvālangāḍu plates of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I record the grant of this village to the Śiva temple at Tiruvālangāḍu. In the *Tēvāram* this village is called Paḷaiyanūr-Ālangāḍu (*i.e.*) Ālangāḍu or Tiruvālangāḍu near Paḷaiyanūr. In one inscription Tiruvālangāḍu is said to be near Paḷaiyanūr (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 134).

[7] This explains why the same inscription is found both at Tiruvālangāḍu (Chittoor district), the native place of Vēdavaṉam-Uḍaiyāṉ, and at Tirumayāṉam (Tanjore district) where the lands presented to him were situated.

(l. 29) may be identified with Tiruvēdagam in the Madura *taluk*. The subjugation of this village is also mentioned in inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḻa III.[1] The river **Veḷḷāṟu** rises in the Vēḷamalai to the west of the Pudukkottai State and falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Maṇamēlkuḍi in the Tanjore district. **Ūrātturai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam** and **Maṭṭivāḻ** have already been identified.[2]

TEXT.

1 Svasti[3] śrī[3] [||*] Kaḍal-śūḻnda Pār-mādaruñ Kalai-mādarum aḍal-śūḻnda Pōr-mā-
2 daruñ-Chīr-mādarum amai[r*]ndu vāḻa nāṟ-kaḍal-śūḻ puvi-ēḻum pā[r]-kaḍal-śūḻ pugaḻ para-
3 ppa ādi-ugamām-eṉṉa-chchōḍi-muḍi puṉaindaruḷi aṟu-śamaiyamum aim-būda-mum ne-
4 ṟiyil niṉṟu pāṉppa-tTeṉṉavaruñ-Chēralaruñ Śiṅgaḷarum mudalāya maṉṉavargaḷ tiṟai
5 śumandu vantīṇḍi-chchēvippa āḻi āḻi oru śaṅkōl eḻu-pārum iṉid-aḷippa-ch-chempoṉ Vīra-[si[3]]-
6 [ṅhā]sa[3]nattu Ulaguḍai-mukkōkkiḻāṉaḍigaḷōḍum vīṟṟirundaruḷiya Kōv-Irāja[4]kēsari panmar[4]-āṉa
7 Tribhu[5]vanachchakkaravarttigaḷ **śrī[3]-Irājādhirājadēvarkku[6]** yāṇḍu **panniraṇḍāvadu nāḷ nūṟṟaimbat-**
8 **tēḻināl** Tribhuvanachchakra[3]vatti Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalattu Mēṉ-
9 malaip-Paḻaiyaṉūr-nāṭṭu-**pPaḻaiyaṉūr-uḍaiyār** Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyār kōyilil dēva-kaṉmikku-
10 m śrī[3]-māhēśvarak-kaṇgāṇi-śeyvārgaḷukkum [|*] **Paḻaiyaṉūr-uḍaiyāṉ Vēdavaṉamu-ḍaiyāṉ Ammaia-**
11 **ppaṉ**-āṉa **Aṇṇaṉ Pallava[rāja[7]]ṉ** Īḻattāṉ Parākkiramabāku āḻvāṉ-pōdē tuḍaṅgi Śōḻarājya[7]ttukku
12 [vi]rōdam[āy-i]ruppana pala vaḍigaḷālum śe[yya-p]pārttu idukku uṟuppā-ga-pPāṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḍai-
13 [yu]ṅavittu..........[Kulaśēkharaṉaiyum Madu]raiyil niṉṟum Veḷḷāṟṟukku vaḍakaraiyilē pō-
14 doppaṇṇil na-paḍiyālē]..........[8]m śeyyappārtta-iḍattu idukka-pparikāramāga Kula-
15 śēkharaṟku [vēṇ]ḍuvaṉavuñ-cheydu muḍaḷḷigaḷum paḍaigaḷum pōgaviṭṭu Īḻattāṉ paḍaiyaiyu-

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 210.
[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 187.
[3] Engraved in Grantha.
[4] The letters *rāja* and *marā* are engraved in Grantha.
[5] The letters *tribhu* are in Grantha.
[6] The letters *Rājādhirājadē* are in Grantha.
[7] *rājya* is engraved in Grantha.
[8] The word [illegible] may be inserted before *śeyyappārtta*.

16 m ippaḍaik[ku-kkâmaṇavar-âga] **Ilaṅkâpura-Daṇḍanâyakkaṉum Jagat-tra[1]ya-dDaṇḍanâ[ya*]kkaṉum** uḷḷiṭṭâ-

17 raiyuṅ-koṉṟu [Madurai-vâśalilê ivargaḷ talaigaḷai] taippittu iv-vâṟilê Kula-śêkhararaiyum paṟa-viṭṭu-chche-

18 llâ-niṟka......... ku virôdamây-iruppaṉa śeyya-ppârittu ivaṉ taṉ paḍai-

19 nilaiyâṉa Ûrâtturai Pulaichchêri **Mâṭôṭṭam** Vallikâmam Maṭṭivâḷ uḷḷiṭṭa ûrgaḷilê paḍaigaḷa-

20 m puguda-viṭṭu paḍavugaḷuñ chêyvikkiṟa paḍi kêṭṭu kkhakku-ppaṟaiyaraiyara Îḻattâṉ maṟu-magaṉârây Îḻa-râjya[2]ttukkuñ-

21 kaḍavarây muṉbê pôndirunda **Śîvallavarai** aḻaippittu ivarkku vêṇḍuvaṉa-vuñ-cheydu ivaraiyum i-

22 varuḍaṉê vêṇḍum paḍaigaḷum Ûrâtturai Vallikâmam Maṭṭivâḷ uḷḷiṭṭa ûr-gaḷilê puga-viṭṭu-pPulaichchê-

23 ri Mâṭôṭṭam uḷḷiṭṭa ûrgaḷum aḻittu Îḻattâṉiṉavây iv-vâṟṟil niṉṟa âṉaiga-ḷuṅ kai-kkoṇ-

24 ḍu Îḻa-maṇḍalattil kîḻ-mêl irupadiṉ kâda mêṟpaḍavuṅ teṉ-vaḍal muppadiṉ kâda mêṟpaḍavum aḻittu it-

25 turaiyil ivaṉ maṇichcharây-irundâril kolvâraiyuṅ-koṉṟu piḍippâraiyum piḍittu ivargaḷaiyum âṉa-

26 rakkây-kkaikkoṇḍaḷavum piḍitta âṉaigaḷum aḻaippittu ivaṉ namakku-kkâṭṭi Îḻa-maṇḍalattu-kkâṇya-

27 m ellâppaḍiyâlum ivaṉ aḻiya-chcheyvittapaḍikkum Pâṇḍiyaṉâr **Kulaśêkharar** tamakku muṉbu śeyda

28 naṉmaigaḷum pârâdê Îḻattâṉôḍaṉê [sa[3]]mbandam-paṇṇavum ivaṉum ivaruñ kûḍa-niṉṟu Śôḻa[râjya*]ttuk-

29 ku virôdamây-iruppaṉa śeyyavuṅ-kaḍavadâga nichchayittu iḍukku uṟu-ppâga-pPâṇḍi-nâṭṭu Elagattârilum ma[r*]ra-chch-

30 âmantarilum namakku=chchêrvuṟaṭṭu niṉṟudaṉ śeygira **Irâjarâja[4]kkaṟkuṇḍi-yarâyaṉum Irâjaga[5]mbira Añjukôṭ-**

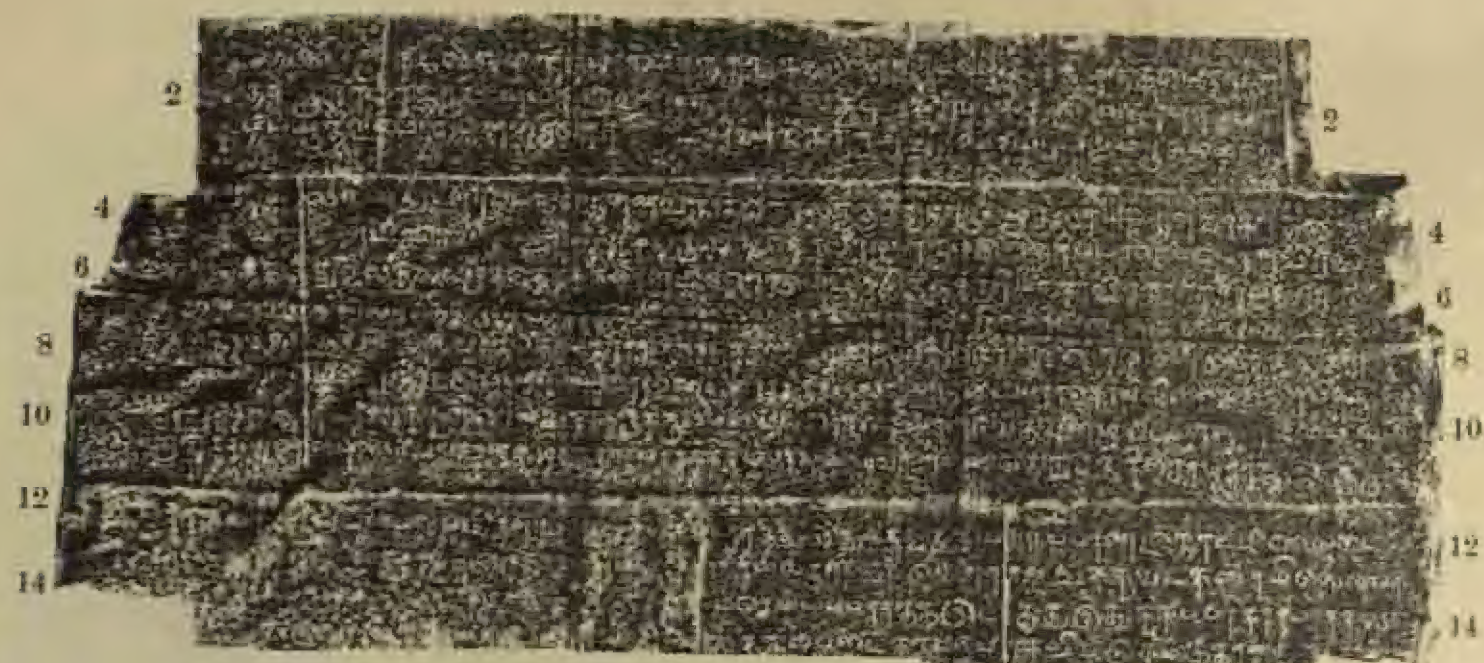
31 **ṭai-Nâḍâlvâṉum** uḷḷiṭṭârai [a]ttugaigaḷil niṉṟum Veḷḷâṟṟukku vaḍa-karaiyilê pôda-ppaṇṇi

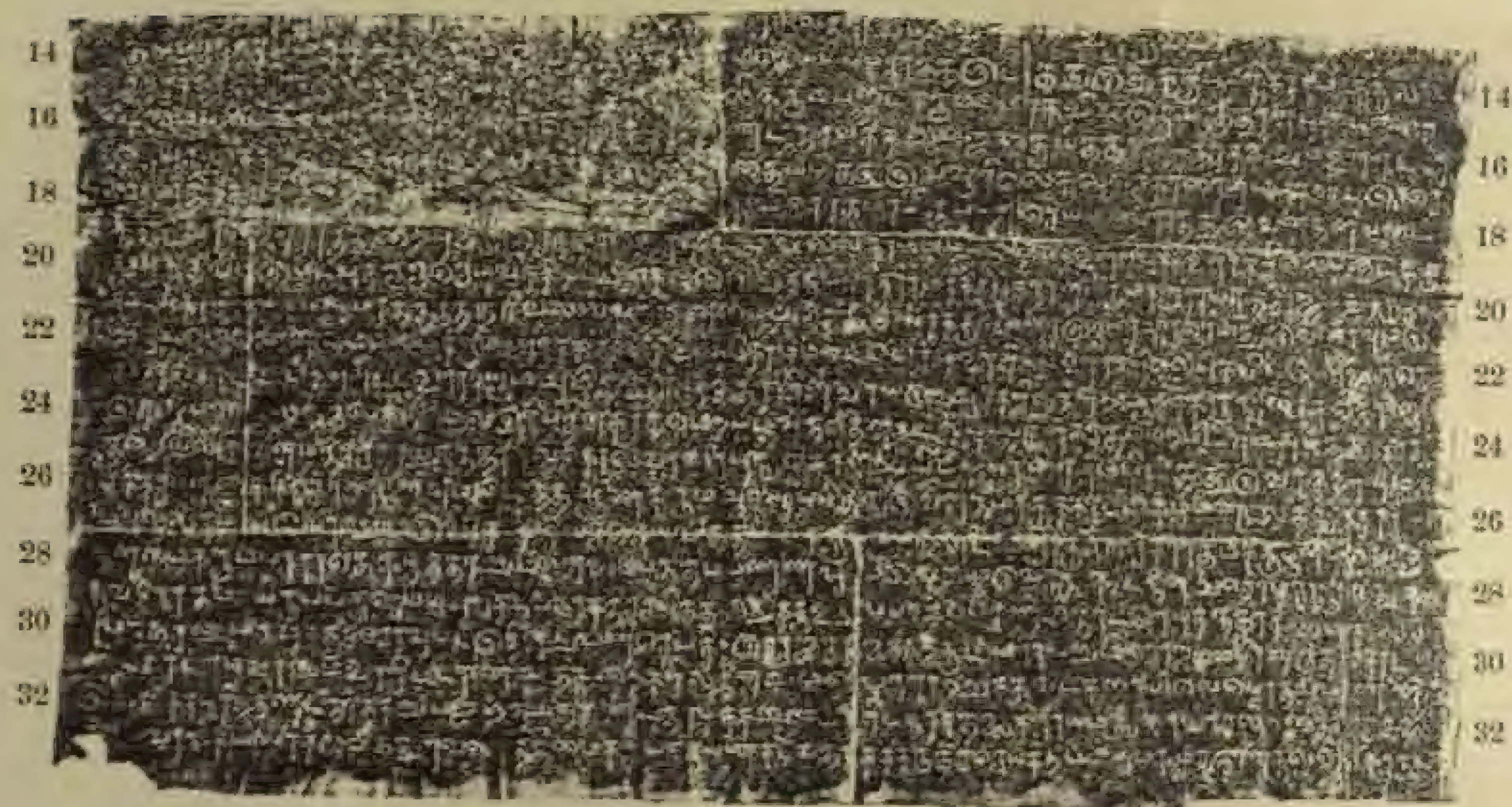
32 Ilaṅkâpuri-dDaṇḍanâ[ya*]kkaṉum Jagattra[1]ya-dDaṇḍanâyakkaṉum uḷḷiṭṭâr talaigaḷây Madurai-vâśalil taichcha talai-

33 gaḷum vâṅgi-ppôgaḍuvittu ellâ-tiimaigaḷum śeyyakkaḍavadâga-kkaruḍi-chcheygira-paḍiyum Îḻattâṉ Kulaśêkharar-uḷa-

[1] The letter *tra* is engraved in Grantha.
[2] Engraved in Grantha.
[3] The letters *sambandha* are engraved in Grantha.
[4] The letters *rājaga* are engraved in Grantha.
[5] The letters *jagadīra* are engraved in Grantha.

TIRUVALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.





N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Reg. No. 3355 E'34-445.

SCALE: ONE-TENTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



Reg. No. 3300 E'34-445

34 n kiḷḷa niṉṟu udavi-śeygai śūṭṭi ivaruḷaṉ śārvupaṭṭu-ni ṟārkku vara-kkāṭṭiṉa ālaigaḷum vaḷ[ai]kkaḷum vaḷi[y]ilē iva ....[1]paḍiyālum Śōlarājya[2]ttukku virōdamāy-irukkaiyālē ivaṉai

35 aṅgu-niṉṟum pōkki muṉbē-piḍittu Maduraikku-kkāraṇavarāṉa **Parākkirama-Pāṇḍiyar** magaṉār **Vīra-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvarai** Madurai ....[3] i-vastu[4]-vāluṅ kudiraiyālum vēṇḍuvaṉavaiyiṟṟil namakku-chcho-

36 lli-chcheyyavēṇḍuvaṉavum-cheyvittu allādaṉa ivaṉ[5] miguḍippaḍa nērudum cheydu śurukki[na*] nāḷ [ai]kkuḷḷē Madurai ....[6] dēva-vaḷanāṭṭu Neṉ-malli-nāṭṭu **Irājarāja[7]ṉ-Paḷaiyaṉūrilē** paḍiṟṟu-

37 vēli nilam **paṉṉiraṇḍāvadu** mudal antarāyam pāṭṭam uḷpaḍa iṟaiyiliy-āga iṭṭu ippaḍi Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiya ....Mūvēndavēḷāṉ ||-Ivai Nīla-gaṅgaraiyaṉ eḻuttu ||

38 Ivai Dīpattaraiyaṉ eḻuttu Ivai Kaṇakarāja[7]ṉ eḻuttu Ivai Malaiyappi-rāja[7][ṉ *] eḻuttu Ivai Maḷava..........

39 ṉ | Ivai Villavarāyaṉ eḻuttu

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5)[8]

(Ll. 6-10).—In the **twelfth year and one hundred and fifty-seventh day** *(of the reign)* of the king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhi-rājadēva,** while he was pleased to be seated along with *(his queen)* Ulaguḍai-mukkōkkiḻānaḍigaḷ on the golden throne of heroes, *(the following order was issued)* to the *dēvakarmis* and *Śrī māhēśvara-kaṇkāṇi-śeyvār* of the temple of Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyār at **Paḷaiyaṉūr** in Mēṉmalaip-Paḷaiyaṉūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam *(under the royal seal)* Tribhuvana-chakravatti Kāñchipuramaikoṇḍāṉ :—

(Ll. 11-17).—**Vēdavaṉamuḍaiyāṉ Ammaiappaṉ** *alias* **Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ** of Paḷaiyaṉūr *(acted thus)* ;

When Parākramabāhu of Īḻam, from the time *(he)* assumed sovereignty acted inimically against the Chōḷa country by various means and as a part of this move, since he caused an army to enter the Pāṇḍya country .... and forced Kulaśēkhara also to flee from Madura to the north bank of the *(river)* Vaḷḷāṟu............ to counteract this *(hostile)* action, what-ever *(assistance)* was needed by Kulaśēkhara was given *(by us, i.e., the Chōḷa king)* ....

[1] This portion is built in : before '*paḍiyālum*' the letters '*[illegible]*' may be inserted.

[2] The gap may be filled up with the aid of the Tirumayānam inscription, with the words '[illegible]' [illegible]

[3] The letter *[illegible]* is engraved in Grantha.

[4] From the Tirumayānam inscription, a portion of this gap may be filled up with the words '[illegible] Vīra-Pāṇḍiyadēvarai Maduraiyil [illegible]'.

[5] The letters *[illegible]* are engraved in Grantha.

[6] Engraved in Grantha.

[7] The letter *ja* is engraved in Grantha.

[8] For translation see above Vol. XXI, p. 191.

commanders (*with*) forces were despatched, the army of Ceylon (*was destroyed*) and its generals **Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanāyaka** and **Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka** put to death, their heads mounted on the gates of Madura, and (*thereafter*) Kulaśēkhara was allowed to enter this city (*i.e.*, Madura).

(Ll. 18-26).—When (*affairs*) stood thus .... hearing (*the report*) that, with the intent of making (*another*) hostile attempt (*against the Chōḷa country*), this (*Parākramabāhu*) had assembled forces into his strongholds at Ūrātturai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ and other places and was also constructing (*a fleet of*) ships (*therein*), (*we, in order*) to ward off this (*danger*), summoned **Śrīvallabha** the nephew of the Ceylonese (*king*) and a claimant to the kingdom of Ceylon and (*who*) had already arrived (*here*), did whatever was required for him (*and*) despatched him with the necessary forces to Ūrātturai, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ and other villages (*and*) destroyed Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam and other villages, captured the elephants belonging to the king of Ceylon stationed in these places, laid waste in Īḻa-maṇḍalam more than twenty *kādam*[1] (*of land*) from east to west and more than thirty *kādam* from south to north, killed in this place such of his subordinates as had to be killed and captured those who had to be captured. This (*Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ*) sent for these (*captives*) along with the booty and captured elephants and displayed (*them*) to us (*and*) thus (*once again*) frustrated in every way the efforts (*of the king*) of Īḻa-maṇḍalam.

(Ll. 27-33).—The Pāṇḍya **Kulaśēkhara** disregarding the good done to him before (*by us, i.e.*, the Chōḷa king), entered into an alliance with the (*king*) of Ceylon, (*and both*) this (*king of Ceylon*) and this (*Kulaśēkhara*) decided to stand together and act against (*the interest of*) the Chōḷa kingdom. As an evidence of this move, (*they*) drove from (*their*) places to the north bank of (*the river*) Veḷḷāṟu, our allies at Eḷagam in the Pāṇḍya country like **Rājarājakkaṟkudiyarāyaṉ** and **Rājagambhīra Añjukōṭṭai-Nāḍāḻvāṉ** and other feudatories who were assisting our cause and removed from the gates of Madura, the heads of Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka, Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka and others which had been planted thereon, (*and in this way*) carried out the intent of working every kind of evil (*to us, i.e.*, the Chōḷa king).

(Ll. 34-39).—As the letters and presents sent to the adherents of Kulaśēkhara by the king of Ceylon betokening assistance (*to the former, when intercepted*) on the way (*proved Kulaśēkhara's*) hostility to the Chōḷa kingdom, we directed him (Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ) to oust him (Kulaśēkhara) from there (Madura) and to (*reinstate*) in Madura **Vīra-Pāṇḍya**, the son of **Parākrama-Pāṇḍya** who was from the beginning (*another*) claimant to the throne of Madura. (*Further*), we provided him (Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ) with all the requisites and directed him to indent on us (*when necessary*) for funds and cavalry and to manage the other things himself; and as he had so carried out (*our intentions*) within a short time (*and installed*) **Vīra-Pāṇḍya** (*in*) Madura, (*we granted him*), from the **twelfth year**, ten *vēli* of land in **Rājarājaṉ-Paḷaiyaṉūr** (*situated*) in Neṉmali-nāḍu, a division of [Arumoḻi]dēva-vaḷanāḍu, made free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam* (*and commanded the engraving of the gift in the temple of*) Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiya[ār] ...... (*This is the signature of*) Mūvēndavēḷāṉ ௭. This is the signature of Nīlagaṅgarayaṉ ௭. This is the signature of Dipattarayaṉ ௭. This is the signature of Kaṉakarājaṉ ௭. This is the signature of Malaiyappirājaṉ ௭. This [is the signature of] Maḷava .... This is the signature of Villavarāyaṉ ௭.

[1] *Kādam* is the Indian league measure about 10 miles in distance.

No. 15.—THE KHAMKHED PLATES OF THE TIME OF PRATAPASILA.

BY PROFESSOR V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This is a set of **three copperplates** discovered by a farmer while digging under a wall of his house at Khāmkhêḍ or Khāmgaon about 35 miles south-west of Mehkar in Berār. They reached the hands of Mr. Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C. of Buldānā, who kindly placed them at my disposal for editing.

The plates are strung on a circular ring 1·2" in thickness and 2·2" in diameter, passing through a hole about ⅜" in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. The middle portion of the ring is flattened[1] to contain a **legend** in two lines and the crude figure of a male deity sitting cross-legged, with a halo surrounding his face. The ends of the ring do not appear to have ever been soldered and were a little apart from each other when the plates reached me, so that the latter could be taken out with ease. This makes it doubtful if the ring belongs to the plates at all. The suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the legend on the ring, though incised in the same characters as the inscription on the plates, does not contain any of the names mentioned in the plates. The plates and the ring together weigh 74 tolas. Each plate measures 6·7" × 2·3". After the plates were incised, it appears it was discovered that the hole of the first plate was wrongly cut at the centre of the bottom. It was, therefore, closed with a piece of copper rivetted into it and another was made at the centre of the top. Some portion on the right hand side of the first three lines is illegible owing to the corrosion and cracking of the first plate. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side only and the second, which is thicker, on both the sides. The letters are well cut and do not show through on the reverse. The ends of the plates are raised into rims to protect the letters. Each side of the plates contains six lines except the second side of the second plate which has five lines only. The **characters** are of the nail-headed or acute-angled variety of the North Indian alphabet. The engraver has, in the first two lines, shown the wedges clearly. Later on they are replaced by short horizontal top-strokes. The inscription thus shows the transitional stage when the wedges at the top of letters were giving place to horizontal strokes which in course of time developed into the characteristic top-lines of the Nāgarī alphabet.[2] The size of letters varies from ·1" on the first plate to ·2" on the rest. The initial ā which is differentiated from a by a downward stroke attached to the middle of the right hand vertical line of a occurs in *ādinya* (l. 9) and *āchchhētā* (l. 16). The initial u which has a curve at the lower end occurs in *uttarataḥ* (l. 22) and *uktaṁ cha* (l. 12). The medial ā appears generally in the form of a downward stroke (cf. *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* l. 13) but occasionally appears above the line (cf. *rājñaḥ* l. 13). The curve of the medial i often goes over the line to the left of the letter and, encircling it, appears again to the right, generally ending in a serif (cf. *lēkhi*° l. 6). The medial u is shown in two ways—by lengthening the vertical stroke of the letter ending in a serif (cf. *Yudhishṭhira* l. 17) and by means of a curve open to the left (cf. *bhuktā* l. 13). The medial û also occurs in two ways—(1) with a curve at the base of a letter, the end of which is either curled or turned sharply upwards (cf. *guryāṇa* l. 7) and (2) with the sign for initial û ; (cf. *bhūmiḥ* l. 6). The *mātrās* for ai, ô and au generally stand above the line. They appear curled in some cases (cf. *Gôlammas* l. 10 and *ā-chandrā* l. 12) ; k and n generally show a loop on the left (see, however, *kumāra* l. 8 and *sakala* l. 17, where k appears without a loop) ; j still appears in its old tripartite form (cf. *rājñaḥ* l. 13) ; t is flat at the top (cf. *Īśvarabhaṭṭa* l. 9) ; the base

[1] The seals of the Multāi and Tivarkhêḍ plates are similarly formed (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 231, and above, Vol. XI, p. 276).

[2] For a similar, but later, mixture of wedges and straight top-strokes see the Vaṇi-Diṇḍôri plates of Gôvinda III (see Plate II (b), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 160).

stroke of *p* is occasionally suppressed (see *Paruṇikhēṭagrāma* l. 21). The vertical stroke of *i* is generally on the left (cf. *sēnāpati* l. 10). *D* shows a slight serif at the lower end, *n* has a loop and *y* is generally bipartite (cf. *yadā* l. 14). Again the right hand upstroke of the sub-script *y* is drawn up as far as the top line of the whole letter (cf. *gavyūta* l. 7) and *r* shows a slight wedge at the lower end, which has not yet developed into a tail (cf. *purōhita* l. 9). The superscript *r* is generally placed above the line (cf. *svargē* l. 15) but it appears as a short horizontal stroke in combination with *y* (cf. *sūrya-grahaṇē* l. 8). The characters thus resemble in a general way those of the Maitrāi plates of 708-9 A.D. (see Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Plate IV, XX).

The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit. See, for instance, the wrong forms *grāma* for *grāmaṁ* (l. 8), *pratipāditaṁ* for *pratipāditavān* (l. 9), *rājānaiḥ* for *rājabhiḥ* (l. 13). The rules of *sandhi* have, in some cases, been neglected. The marks of punctuation are, in many cases, not used at all, or are used wrongly (cf. ll. 8 and 10). The final *t* is wrongly dropped in *syā* (l. 16) and *dāna* (l. 18). Except the imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography** we may note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated (cf. *chaturddaśa* l. 3, and *pūrvvasyām* l. 7). In some cases an *anusvāra* is used instead of a class nasal in the body of a word (cf. *saṁpanna* l. 3). *V* is used for *b* in *Vṛihaspatinā* (l. 12).

The **object** of the grant is to record the donation of the village **Nandapura** situated at a distance of only one *gavyūta* (about 4 miles) south-east of Paruṇikhēṭa (also called Paruṇika-grāma in l. 21) at the time of a solar eclipse. The donees were Sōmasvāmin, Shashṭhi-kumāra, Nāgaśarman, Ādityaśarman and other Brahmins.[1] The gift was made by **Davana-Druhaṭa** (Drubhaṭa?), the son of Utaragaṇa who was the eldest brother of the reigning king **Pra[tāpa*]śīla**. As no information about the dynasty of these kings is given and no date is recorded in this charter, it is not possible to identify either Utaragaṇa or his brother Pratāpaśīla and son Davana-Druhaṭa.[2] The names of some Kalachuri kings end in *gaṇa* but it is not known if they were related to Utaragaṇa mentioned in this charter. We can only say that the dynasty seems to have flourished in Berār in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The use of the expression *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda* and the absence of any suzerain's name in the present charter seem to indicate that it was at first a feudatory royal family and made itself independent in Berār, when the power of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi declined in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

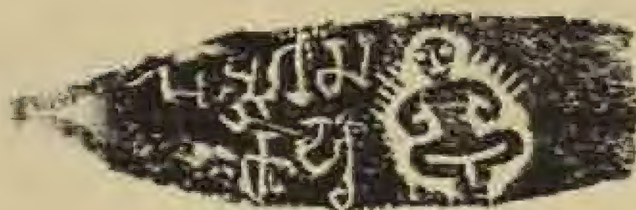
Among the names of officers who are asked to note the present gift occur those of the *Purōhita* Īśvarabhaṭṭa, Nāgammabhaṭṭa, the *Bhōgika* (district officer) Gōvinda, the *Śrēshṭhin* Gōlamma and the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari. The grant was written by the last mentioned officer who describes himself as a bee issuing out of the lotus in the form of the foot of Gōvinda-Vishṇu. He was, therefore, a devotee of Vishṇu.

As for the **geographical** names occurring in this charter, **Nandapura**, the donated village, cannot be traced; its position is probably occupied by the present Khāmkhēḍ where the plates were found. Two of the villages that formed its boundary can be identified. Thus **Paruṇikhēṭa** is probably Pāṅgarkhēḍ about 1½ miles to the north-west of Khāmkhēḍ and **Vyāghraviraka** is Vāghoṛ about a mile to its north-east. The distance between Pāṅgarkhēḍ (the modern representative of Paruṇikhēṭa) and Khāmkhēḍ (which now occupies the site of

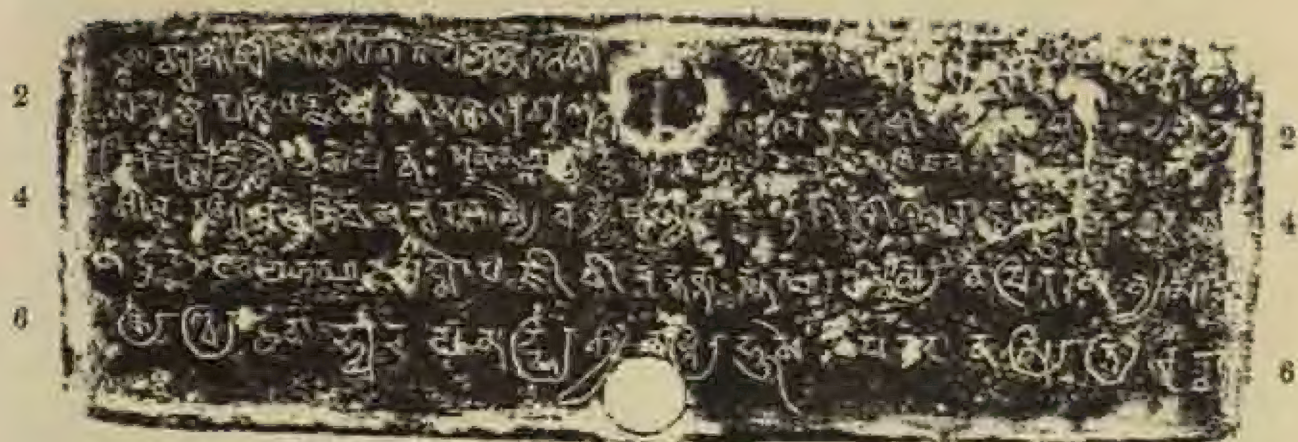
[1] The names of some Brahmins are lost as some portion of the grant after *Sūryagrahaṇē* in l. 8 was omitted by the engraver. The latter part of one name (*viz.*, *Śarmman*) appears after *Sūryagrahaṇē*.

[2] These princes are not otherwise known. Again, the plates do not contain even a regnal date; the figure on the seal is crudely executed and the legend has no apparent connection with the plates. Though none of these grounds is conclusive by itself, their combination casts suspicion on the genuineness of the record.

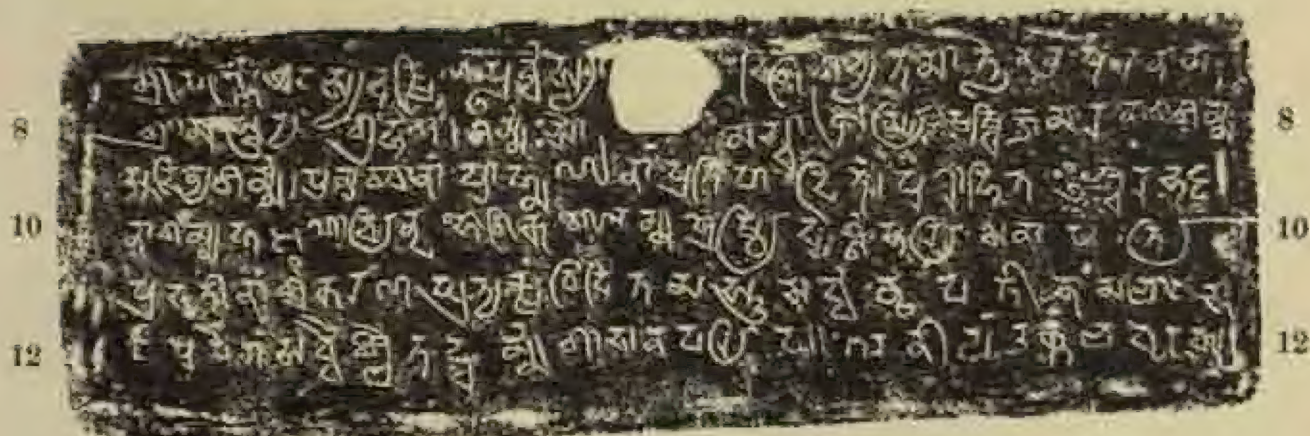
Seal.



First Plate.



Second Plate: First Side.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 2308 E'34—440.

SCALE: ACTUAL-SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Second Plate: Second Side.

Third Plate.

ancient Nandapura) is not one *gavyûta* (or four miles) as stated in the charter, but this mistake is probably due to the ignorance of the person who drafted the charter. The other villages cannot be identified.[1]

TEXT.†

The Seal.

प(..[2])धम(र्मं)शास्त्र(स्य)

First Plate.

1 ओम्[3] स्वस्ति श्री[: ॥*] समधिगतपंचमहाश[ब्द][:*] च[न्द्र?]त[र]श्री(?) प्रक[ट*]करजदा(?)त[म*]-

2 मस्तान्वयतिलक[भोपित][:*] सकलगुणगणालं[कृ]तशरी[र:*] . . प्र[ा*][ल्ल*]-[धि]र्वं[गीय]-

3 [वि]नय[स]त्वशौचसंपन्नः अनेकश[त्रु]दंन्त[गजघटा]....[5][प्राप्त*]विजयः [महारा*]जः प्र[ताप*]-

4 शीलः[6] तस्मिं[7] [प्रशा]सति असुन्दरान्तस्यैव ज्येष्ठस्य [भ्रातुः] उत्सन्नगोत्रजः[8] सूनुः दव-

5 नदूषटः [।*] स च तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी तद्भक्तः[9] सम्यक् स्वमिव पितरं मन्यमा[नः]

6 किञ्चित्के[षां]भ्युदयमुद्दिश्य नास्ति भूमेः प[रं] दानमिति कृत्वा

Second Plate; First Side.

7 श्रीपर्वतखेटस्य दक्षिणपूर्व्वस्यां दिशि गव्यूतमात्रे नन्दपुरं नाम

8 ग्राम(ग्रामं) सूर्य्यग्रहणे[10] ।[11] ग्रामे:[12] सोमस्वामिपाठककुमारस्वामिनागस्वामि-

9 आदित्यस्वामि[13] ।[11] प्रमुखानां ब्राह्मणानां प्रतिपादितम्[14] । पुरोहितवैश्रवणभट्ट-

10 नागस्वामिभट्ट ।[11] गोविन्दभोगिकगोकर्णवेदितृगौर्णस्करिसेनापति-

11 प्रमुखानां श्रीजरणगणमहत्वं विदितमस्तु सर्व्वस्वतीनां[15] मचाटभ-

12 टप्रवेशं सर्व्वैरेतद्धर्म्मशासनं परिपालनीयं [॥*] उक्तं च इत्थम्-[16]

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 तिना [।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः[17] सगरादिभिः [।*] य[स्य] य-

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[1] The accompanying plates have been prepared from excellent ink estampages kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

† From the original plates.

[2] The second letter on the seal is illegible; the medial vowel seems to be *ā*.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] [The reading from here to the end of the line is doubtful. The first two letters look like *â-chata*.—Ed.]

[5] About three letters are illegible here. [The reading is *abhivardhita* which is also found in the inscriptions of the Vishnukundin rulers; cf. above, Vols. IV, p. 196, and XI, p. 134.—Ed.]

[6] [I cannot make out the first three syllables of this name from the plate.—Ed.]

[7] Read शसति.

[8] Read उत्पन्नगोत्रजः.

[9] The *visarga* is superfluous.

[10] Some portion of the grant giving more names of Brahmins is dropped here.

[11] *Danda* not required.

[12] The *visarga* is unnecessary.

[13] Read आदित्यस्वामि.

[14] Read प्रतिपादितम्.

[15] The *anusvâra* is superfluous.

[16] Read इत्थम्.

[17] Read राजभिः.

14 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*][1] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्या-

15 सेन व्यासेन [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।]

16 आच्छेता[2] चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त् ॥*][1] पुनरपि चोक्तं व्यासेन [।*]

17 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] मही-

Third Plate.

18 महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाये(च्छ्रे)योनुपालनं [॥*][1] एवं ज्ञात्वा यथ-

19 त: परिपालनीयमिति [॥*] शिवमस्तु धर्म्मवृद्धिश्च [illegible] चतुर्गोघा-

20 टसमेतग्रा[4]मस्य पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि व्याघ्रविरकं नाम ग्रामः । दक्षिणेन भ्रमस-

21 कं नाम ग्रामः । अपरतो(तः) श्रीपर्णिकग्रामो भवति [।*] तस्य ग्रामस्य मर्यादावधौ म-

22 वति [।*] उत्तरतः च्छो(छो)भविरकग्रामः ॥ श्रीगोविन्दविष्णुचरणपंकजनिर्ग-

23 तेन भद्रेण दुर्ग्गहरिसेनापतिना लिखितमिदं ताम्र[5]शासनमिति [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12) Ôṁ. Hail! (*There is*) *Mahārāja* **Pra[tāpa]śīla** who has attained *Pañchamahāśabda*, who is endowed with all the distinctive marks of royalty, whose person is decked with the multitude of all good qualities, who is possessed of tranquility, courage, bravery, modesty, truth and purity, who has attained victories with numerous four-tusked elephants ......While he is ruling over the earth **Davana-Druhaṭa** (Drubhaṭa?), the son of his own eldest brother King **Utaragaṇa**, who is dependent on his lotus-like feet, is devoted to him and is wholly engaged in (*serving*) him, who regards him as his own father and thinks that there is no higher gift than that of land for (*the attainment of*) any religious merit and good fortune, donates on (*the occasion of*) a solar eclipse the village **Nandapura** (*situated*) at a distance of only one *gavyūta* (4 miles) in the south-eastern direction of Śrī-Parṇikhēṭa to Brahmins, the foremost of whom are—Śarman,[6] Sōmasvāmin, Shashṭhikumāra, Nāgaśarman and Ādityaśarman. Let it be known to the *Purōhita* Īśvarabhaṭṭa, Nāgammabhaṭṭa, the *Bhōgika* Gōvinda, the *Śrēshṭhin* Gōlamma and the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari at (*our*) *Śrīkaraṇa* (record office) as also to all kings that this religious order, which prohibits the entry of *chāṭas* (courtiers) and *bhaṭas* (soldiers) (*in the donated village*), must be obeyed by all.

[Ll. 12-18 contain three of the customary verses.]

Knowing this, this order should be obeyed. May there be well-being and increase of religious merit! This village which has the (*following*) well-defined boundaries has the village Vyāghraviraka on the east, the village Bhramasaka on the south, Śrī-Parṇikagrāma which forms the boundary of the (*donated*) village on the west and Chhōbhaviraka-grāma on the north. This copper edict was written (*i.e.*, drafted) by the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari, who is a bee that has issued out of the lotus-like foot of Śrī-Gōvinda-Vishṇu.

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[1] Metre :—*Anushṭubh.*

[2] Read आच्छेत्ता.

[3] Read तान्येव.

[4] Read [illegible]. [The plate shows *[illegible]*.—Ed.]

[5] Read [illegible]°.

[6] The names of some Brahmins are dropped here.

No. 16.—A SARADA INSCRIPTION FROM HUND.

By Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., C.I.E.

In April last Captain E. H. Cobb, I.A., Assistant Commissioner, Mardan, North-West Frontier Province, sent me an eye-copy of an inscription, engraved on a rectangular slab of white stone, which he had discovered in the foundations of an old wall at Hund on the bank of the River Indus on the occasion of his visit to that place in company with Mr. O. K. Caroe, C.I.E., Chief Secretary to the Government of the North-West Frontier Province, now Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department. I have deciphered the inscription from inked estampages secured through the good offices of the discoverer.

Hund is the modern name of Udabhāṇḍa, the ancient capital of the Shāhi kings of Kābul from the 9th century A.D. till 1021 A.D. when this dynasty was extirpated by Mahmūd of Ghazni. It was at Hund that Alexander the Great crossed the River Indus before he proceeded on his conquest of India and through which later invaders passed. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited this city in the 7th century A.D. and describes it as about 20 *li*, or just over three miles, in circuit and inhabited by rich and prosperous merchants. The site is now occupied by a small village surrounded by fortified walls of Muhammadan date with a perimeter of 1,400 yards. All round the village are extensive mounds marking the existence of important buildings of early date and coins of Indo-Greeks, Kushāṇs, Shāhi kings and the kings of Kashmir have been found here in large numbers. No excavations have been carried out among these remains, but when they are, they may be expected to yield valuable antiquities of all kinds.

So far only a few inscriptions in Śāradā characters have been noticed on this site. Two of these were found by Lt.-Col. Sir Alexander Burnes of the Hon'ble India Company's Service in the early forties of the last century and deciphered by Mr. James Prinsep.[1] Another inscription in the same character was presented to my predecessor, Mr. H. Hargreaves, when he visited Hund in 1923-24. This inscription, according to Dr. Hirananda Sastri, dates from about the 10th century A.D. and records the construction of a Śaiva temple. All the three inscriptions require proper treatment.

The stone slab on which the inscription discovered by Captain E. H. Cobb is engraved measures 1' by 1' by 1'4" in thickness. The inscription consists of eight lines and is in a very good state of preservation. The **characters** are Śāradā of the 8th century A.D. and the **language** Sanskrit, which is not free from grammatical mistakes. The epigraph records the construction of a *dēvakula*, i.e., 'statue shrine' or temple by a *Mahārājñī* *Śrī* **Kāmēśvaridēvī** and its consecration between **Saturday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja in the year Saṁvat 168** and **Thursday (?), the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in the year Saṁvat 169.** The architect (*nava-karmapati*) who supervised the construction, was **Jayantarāja**, son of Upēndra. He was an Āvantika or inhabitant of Avanti or Mālwā, and a Sūryadvija. The *pañchakula* was the Brāhmaṇa, **Śrī-Pillaka**, the son of Śrī-Virāditya. The exact meaning of *pañchakula* is not known. In his article[2] on the Siyadoni Stone Inscription, Professor Kielhorn defines this term as "an office apparently similar to the Marāṭhī पंच or पचाईत " or "an assembly of five " who manage affairs of a town. If this interpretation is correct, we should assume Pillaka of the inscription under discussion to have been the head of

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 876 *seq.* and Pl. XLVI.

[2] Above, Vol. I, pp. 166 and 170.

foreman of an assembly of this nature. The Kâyastha, who composed this inscription, was **Śrî-Bhôgika**, a Sûryadvija, who was the son of Śrî-Vihênda. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, following Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar[1], suggests that this term *Sûryadvija* may be taken in the sense of the Maga or Śâkadvîpî Brâhmaṇas who were the special priests of the Sun-god and are traditionally supposed to have sprung from the Sun. The era in which the dates of this inscription are recorded is not mentioned. I have, however, no doubt that these should be referred to the **Harshakâla era** which began in the year 606 A.D. and was in ancient times in use in the Panjâb, the United Provinces, Bihâr and Orissa, Nepâl, etc. If this assumption is correct, the years mentioned would be equivalent to 774 and 775 A.D.

In the above paragraph I have given the term *dêvakula* the alternative meaning of a 'statue shrine' on the analogy of the *dêvakula* of the Ikshvâku kings of Ayôdhyâ in Bhâsa's play called the *Pratimâ-nâṭakam*. This gallery of the heroes of the Ikshvâku race differed from a divine temple in having neither the banner of a god nor the statues of door-keepers. It was open to visitors, but the statues enshrined in it were not to be bowed to. A structure of this nature was excavated in a mound near Mathurâ some 23 years ago. Another literary reference to a *dêvakula* occurs in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikam* where, however, the precise character of the shrine is not quite clear. The earliest mention of such a structure in an inscription is that found in the inscription on the base of the headless statue of Vamatakshama (?) which was found in an ancient site at Mat near Mathurâ. This site also yielded other statues of Kushâṇa kings, *viz.*, one of Kanishka, a torso of the great Śaka *satrap* Chashṭana, etc.

TEXT

1 ओं स्वस्ति १[2] ॥ महाराज्ञो श्रीकामिश्वरीदेव्या सत्क

2 देवकुली नवकर्मपति उपेन्द्रपुत्रजयन्तरा-

3 ज आवन्तिको । सूर्य्यद्विजो ॥ पंचकुल श्रीवीरादि-

4 त्यपुत्र श्रीपित्रकब्राह्मण: ॥ ॥ कायस्थ श्रीविहे-

5 न्दपुत्र श्रीभोगिक सूर्य्यद्विज: ॥ ॥ इति

6 संवत् १६८[3] आश्वयुजवति ८ शनौ: षतौ

7 दिना आरब्ध संवत् १६९ आषाढ़शुदि १२ ठक्ौ[4] प-

8 तिष्ठा कृता:[5] ॥ ॥ = ॥

No. 17.—JETHWAI PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA QUEEN SILAMAHADEVI; SAKA-SAMVAT 708.

BY PROFESSOR D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D. (HON.), CALCUTTA.

These plates were sent to me for decipherment by the late Mr. V. P. Bhandarkar when he was Huzur Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar. They were discovered some

[1] *Vaishṇavism and Śaivism*, pp. 151f.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] [In ll. 6 and 7 the second digit of the year looks more like 5 than 6. But in neither case the date admits of verification from the particulars given in the inscription.—Ed.]

[4] Perhaps shortened form of ठक्कुरौ.

[5] The text as found in the inscription is retained without any corrections.

A Sarada Inscription from Hund.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3370 E'34-445.

Scale: One-half.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

thirty or thirty-five years ago in a small dilapidated fort on a hill near the village of Jethwai, about 8 miles west of Barwaha, in the Nimār district of the Indore State. One Babaji named Hirapuri, I am told, lighted upon them while digging into a brick and stone platform in the fort for materials for the construction of his house at Jethwai.

The plates are **three** in number, each measuring 9⅝" × 6¾". The middle one of these is thicker than the side ones. The edges of them are raised into rims to protect the writing. The plates are strung together on an oval ring with a diameter measuring between 2½" and 3". On the left side of the plates, a round hole is bored for the ring, and the second plate seems to have been slightly damaged through this boring operation. To the back of the ring is fixed a circular **seal** with a diameter measuring 1¾". The seal bears the figure of Garuḍa. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and the third plate, and on both sides of the second. There are sixteen lines engraved on the first plate, sixteen lines on the first and seventeen lines on the second side of the second plate, and nineteen lines on the inner side of the third plate. The grant thus contains sixty-eight lines engraved in all.

The **language** in which the grant is written is Sanskrit throughout. The first thirty-five lines with part of the thirty-sixth, which set forth the genealogical account, line 40 and parts of lines 39 and 41 which contain a stanza descriptive of the transitoriness of human life, and lines 60-65, with parts of lines 59 and 66 which contain the benedictive and imprecatory verses, are in verse and the rest in prose. The genealogical verses of the grant occur in one or other of the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters hitherto published, except two, namely, stanzas 21 and 24, which are found only in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja.[1] Stanza 21 contains mere stereotyped praise, but stanza 24 is historically important. The **script** used in this inscription is Nāgarī, as is generally the case with the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters. As regards **orthography**, the consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, though indifference in this respect is noticeable in some cases, thus *k* and *p* are doubled in *Karkkarāja* (l. 7) and *Kārppaṇyam* (ll. 10-11), but not in *ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇava* (l. 53). The letter *b* is, as a rule, denoted by the sign for *b*, but also by the sign for *v* in a few cases, such as *svalp-āsvāda* (l. 40), *samanubadhyamāna* (l. 42) and so on. The *anusvāra* is changed to *ṇ* and *ñ* in conjunction with a following *ṇ* or *ch*, once, in *dānavāṇ-ṇayam* (l. 2), and once in *kulañ-cha* (l. 4). The *visarga* is changed to *ś* in conjunction with a following *ś*, once in *nītiśśaḥ* (l. 33) though it is retained in *nṛipaḥ śakta* (l. 16). Ṅ is used instead of the *anusvāra* once in *rājaṅśābhiḥ* (l. 3). As regards **lexicography**, lines 48-52 contain some words such as *Jrōṇaṇikā*, *vaha* and so forth, the exact import of which is not known.

The inscription is one of **Śīla-mahādēvī**, wife of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king **Dhruva**, or, as she is described in lines 37-39, *Paramēśvarī Parama-bhaṭṭārikā Śrī-Śīlamahādēvī*, the great queen of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Dhārāvarsha*, the illustrious Dhruvarājadēva who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Akālavarshadēva, *i.e.*, his father Kṛishṇa I. She is described as the princess of the illustrious Viṭṭarasa *alias* Vishṇuvardhana who bore the epithet of *Sarva-lōk-āśraya*, 'Support of the whole world'. The latter is doubtless Vishṇuvardhana IV. of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty ruling at Vēṅgī. In his account of this dynasty J. F. Fleet[2] says that he was son of Vijayāditya I, and reigned for thirty-six years from A.D. 764 to 799. He is called Vishṇuvardhana in all inscriptions except one. In this last his name is given as Vishṇurāja which is no doubt the Sanskrit form of Viṭṭarasa. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Śīla-mahādēvī being the daughter of the Eastern Chālukya king, Vishṇuvardhana IV.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village by Śīla-mahādēvī to two Brāhmaṇas. The village granted is **Kōlāpadra**, situated in the district of **Nāndipuradvārī**. The

[1] See above, Vol. XXI, p. 142.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

boundaries of the village have been specified. One of the donees was **Mārachcha**, son of Māradi. He was an *adhvaryu* and a religious student of the Kāṇva-*śākhā*. His native place was Kurugōṭa, and he pertained to the Śālaṅkāyana-*gōtra*. The other donee was **Durgāditya**, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. He also was an *adhvaryu*, but was a religious student of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*. His native place was Nāndipuradvāri. He was a member of the Community of Brāhmaṇas well versed in the four Vēdas (*chāturvidya-sāmānya*) belonging to his place, and pertained to the Jātūkarṇya-*gōtra*. The occasion of the grant was the eclipse of the sun which occurred in the **Śaka year 708 expired on the Amāvāsyā day of the dark half of the Āśvayuja** (Āśvina). This corresponds to Wednesday, 27th September, A.D. 786, when there was a solar eclipse.

It will be seen that the donor of the grant is a queen. And what is noteworthy about it is that she grants a village and issues the charter without any formal sanction or approval being given by her husband, king Dhruvarāja. This gives rise to an interesting question about the polity of Ancient India. Instances are not unknown of grants being made by queens. We have thus the Naihāṭi Plate of the Sēna king Ballālasēna, recording and sanctioning the grant of a village by his mother Vilāsadēvī on the occasion of a solar eclipse.[1] As Vilāsadēvī was the wife of Vijayasēna who was then dead, one can easily understand why her grant had to be approved and sanctioned by her son Ballālasēna who was then the living king. The case was different with Prabhāvatiguptā who issued the Poona Plates.[2] She was the *agramahishī* of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I. But when she issued the grant, she was Regent during the minority of her son Divākarasēna.[3] This is, no doubt, an interesting item of information, because it shows that women could administer a kingdom when their sons were minors. But as she was practically the ruler, it is intelligible how she could issue a charter without sanction being accorded to it by an extraneous higher authority. Nevertheless, be it noted, the charter has a seal bearing not her own name, but that of her son, namely, Divākarasēna. Far more interesting perhaps are the grants of Tribhuvana-Mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-Mahādēvī, both of the Kara family of Guhēśvarapāṭaka.[4] The first of these was the daughter of Rājamalla, a king of the south, and Queen of Lalitabhāradēva. After the death of her husband, the feudatory chieftains of the kingdom approached her with a request to accept the sovereignty come to her in course of succession, and cited the instance of Dēvī Gōsvāminī who apparently belonged to the same family and who agreed to administer the kingdom under similar circumstances. And in compliance with their request, we are told, she ascended the lion-throne like Kātyāyanī. The name of the other female ruler furnished by this dynasty is that of Daṇḍi-mahādēvī, who was the daughter of the Kara king Śubhākara. That both Tribhuvana-mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-mahādēvī were real rulers is proved by the charters they issued on their sole authority, and, above all, by the titles which they bore, namely, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirājā Paramēśvarī*. The only difference between these two is that while Tribhuvana-mahādēvī was married into the Kara family, Daṇḍi-mahādēvī was apparently a virgin of that family. Whether the latter could have continued to be the ruler if she had been married is a most interesting point of law with which, however, we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say, both of these queens were rulers in reality, and it is therefore no wonder if they could issue grants in their own names, with their own dates and seals and without any extraneous sanction. But what about Śīla-mahādēvī, Queen of Dhruvarāja, who is the donor of

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 156ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 41f.

[3] Another grant of Prabhāvatiguptā is known which she made when she was a hundred years old. Though the village was granted by her, the plates refer themselves to a regnal year of her third son, Pravarasēna (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of North. Ind. Inscrs.*, No. 1706; *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 568).

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 422-23, ll. 16-20 Bhandarkar's *List* Nos. 1413, 1416 and 1906.

our charter ? She was neither a Regent during the minority of any one of her sons, nor an autonomous ruler. And yet she issues a grant on her own authority and without the approval of her husband, Dhruvarāja. This is rather a case which deserves further consideration. For an entirely different procedure seems to have been followed in the case of the Gāhaḍavāla family. It seems that Gōvindachandra of this dynasty had two *paṭṭamahādēvī mahārājñīs*, one Nayaṇakēlidēvī and the other Gōsaladēvī, both *paṭṭamahādēvīs*, apparently not at one and the same time. Both issue grants, Nayaṇakēlidēvī in V. 1176 and Gōsaladēvī in V. 1208[1]. But though the grants are surely made by them, they have been issued with the express approval of Gōvindachandra in spite of the fact that each one of them is a *paṭṭamahādēvī* and is described as *samasta-rājaprakriyōpētā* which Kielhorn renders by "endowed with all royal prerogatives". Such was not, however, the case with Śīla-mahādēvī whose titles *paramēśvarī paramabhaṭṭārikā* do not seem to be empty and unmeaning. Because in the prose portion of the inscription which really sets forth the details of the grant, she herself issues orders to the officers concerned with the village granted. At the end of the record also, the *Dūtaka* and the officer who drew up the document carry out their respective duties according to the orders, not of Dhruvarāja, but of Śīla-mahādēvī. And further there is nothing in the draft of the charter which shows that any approval or sanction was ever accorded to the grant by Dhruvarāja. This shows that the high-sounding royal titles which are coupled with her name are not an empty boast, but are a clear indication that she was a co-partner of her husband in the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereignty. Two questions here arise : first, how could she be a co-partner of her husband in royal sovereignty, and, secondly, are there any more instances of this kind ?

It is well known that in ancient times wife and husband were jointly concerned in all the affairs of the life, not excluding the administration of a kingdom, and that in process of time this co-right of woman fell into desuetude in North India, but continued to be recognised for a long time in South India. Thus when a member of a royal family was crowned king, he was originally crowned along with his wife. Two instances will here suffice. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the coronation of Rāma, and the following significant line appears in that connection : *tataḥ sa prayatō vṛiddhō Vasishṭhō brāhmaṇaiḥ saha | Rāmaṁ ratna-mayē pīṭhē sa-Sītaṁ samnyavēśayat||.*[2] This shows that when Rāma was crowned king, he was crowned not alone, but along with Sītā. The coronation of another epic hero that is always uppermost in the mind of a Hindu is that of Yudhishṭhira, with reference to which the following verse occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *upavēśya mahātmānaṁ Kṛishṇāṁ cha Drupad-ātmajām.*[3] This also shows clearly that Yudhishṭhira was crowned sovereign not alone, but jointly with Draupadī. If this kind of coronation has a meaning (and certainly it was originally not a mere formality), it must mean that both husband and wife were co-sharers of the sovereignty so conferred upon them. This alone can explain why in the charter issued by Śīla-mahādēvī there is no approval or sanction given to it by Dhruvarāja. Being crowned along with her husband, she had as much authority to issue the grant in her name as he had in his.

It may, however, be contended that this line of reasoning, specious as it is, is not convincing, unless more instances can be adduced to show that husband and wife jointly shared the ruling authority. And luckily such instances are by no means unknown though, so far as I know, they come from South India. Attention may be drawn to the Bankāpūr Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, when in Śaka 977 the Kādamba chieftain Harikēsaridēva was administering the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, we are told, not alone and by himself, but in company with his

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 108 ff.; Vol. V, pp. 117 ff.

[2] *Yuddha-Kāṇḍa*, *Sarga*, 128, v. 59.

[3] *Śānti-P.*, *Sarga* 40, v. 14 (Bengali Recension).

wife Lachchhaladēvī.[1] Here is thus a clear instance of husband and wife jointly ruling over a province. If we, however, want to know whether, as a matter of fact, a crowned queen can issue a charter on her own authority, that instance is supplied by Vijaya-mahādēvī, wife of Chandrāditya who was the elder brother of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I. of Bādāmi. We have not one, but two, copper-plate grants issued by her.[2] And these grants she has made independently and without reference to her husband or Vikramāditya I. This authority she must have derived from her position as *mahishī* or crowned queen, as she has actually been called, of Chandrāditya. But this joint rule by husband and wife is not a phenomenon of the mediæval period of Ancient India. We thus have another instance in Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 5 which contains an order to Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), the Officer at Gōvardhana, by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty and the grant of a fresh plot of land in lieu of the old uncultivable one, to the Buddhist monks staying in his Cave.[3] It is a regular deed of grant bristling with fiscal terms and containing at the end the name of the engraver and the dates of the original donation and the actual execution. But who issues this order to the Officer at Gōvardhana ? Not Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi by himself, but he and his wife together. This clearly shows that Gautamīputra and his wife were both co-partners in the Śātavāhana sovereignty. It will thus be seen that in ancient times both husband and wife had joint interest in the exercise of sovereignty and that they could issue a grant jointly or separately in his or her name without reference to the other party. It is worthy of note that all the instances here adduced whether of a queen exercising joint authority along with her husband, or of a queen acting as Regent during the minority of her son or of a princess ruling sole sovereign as a virgin or a widowed queen are supplied from the history of South India. Whether there was such law applicable to North India in historical times we do not know.

We will now proceed to the consideration of other matters arising from our plates. There are two grants which refer to the reign of Dhruvarāja. The latter of these is the one whose contents we are discussing and which is dated Śaka 708. The earlier is the Pimpari Plates[4] dated Śaka 697. This last comes into conflict with the Dhulia grant of Karkarāja, son of this Dhruvarāja, because this inscription which is dated Śaka 701 refers itself to the prosperous reign of Gōvindarāja II., though his younger brother Dhruvarāja, as we know from Pimpari Plates, was already ruling in Śaka 697. K. B. Pathak, who has edited these Plates, therefore, declares the Dhulia grant to be a spurious record. I agree with Pathak in his conclusion, but not for the reasons he has alleged. His main contention is as follows. He invites our attention first to the passage :

श्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य .. .. प्रवर्धमानराज्ये [।*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजन्मा(नामा) महानुभावो विहितप्रतापः[:*] [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्र[:*] चूडामणि (क्रमेण) बालार्कवपुर्बभूव । ... तस्य सुत ...... श्रीकर्कराजस्तदाज्ञया सर्व्वानेव ...... समाज्ञापयति[5]

Here the expression तदाज्ञया, says Pathak, can only mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja". He therefore naturally asks : "how could Karkarāja order all his feudatories by the command of Dhruvarāja, in the prosperous reign of Gōvinda II., when Dhruva was not the reigning sovereign ?" But the expression तदाज्ञया need not necessarily mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja". It may also mean "by the command of Gōvindarāja". If the latter view is

[1] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 168, 171 (l. 28), and 174.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, ll. 13-15 ; *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, ll. 15-18.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 73.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 86ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 188, ll. 26-30.

accepted, the objection raised by Pathak becomes null and void. His other objection, however, is more important though he has put it forth rather cryptically. In the quotation just given from the Dhulia grant, there is a stanza descriptive of Dhruva which begins with *tasy-ānujaḥ* and which occurs in many Rāshṭrakūṭa records. But the last line of this stanza is not correctly worded, especially the initial part of it. It begins with *chūḍāmaṇir* instead of with [illegible] as in the other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions. Besides, *chūḍāmaṇir*, as it is, causes a *yamaka* of the metre. And what is curious is that in the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters where this stanza is given, it is followed by another beginning with *jāte yatra cha*. This stanza, however, contains the word *chūḍāmaṇayo* which was probably sticking to the memory of the scribe who was writing out the Dhulia grant and which unwittingly fell through his pen while he was writing the last line of the preceding stanza. It is thus plain that both the stanzas were known to the scribe who prepared the draft of the Dhulia grant. Now, it is a fact well known to an epigraphist that in the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters there are certain verses which are peculiar to certain Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. These verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when those kings were on the throne. The verses beginning with *tasy-ānujaḥ* and *jāte yatra cha* could thus have been composed only when Dhruvarāja was the king. And the question naturally arises: how could these verses which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor? The verse जाते यत्र च etc., as pointed out by Pathak, describes Dhruva as a paramount sovereign. When Dhruva was thus a sovereign, no Rāshṭrakūṭa record can refer itself to the reign of his predecessor Gōvindarāja II., as the Dhulia grant undoubtedly does. Secondly, unless we suppose that the Dhulia grant is a forgery, a chronological discrepancy must arise which we cannot get over. As indicated above, whereas the Pimpari Plates of Dhruva are dated Śaka 697, his present plates are dated Śaka 708. We thus obtain a period ranging between Śaka 697 and 708 during which Dhruva reigned. And this period is disturbed if we consider the Dhulia grant as a genuine one. For if Gōvindarāja II. ceased to reign and was succeeded by his brother Dhruva about Śaka 697, how could he be ruling again in Śaka 701 as the Dhulia grant implies. Evidence thus points to the irresistible conclusion that the Dhulia grant is a spurious one.

The last date of their father Kṛishṇarāja is Śaka 694 supplied by the Bhāṇḍak Plates.[1] And the earliest date known for Dhruva is, as we have seen, Śaka 697 which is the date of his Pimpari charter. Gōvinda II. thus seems to have ruled between Śaka 694 and 697. This is no doubt a brief reign, but we know the cause of it, namely, that he was ousted from his throne by his younger brother Dhruva. To ascertain how he came to be so ousted, we will here quote accounts from three different charters and then piece them together so as to give a whole and intelligent story. The Dēōlī and Karhāḍ grants[2] of Kṛishṇa III. say that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose". The Daulatābād Plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Śaṅkaragaṇa record that "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even devoid of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the predecessors, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family".[3] The Paiṭhāṇ Plates of Gōvinda III. furnish the following information in two stanzas.[4] "Although he (Gōvindarāja) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were, (such as) the ruler of Mālava and so forth joined by the lord of Kāñchī, the Gaṅga, and (the prince) of Vēṅgi, he (Dhruvarāja) gave ruby

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 123 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 193, v. 10; Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 194 and pp. 196-7, v. 11.   [4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 107, ll. 20-24.

ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards (his) brother. Thereafter when, even after conciliation and other (remedies), Vallabha (Gōvinda) did not make peace, (Dhruvarāja), the great ruler, speedily vanquished him in a battle offered by the brother, expelled the enemies from the east and the north, and secured the sovereignty decorated with the insignia of the effulgent *pālidhvaja* ". If we now piece together these items of information, we arrive at the following conclusions: (1) Gōvinda II. entrusted the government of the kingdom to Dhruva, because he gave himself up to sensual pleasures; (2) the consequence was that Dhruva became the sovereign *ipso facto*; (3) Gōvinda became alive to the danger of the situation and entrusted the government to another who apparently was not a Rāshṭrakūṭa in lineage; (4) Dhruva thereupon revolted, and Gōvinda, to protect himself, entered into an alliance with kings who were otherwise inimical to the Rāshṭrakūṭa family; and (5) Dhruva made overtures to Gōvinda by offering him gold and precious stones, but as the latter gave a battle, Dhruva fought, defeated his brother, and made himself supreme.

The kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance were, as we have seen above, the ruler of Mālava, the Gaṅga prince and the lord of Vēṅgī. In this connection we may take note of a verse about Dhruva which is an important one for the Rāshṭrakūṭa history and which is verse 24 of our grant[1]. It says: " As (Dhruva) reduced to subjection forts (*durga*) which were the cream of the three worlds, augmented his fame by obstructing the continuity of the (lineal) flow of the Gaṅgas and made his own the prosperity of (a ruler) whose exalted insignia was the bull, he, alone and in this world displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme Ruler) clearly and powerfully, just as Śiva, by decorating Durgā who was the quintessence of the three worlds, augmenting his fame by obstructing the continuity of the flow of the Ganges, and accepting the lofty Bull (Nandi) as his badge and ashes (for his use), displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme God) ". It is evident that this stanza is susceptible of *double entendre*. The mythological sense is clear enough. But so far as the historical sense is concerned, it supplies us with two facts of importance. The first is that Dhruva was a sworn enemy of the Gaṅgas. This follows from the verses quoted from the Paiṭhāṇ Plates. The Gaṅga prince was actually one of the allies who had come to the help of Gōvinda when Dhruva was ousting him. It was therefore natural that Dhruva could never forgive the Gaṅga king. His hostilities with the Gaṅgas have been referred to also in other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions. The second historical fact to be deduced from the same verse of our grant is that he made his own the prosperity of a ruler whose family insignia was the bull. Who could this prince be? Obviously he could be no other than a prince of the (Eastern) Chālukya family of Vēṅgī who had the bull as their badge[2]. And this prince again could be no other than his father-in-law, Vishṇuvardhana IV. The latter was no doubt an ally of Dhruva when our grant was issued. But it could not have been so originally, for we know that like the Gaṅga prince, the Vēṅgī also favoured Gōvinda II. and opposed Dhruva. Now Vishṇuvardhana IV., the Chālukya ruler of Vēṅgī, we have seen, ruled from A.D. 764 to 799, whereas Gōvinda II. from A.D. 772 to 775. Vishṇuvardhana therefore must have been the ally of Gōvinda II. and adversary of Dhruva about 775. But it seems that after Gōvinda II. was finally ousted, Vishṇuvardhana made alliance with Dhruva which was cemented by the latter marrying his daughter.

[1] The same verse occurs in the Surat Plates of Karkarāja (v. 34), as stated above. Prof. A. S. Altekar, who has edited them, however, interprets it differently.

[2] [That the Eastern Chālukyas had boar as their badge and not bull is clear from the expression *vara-varāha-lāñchhana* found in their inscriptions and the figure of a boar on the seals of many of the copper plates issued by them. The reference here is probably to the Pallavas of Kāñchī who had the bull as their emblem as is evidenced by their seals. We know from the Paiṭhāṇ plates that the Lord of Kāñchī was one of the kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance.—Ed.]

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 श्री[2] [।*] स वोव्य(व्या)द्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं क्रुतं [।*] हरश्च यस्य क(का)न्तेन्दुकलया कमलंक्रुतं [॥1*]

2 आसीद्विषन्तिमिर[3]मुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [।*] भूपः शुचिर्व्विधुरिवा-

3 स्तदिगत[4]कीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति राजसु राजसिह:[5] [॥ 2*] दृष्ट्वा चमूम-भिमुखीं सुभटाट्टहसा[6]मुन्ना-

4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।(।) दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटि[7] ललाटे खड्ग[8] कुलंच(च) हृदयं च निजं च सत्व[9] ।[। 3*]

5 खड्गं करग्रा मु[10]खतश्च शोभ(भा) मानो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । [म]ह(हा)-हवे नम[11] निश(ा)म्य सद्यस्त्रयं रि-

6 पु(पू)णां विगलत्वकाण्डे[12] ॥ [4*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरर्त्ति[13]हारिहरिविक्रमधामधरि[14] [।*] भूपस्त्रि(त्रि)वि-

7 ष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्क्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव ॥ [5*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहर-[15]

8 रुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः [।*] क्षाप:[16] क्षितौ[17] क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूज[:*] सद्राष्ट्रकू-टकनकद्रि[18]रिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[6*]

9 तस्योपार्ज्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याः [।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्र-तुसदृशः[19] श्री-

10 दन्तिदुर्गराजोभुत्[20] ॥[7*] काञ्चीशकेरलनरधिप[21]चोलपण्ड्य[22]श्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधा-नदक्षं [।*] कार्ण्ण-

11 टक[23] बलमनंत्य[24]मजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[8*] [25]अभ्रूवि-भङ्गमगृहीत[26]निशातश-

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[1] From the original plates and impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read °तिमिर°.

[4] Read °वास्तदिगन्त.

[5] Read सिंहः.

[6] Read °ट्टहासा°.

[7] Read भ्रुकुटिं.

[8] Read खड्गं.

[9] Read सत्त्वम्.

[10] Read कराग्रान्मु°.

[11] Read नाम.

[12] Read °त्यकाण्डे.

[13] Read °रार्त्ति°.

[14] Read धामधारी.

[15] Read प्रहार.

[16] Read क्ष्मापः.

[17] Read क्षितौ.

[18] Read कनकाद्रि.

[19] Read सदृशः.

[20] Read राजोऽभूत्.

[21] Read नराधिप.

[22] Read पाण्ड्य.

[23] Read कार्णाटकं.

[24] Read बलमनन्त°.

[25] Read अभ्रू°.

[26] Read °गृहीत.

12 समस्तामप्रतिहतशा[1]सनमपीतयन् [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डबलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता-
13 मवाप ॥[9*] आसेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमालाजलादाप्रालेयकलङ्किता-मलशिलाजा-
14 लात्तुषाराचलात् ।(।) आ पूर्व्वापरवा(वा)रिराशिपु(पु)लिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधे[2] र्येनेयं जगती स्वविक्रमबले-
15 नैकातपत्रा[3] कृता ॥[10*] त[स्मिन्दिवं प्र]या[ते व]ल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजाबाधः [।*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृ-
16 ष्णराजोभू[त्] ॥[11*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रम[4]निः(निः)शेषोत्सादितारिदिक्चक्रं ।(।) कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं
Second Plate : First Side.
17 श्रीकृष्णराजस्य[5] ॥[12*] शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूद्धरुद्धरविकिरणं [।*] ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं
18 प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥[13*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं[6] समीहितमजस्रं ।(।) तत्क्षणमकालव-
19 र्षो वर्षति सर्व्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वापणं ॥[14*] राहप्पमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपमाजौ विजित्य निशितासिलता-
20 प्रहारैः [।*] पालिध्वज[7]वलिशुभामचिरे[ण यो हि रा]जाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां ततान ॥[15*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-
21 ड्गप्रसृतरुचिचयैर्भासमानं [8]समन्ता त्वाद्वृत्तवैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षोभदक्षं ।(।) शौर्यं
22 त्यक्तारिवर्गा[9] भयचकितवपुः का[पि][10] दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो दर्प्पाध्माताखिलचक्रव्यकरम-
गमयस[11] दोर्द्दण्ड-
23 द(द)पं ॥[16*] पाता यश्चतुर(र)म्बुर(रा)शिरशनालंकारभाजो भुवस्त्र्याणामपि कर्त्ता द्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपु(पू)-
24 जादरः ।(।) द(दा)ता म(मा)नभृदग्रणीर्ग्गुणवतां योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्ग्गफल(ला)नि भूरितप-

[1] Read °प्रतिहताज्ञ°.
[2] Read प्रसिद्धावधे°.
[3] Read °पत्री°.
[4] Read स्वभुजपराक्रम.
[5] Read °राजस्य.
[6] Read °चेष्टं°.
[7] Read °जा वलि°.
[8] Read समन्तादाजावुद्वृत्त-.
[9] Read °वर्गौ.
[10] Read क्वापि.
[11] Read °यन.

25 सा स्थानं जगामामरं ॥[17*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्रातताषात्कलीलं जग्मे नासीरधूली-

26 धवली(लि)तशिरसा वल्लभ(भा)ख्यः सदाजौ [।*] स श्रीगोविन्दराजो जितज-मदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्त-

27 स्यासीत्सुतुरेका[1] चपरणदलित(ता)रातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[18*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रु(ध्रु)-वराजनामा महा(हा)नुभावो-

28 प्रहतप्रत(ता)पः [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालार्कवपुर्ब्बभूव ॥[19*] जाते[2] यत्र च राष्ट्र(ष्ट्र)ट-

29 [कु]लश्चे[3] मद्भूपसद्धमणो[4] गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरयाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं [।*] सत्यं सत्यमिति प्र-

30 श(शा)सति सति च्मामासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्धर्म्मपरे गुण(णा)मृतनिधौ सत्यव्रता-धिष्ठिते ॥[20*] समध-

31 रवारनिकरनिभं यस्य यशः सुरनगापगानुकृते[5] [।*] परिगीयतेनुरक्तैर्व्विद्याधर-सुन्दरीनिव-

32 है: ॥[21*] हटोत्तर्च्य श्रीवि(वि)जनाय नित्यं सर्व्वस्वमानन्दितबन्धुवर्गः[6] [।*] प्रदा प्रहृष्टो[7] हरति

Second Plate ; Second Side.

33 स्म धर्मात्[8] प्राणानामस्य(स्या)पि नितान्तवीयः[9] [॥22*] रक्षतो(ता) येन निःशेष(षं) चतुरम्भोधिसंयुतं [।*]

34 राज्यं धर्म्मेण[10] लोकाना(नां) कृता तुष्टिः परा हृदि [॥23*] श्रीमो प्रसे-(सा)धितजगत्(च)यमारुद्गो[11] वंशो-

35 ऽसन्ततिनिरोधविहतमीतिः[12] [।*] [13]धात्रीकृतोदलरुचाङ्कविभूतिवर्षेण्ये[14] ततान[14] परमेश्व-

36 [र]नाभिषेकः ।[।24*] तस्य परमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकाल-

37 [व]र्ष[देव]प(पा)दानुध्यातपरमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरधार(रा)वर्ष-

38 श्रीध्रुवराजदेवस्य महादेवी सर्व्वलोकाश्रयभिक्षुवर्द्धनश्रीविहरमराजदु-

[1] Read °र्नुरेक.

[2] Read शयार्द.

[3] Read क्वापि.

[4] Read सुवामनी.

[5] Read °नुर्विक्षुपरा.

[6] Read सर्वस्वमानन्दितबन्धु°.

[7] Read प्रदाप्रहृष्टो.

[8] Read धेमर्ग.

[9] Read °वीर्य.

[10] Read तुर्थी.

[11] Read स्र्येण.

[12] Read कीर्तिः.

[13] Read धात्री°.

[14] Read °वर्षेण, ततान.

39 क्षिता परमेश्वरी परमभट्टारिका श्रीगौतमश्वादेवी ॥ तयेदमात्रोत्त-

40 तृणायवत्सलस्याम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)म्बभुवमाकलय्य [।*] दृत्तीविततधर्म्मनिबद्धबुद्ध्या
    हिता-

41 तिदायीयमकारि भूरिः [॥ 25*] सा च धारावर्षश्रीमश्वादेवी कुशली(लिनी)
    सर्व्वे(र्व्वा)ने-

42 व यथासवध्यमानकाम्राह्[1] पतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटकान(नि)युक्तकुलाधि-

43 कार(रि)कमहत्तरादीन(न्) समादिशति [।*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा
    मय(या) म(मा)तापि-

44 त्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये[2] श्रीकुरुगोटवास्तव्यगा-

45 लंकायनसगोत्र-बव्वृ[3]-काण्वसब्रह्मच(चा)रि-ब्राह्मण-मारदि-सूनु[श्री]रपः ॥

46 श्रीनान्दीपु(पु)रद्वारीवास्तव्य-तत्रातुविद्य[4]स(सा)मान्य-जातुकर्ण्यसगोत्र[5]-बव्वृ[3]-माध्यन्दि-

47 नसब्रह्मचारि-ब्राह्मण-भट्टनारायण-सूनु-दुर्ग्ग(र्गा)दित्य: [।*] वाद्या[6] श्रीमन्नान्दीपु-

48 रद्वारी-दिषयन्तर्गत:[7] श्रीलव(प)द्रनामग्राम: यस्याघट्टनानि पुड़त:[8] तदनन्त-

49 पश्चाताखद्दानिकोर्यिसंगमश्चर्णिफालग्रामच[9]

Third Plate.

50 दक्षिणत: निम्बोदुंकुम्भशावशा: निर्षदिपद्रग्रामश्च तत[10] दोङ्गरिका च उखल-
    पद्रग्रामश्च

51 तदनन्त पश्चिमत: उखलपद्री नाम नदिका तीरणपद्रनाम ग्राम[11] अंकरि-
    पटनिम्बोदुंवं-

52 गम: भद्रवटग्रामश्च उ[त्त]रतो द्रोंगरिका[12] नवग्रामश्च एत[दा]घट्ट[नो]पलक्षित:
    सधन्यहिरण्यादेय[13]

53 श्चाटभटप्रावेश्य(श्य:) अच्छिनराजकीय(या)[नामहस्तप्रक्षे]पणीय: आचन्द्रार्का-
    र्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसम-

54 कालीन(न:) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन[14] प्रवभूपालक[ा]ल[ातीतसंच]मरयततपाके पयोतरक्ष[15]
    चलयुजतच्याम-

[1] Read °ग्रंबध्यमानकाम्रा°. [2] Read °वृद्धये°.
[3] Read बव्वृ. [4] Read तत्रातुर्विद्य°. [5] Read जातूकर्ण्य.
[6] Read बाह्या. [7] Read दिषया°. [8] Read पूर्व्वत.
[9] It is difficult to correct and punctuate the words from तदन to ग्रामश्च. Perhaps they may stand for तदन-पश्चात्-खद्दा-निम्बोदि-संगमवर्णिफालग्रामश्च.
[10] Read तथा. [11] Read °नामा ग्रामौ.
[12] This seems to be the Sanskritised form of दोङ्गरिका in l. 50, and is probably the name of a river. [The word *ḍôṅgara* is found in other inscriptions also (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 120, ll. 31 and 39). According to Kittel *ḍoṅgara* or *ḍōṅgara* means 'a hill', a steep rock. Possibly *ḍôṅgarikâ* has been used here in the sense of 'a hillock'.—Ed.]
[13] Read सधान्यहिरण्यादेय:. [14] Read भूमिच्छिद्र°. [15] Read यथोत्तरक्षे.

ii b.

iii

S. F. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 2373 E'36-425.

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

55 वास्ताया[1] महत्यादित्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि स्ना[तजाति]सर्गत्व[2] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्र-
पञ्चमहायज्ञ-[3]

56 पत्रियोत्सर्पणाय प्रतिपादित: [।*] यतोनयोरेतभ्रजानयो:(र्भुञ्जानयो:) भोज्ञयतो:
प्रतिदिशतोर्व्वं(र्वा) न केनचित्प्रासेधे प्रवर्तितव्य[4] [।*] तथा[5]

57 निभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशैरन्यै(न्यै)र्व्वा स(सा)मान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेक्ष्य विद्युद्(द्यु)च्च-
(च)लं च जीवितमैश्वर्य-[6]

58 ञ्चास्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्म[द्दाय:] पालयितव्य: [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतो व्याच्छि-
न्द्याद(दा)च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदे-

59 त स [7]पञ्चभि महापातकैश्चोपपातकै[र्यु]क्त स्यादित्युक्तं[8] भगव[ता] वेदव्यासेन [॥*]
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि

60 स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद(द:) [।*] [आच्छेत्ता चा]नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् [॥ 26*] विन्ध्या(न्ध्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क-

61 कोटरवासिन: [।*] कृष्णाहय[9] [हि] जायन्ते भूमिदाय(यं) हरन्ति ये [॥ 27]
ब[हुभि]र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि(भि:)

62 सगर(रा)दिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [तदा] फलं [॥ 28*]
य(या)नीह दत्त(त्ता)नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द(र्दा)नानि धर्म्मार्थ-[10]

63 यशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि [ता]नि को नाम स(सा)धु: पुनरा-
ददीत [॥ 29*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यत्नाद्र-

64 क्ष नराधिप [।*] मही(हीं) महीमता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानात् श्रेयोनुपालनं[11] [॥ 30*]
इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोला[12]

65 श(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनै न हि
पुरुषै: परकीर्त्तयो वि-

66 लोप्या(प्या:) [॥ 31*] इति भारावर्ष-चौहयुवीवराम[14]-महाद(दे)वी-समादिष्ट-श्रीम-
यादि-संहत्य दूतकं[15]

67 लिखितं च(च) परमेश्वरयोराज्ञया[16] श्वास्तिनसुत[ना] महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतेन[17]
गुण-

68 भरापरनाम्ना वसुदेवेनेति यो [॥*]

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[1] Read °मातात्मनो.
[2] Read °सर्गार्थं.
[3] Read °यज्ञाद्या°.
[4] Read प्रवर्तितव्यः.
[5] Read तथागामि°.
[6] Read °चैश्वर्य°.
[7] Read पञ्चभिर्महापातकैश्चोपपातकैर्युक्त.
[8] Read °युक्तः.
[9] Read कृष्णाहयो.
[10] Read धर्मार्थ°.
[11] Read दानाच्छ्रे°.
[12] Read कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां.
[13] Read °रात्मनीनैर्.
[14] Read °युवराज°.
[15] Read संहत्य दूतकं.
[16] Read परमेश्वर्या°.
[17] Read महासन्धि°.

No. 18.—KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAVARMAN.

By V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on a hero stone fixed near the river Pālār at **Kuḷidikki** in the Guḍiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot district. The stone is in a good state of preservation and the letters are engraved in archaic **Tamiḻ**.

The **language** of the record is Tamiḻ prose and it is particularly free from orthographical peculiarities.

A few words used in the inscription have a special significance. The word *tiri* (ll. 6, 9) ordinarily means 'to wander'; but here it is used in the sense of 'to proceed'. The word *Pallavaraiyan* (l. 5) is here used to denote the Pallava king.[2]

The epigraph is **dated** in the **52nd year** of Vijaya-**Nandiśvaravarman** and it records the death of **Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar**, the chief of **Karkāṭṭūr**, who, at the instance of *Vāṇaḍi* the Bāṇa king, fell on the day when the **Pallava** army marched against **Perumāṇaḍigaḷ**[3] and destroyed (the fortress of) **Puṉkuḷikkōṭṭai**.

At the outset it may be pointed out that, from the high regnal year[4] quoted in the record the king may be identified with **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**. The record may, therefore, be assigned to the second half of the 8th century A.D.[5]

The present inscription is important because it mentions a direct attack of the Pallava king Nandivarman (Pallavamalla) on the Western Gaṅgas (Permāṉaḍi). The reason for the attack is not stated, but it is clear that the raid must have been undertaken to check the

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[1] No. 134 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] In No. 23 of 1922 this word is similarly used. Compare also the word 'Iḻattaraiyan' to denote the king of Ceylon (*S. I. I.*, III, p. 232).

[3] The term 'Perumāṉaḍigaḷ' is an honorific title generally applied to the Divine Being and in inscriptions it is also used to denote kings. According to a Gaṅga record (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35) the Pallavas had this title, but we find very few instances of its application to them, as for instance in No. 17 of 1898. It may probably be explained by the boast of the Western Gaṅga King Śrīpurusha who claims to have snatched this title from 'the king of Kāñchi'. From the time of Śrīpurusha, it invariably denoted the Gaṅga rulers.

In the present record, this term is dubiously used. It might be interpreted as referring to Nandivarman himself, in which case, "Pallavaraiyan" (l. 6) would be some local chieftain who revolted against his overlord, when both Vāṇaraiyar and Gaṅgadiyaraiyar rushed to the rescue of the Pallava sovereign. Considering the context in which the term is used, the proximity of the Guḍiyāttam taluk, where this inscription is found, to the Gaṅga territory and the political situations of the time, it seems better to take it as referring to Śrīpurusha.

[4] There are only a few stone records of Pallavamalla which, from high regnal years, can be definitely attributed to him, viz.—

(a) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 123, dated in the 47th year from Vāḷḷibhipuram,
(b) No. 10 of 1895, dated in the 50th year from Paḍaṉḍuṇḍavanmalai,
(c) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 108, dated in the 52nd year from Sadupperi,
(d) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 42, dated in the 62nd year from Tiruvallam,
(e) No. 666 of 1922, dated in the 60th year from Mahābalipuram and
(f) No. 14 of 1898, dated in the 58th year from Conjeeveram.

Some of the inscriptions of Nandivarman without the distinguishing titles 'Pallavamalla' and 'Tellāṟṟeṟinda' and with regnal years below 22 must remain unidentified, as they cannot be easily assigned to either the 2nd or 3rd king of that name.

[5] Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has fixed the initial date of Pallavamalla at 690 A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 48 ff.); recently an attempt has been made to bring it down to 726 A.D. (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff.).

growing power of the Gaṅgas. Incidentally the record also mentions the relationship that existed among the three powers, *viz.*, the Pallavas, Western Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas who came into conflict with one another too frequently in the 8th century A.D.

For a clear understanding of the record, the position of these powers during this period must be understood.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla accepted the Pallava sovereignty when quite young at a time when the Pallava dominion was threatened with destruction. He had to contend against Chitramâya, another aspirant to the Pallava throne. The Western Châḷukyas who were the hereditary enemies of the Pallavas took this opportunity and, under Vikramâditya II, they even succeeded in capturing Kâñchi and driving Pallavamalla to the south, where again at Nandipura near Kumbhakôṇam, the latter was besieged by a confederacy of Southern powers, from which his general Udayachandra saved him. Pallavamalla soon retrieved his position and established his power in the south also as is evidenced by his copper-plate records, nearly all of which come from the Tanjore district.[1] He was attacked on all sides which necessitated his general Udayachandra to "bestow the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava" monarch.[2] The whole of his reign was crowded with military exploits as he came into conflict with all the neighbouring powers, *viz.*, the Pâṇḍyas, Râshṭrakûṭas, Eastern and Western Châḷukyas and the Gaṅgas. Here we are directly concerned with his relationship with the Gaṅgas.

Regarding the Pallava-Gaṅga relationship, it may be pointed out that the Pallavas claimed overlordship over the Gaṅgas by claiming to crown the Gaṅga kings. The Western Gaṅga kings Harivarman and Siṁhavarman or Mâdhava III were crowned[3] by the Pallava monarchs Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman.[4] When the Gaṅgas were subdued by the Western Châḷukyas,[5] the former must have come into conflict with the Pallavas along with the Châḷukyas, their overlords. Bhûvikrama, the elder brother of the Gaṅga king Śivamâra I., claims to have defeated the Pallava king in the battle of Vilanda and also to have captured the whole of the Pallava dominions.[6] Probably as a result of this battle, Śivamâra I. claims to have kept in his charge two Pallava princes.[7] When the Western Châḷukyas were overthrown by the Râshṭrakûṭas, the Gaṅgas under Śrîpurusha tried to assert their power, but soon the Râshṭrakûṭas and the Pallavas vindicated their claim for overlordship by claiming to crown Śivamâra II Saigoṭṭa.[8]

The contemporary of Pallavamalla on the Gaṅga throne at the time of our record was Śrîpurusha (725-788 A.D.) in whose time the Gaṅgas tried to expand their dominions. He seems to have extended his conquests[9] as far as Kuḷidikki where the present inscription is found.

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[1] Kâśâkuḍi, Tanḍantoṭṭam, Paṭṭattâḷmaṅgalam or Korregoḍi plates; the Udayêndiram plates alone do not belong to the Tanjore district.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 372.

[3] This is said to have been performed in due form, *i.e.*, according to customary rules (*paṭṭabandham*) (above, Vol. XIV, p. 333).

[4] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 332.

[5] A record of Vinayâditya, dated in 694 A. D., speaks of the Gaṅgas as the hereditary servants of the Western Châḷukyas (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 301).

[6] Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 37.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 60. Though this is a spurious record, the late Dr. Fleet did not find any impossibility in the truth of the statement that the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III crowned Śivamâra II.

[9] His inscriptions are also found at Oḍḍagaṭṭi in the Salem district (Nos. 211 and 212 of 1910 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

In fact a record from Humcha[1] states that Śrīpurusha slew the valiant Kāḍuveṭṭi[2] of Kāñchi and appropriated to himself, from the Pallavas, the title '*Permānaḍi*' which was from this time onwards exclusively used to denote the Gaṅgas.[3] Pallavamalla, however, did not keep quiet. The present inscription records one invasion against the Gaṅga king. In the Taṇḍan-tōṭṭam plates, dated six years later, *i.e.*, in his 58th year, Pallavamalla claims to have taken from him a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrōdaya*.[4] Śrīpurusha, therefore, seems to have given trouble to Pallavamalla till late in the latter's reign.

The Bāṇa country, known as Perumbāṇappāḍi, lay to the west of the Āndhra country between the Pallava and the Gaṅga kingdoms. In the beginning, the Bāṇas offered opposition to Pallava expansion, but in the Pallava-Gaṅga fights, they had to join one side or the other. They first became the subordinates of the Gaṅgas. Diṇḍigarar, a Bāṇa king ruling over Kaḷbappu-nāḍu, was a subordinate of Śrīpurusha.[5] A stone inscription[6] of the time of the Gaṅga prince Mādhava Muttarasa at Tallapaḷḷa refers to his expedition against Māvali-Vāṇarasa and to the battle of Kōyāttūr, *i.e.*, Laḍḍigam in the Chittoor district. Though forced by circumstances to join the Gaṅgas at times, the Bāṇas generally threw in their lot with the Pallavas. At the time of our record we see that the Bāṇa king sided the Gaṅga[7] in checking the Pallava aggression. In this attack the Pallava king must have felt the necessity for creating a buffer state of the Bāṇa territory, for we find within the next few years the Bāṇa chiefs figuring as subordinates of the Pallavas and acting as the guardians of the frontier territory of their overlords.[8] In our inscription the Bāṇa contemporary of Pallavamalla is merely called by the general title Vāṇaraiyar without giving his actual name. It is evident that he cannot be Vikramāditya I., the son-in-law of Pṛithivīpati I.,[9] as he figures in the 17th year of Nandivarman III.[10] We may identify him with Nandivarman, the historical founder of the Bāṇa kingdom.[11] Our record gives us to understand that this Vāṇaraiyar did not take an active part in checking the Pallava attack on Peṇkaḷikkōṭṭai, though it indicates his support of the Gaṅga cause. It will be seen from the present inscription that he stood in the relation of a

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35. Though this record is about three centuries later than the time of Śrīpurusha and also contains some wrong statements, the adoption of the title 'Permāḍi' (*i.e.*, *Permānaḍigaḷ*) by the Western Gaṅga rulers is borne out by their records; but the other statements made in it cannot be accepted as correct unless we get reliable evidence in support of them.

[2] It has been suggested that Paramēśvaravarman II was the Pallava king slain on the battlefield at Viḷande. Though probable, we do not know much about this ruler to affirm it.

[3] The Gaṅga chiefs seem to have adopted not only the title *Permānaḍi* but also other titles of the Pallavas as well. Vijaya-Narasiṁhavikramavarman and Vijaya-Īśvaravarman whose inscriptions are found at Baṅgavāḍi in the Kolar district, Kiḷmuṭṭugūr and Vāḷur in the North Arcot district and Hanumantapuram in the Salem district and who have been taken as Pallavas or rather Gaṅga-Pallavas hitherto, must really be Gaṅga chiefs adopting Pallava titles. These chiefs do not call themselves Pallavas and their inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters which we do not find in Pallava records. From the elephant and Ankus figures (above, Vol. IV, p. 177), carved in relief on one of the slabs containing an inscription of Narasiṁhavikramavarman, Dr. Hultzsch also concluded that Narasiṁhavarman was probably a Western Gaṅga chief (*ibid.*).

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 317, verse 6.

[5] *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1927, p. 105.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 13. This inscription is assigned by Rice approximately to A.D. 725.

[7] In the battle of Sorematti also the Bāṇa chief sided the Gaṅga ruler (No. 543 of 1906).

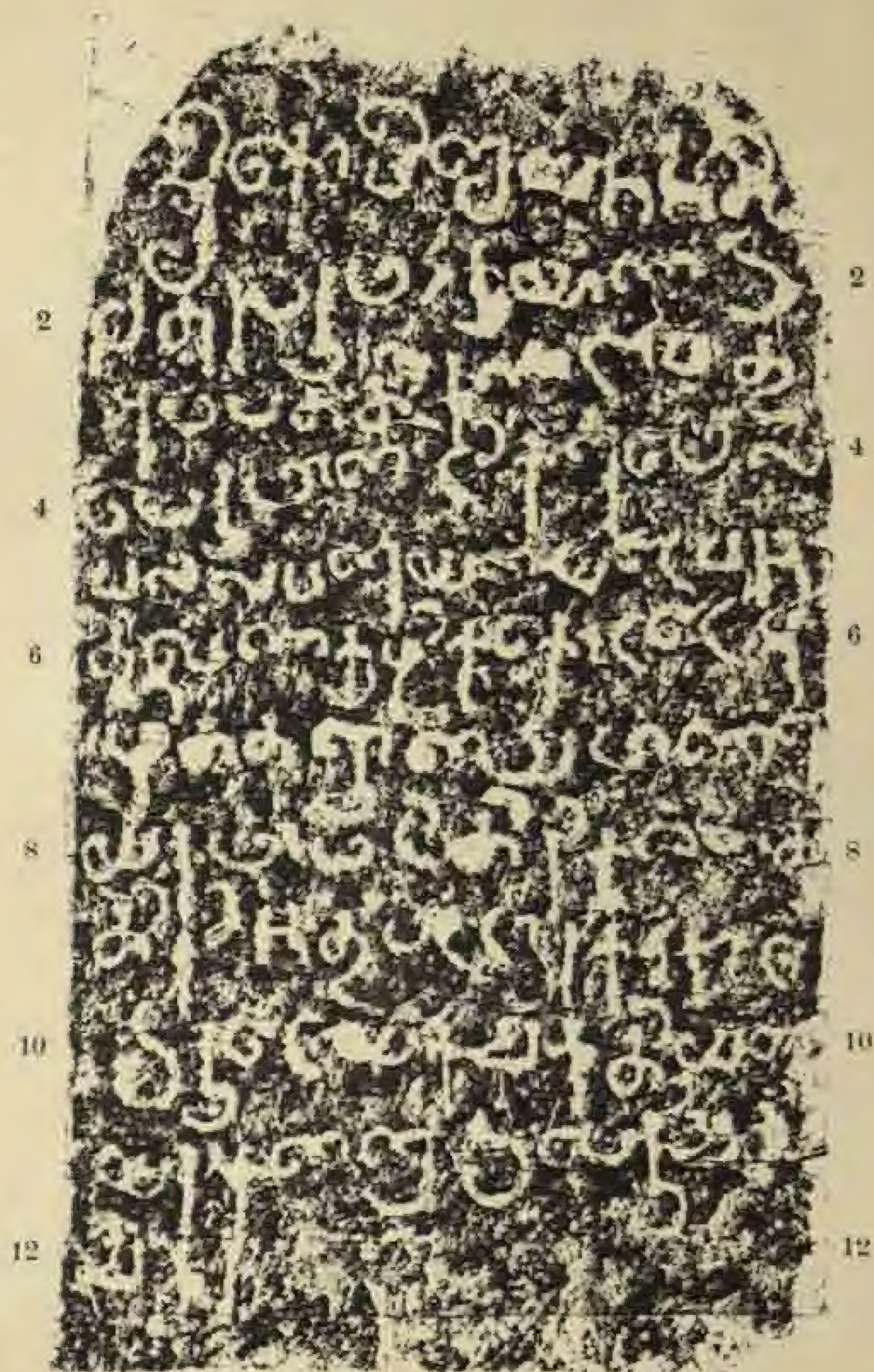
[8] The Bāṇas figure as subordinates of Pallavamalla, Danti, Nandi III and Nṛipatuṅga (above, Vol. XI, p. 233)

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 47 and 48.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[11] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 3. This Bāṇa chief must evidently have been so called after the name of his Pallava overlord Nandivarman (II).

KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAVARMAN.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3365 E '34—445.

SCALE: ONE SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

maternal uncle[1] to the Gaṅga chief at Kaṛkāṭṭūr. After the storming of Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai, the Bāṇas must have been subdued completely by the Pallavas, as we find a Mahāvali Vāṇaraiyar figuring as a subordinate in the 62nd year of Pallavamalla.[2] Subsequently, we find the Bāṇa chief ruling the Gaṅga six-thousand province[3] also, which must evidently have been possible only with Pallava support. It will thus be seen that by storming the fortress of Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai, Pallavamalla was able to check the growing power of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha and also to subdue the Bāṇas who from this time onwards accepted the overlordship of Pallavamalla and his successors.

The question why the death of Gaṅgadiyaraiyar should be recorded in an inscription of his adversary the Pallava king Nandivarman is easily answered. After the siege, the village Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai belonged to Nandivarman and inscriptions of this place had necessarily to be put up in the name of its overlord.

From the fact that the Gaṅga chief of Kaṛkāṭṭūr is called *Kaṇṇāḍu* Peruṅgaṅgar, it may be inferred that his ancestors, like himself, died on battle field.

Of the **places** mentioned in the record, **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** may be identified with **Kaḷakaṭṭūr** near Palamanēr in the Chittoor district. This Kaḷakaṭṭūr was in Puli-nāḍu which was under the Bāṇas, but was subsequently conquered by the Noḷamba king under orders of the Gaṅga ruler.[4] **Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai** may be identified with **Kuḷidikki** itself where the present inscription is found.

TEXT.

1 Śrī [||] **kō-Viśeya-Nandi-**

2 **chchuraparumarku** yāṇḍu

3 **aimbattiraṇḍāvadu**

4 Perumāṉaḍigaḷ mēl

5 Pallavaraiyaṉ paḍai van-

6 du **Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai**, a-

7 ḻitta ñāṉṟu **Vāṇarai-**

8 **yar** māmaḍi tiṟiga eṉṟ-

9 tiṟanda paṭṭār **Kaṛkāṭ-**

10 **ṭūr-uḍaiya Gaṅgadiyarai-**

11 **yar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅga-**

12 **ṅgar** [||]

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the **fifty-second** year of (*the reign of*) king **Viśeya-Nandichchuraparumar**, **Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar**, (*the chief*) of **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** died, (*when*) **Vāṇaraiyar**, (*his*) uncle (*directed him*) to proceed on the day (*when*) the Pallava (?) army marched against **Perumāṉaḍigaḷ** and destroyed (*the fortress of*) **Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai**.

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[1] One would look for the term *māmaḍi* to precede the proper name Vāṇaraiyar as in Ālvan Dikka, *Māmaḍi* Sōmēśvara, *Ajjiya* Kāmarasya etc. This word is so used in the present inscription that it might also mean that Vāṇaraiyar was the uncle of Perumāṉaḍigaḷ, i.e., Śrīpurusha himself.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 91.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, p. VI.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, pp. 90-91.

No. 19.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III: VALABHI SAMVAT 357[1].

By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is incised were discovered in 1915 in the village of Jesar, in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāṭhiāwār. They were lent in 1916 to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, and a preliminary account of this inscription, along with that of another grant of Śīlāditya III discovered in the same village,[2] were published by that scholar.[3]

The record is incised on the inner side of **two thick plates** of copper measuring 1' 2½" by 1' which are held together by a long ring of copper to which is attached an oval **seal**, of the same metal, with the **legend**, usually to be found on seals of grants of the Valabhī dynasty of Kāṭhiāwār, **Śrī-Bhaṭakka**. There is a bull couchant in the upper part of the area of the seal separated from the legend by two lines. Another round hole is to be seen in each of the plates for another ring, which however is missing. There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing of which the first twenty-nine are to be found on the first plate and the remaining thirty-three on the second plate. The whole of the record, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, is in prose. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, abounding with high flown phrases copied from earlier grants. Mistakes of the mason are common. Consonants with the superscript *r* are usually doubled. The *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya* are used very often in ligatures with the following consonants *p* and *k* respectively.

The **alphabet** of the inscription shows clear signs of southern influence, *cf.* the form of *ta* in *ratn-ālaṅkāra* (l. 32). The base line of *ha* is suppressed. The place of the *anusvāra* is very often taken by *m* in ligatures, *cf.* *ansa* (l. 10) and *nikhamsita* (l. 19). Noteworthy also is the vowel *ē* in *dēva* (ll. 25 and 44).

The first fortyfive lines of the record are devoted to the genealogy. As usual in grants issued by the later princes of the **Valabhi** dynasty, the names of the sons of **Bhaṭārka** are omitted and the first prince to be mentioned, after the founder of the house, is **Guhasēna**, the son of **Dharapaṭṭa**, who was the fourth son of Bhaṭārka. Then in the order of succession comes his son **Dharasēna II**, his son **Śīlāditya I**, surnamed **Dharmmāditya**, his younger brother **Kharagraha I**, and his son **Dharasēna III**. The latter was followed on the throne by his younger brother **Dhruvasēna II**, surnamed **Bālāditya** and he was succeeded by his son **Dharasēna IV**. After this prince the succession devolved upon **Dhruvasēna III**, the son of **Dērabhaṭa**, who was the son of Śīlāditya I. Dhruvasēna III, was succeeded by his older brother **Kharagraha II**, who again was followed on the throne by his elder brother **Śīlāditya II's** son **Śīlāditya (III)**, the donor of the present grant. [The late Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date of this inscription as Saṁ 300 80 7 dvi-Pausha-ba 10. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar also read the date as Saṁ 387 dvi-Pausha-ba 4.[4] Both these scholars, apparently depending on their reading of the date, attributed this inscription to Śīlāditya IV, the son and successor of Śīlāditya III. The genealogical portion of the inscription, however, stops with Śīlāditya III, but Banerji held the opinion that the portion introducing Śīlāditya IV, which is found in his own grants or those of his successors 'was omitted in this inscription'. I, however, read the date as Saṁ 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha ba 4 and would attribute the inscription to Śīlāditya III. The second numerical figure in the year is exactly similar to the figure for 50 found in the Lunsadi plates of Śīlāditya III[5],

[1] [See my note in paragraph 4.—Ed.]

[2] Now edited above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

[3] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, para. 10

[4] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, and *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1389.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 305 ff., and *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawar, etc.*, pp. 45 ff., and Pl.

Moreover, the donee of the present grant is evidently identical with that of Jesar plates of Śîlâditya of Valabhî Samvat 347,[1] the difference being that he is here only mentioned as a *Dîkshita* and his two names Saggaḍa and Prakâśa found in the earlier Jesar plates have been omitted. It therefore appears that Śîlâditya III, made a second grant to the same person ten years after the first grant was issued.—Ed.]

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of : (1) a reservoir of water (*vâpî*) extending over twenty-five *pâdâvartas* of land from the royal-domain land (*râjakîya*) in the Maḍasara-*sthalî* in the village of **Maḍasara** in **Surâshṭ[r*]a** to a Brâhmaṇa who was a **Dîkshita** and was the son of **Sâmbadatta** of the Vâjasanêya-*śâkhâ* of the Yajurvêda and of the Kauśika-*gôtra* and who had emigrated from **Pushya-Sâmbapura.** The boundaries of this gift were as follows : to the east Pâṇḍava-Khaṇḍa, to the south the *prapâ* known as the [Ka*]mpilikkâ Khuṇḍaka (?) belonging to Datta (Datta), to the west the field known as Sâagara and to the north the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Saṅgilaka ; (2) one hundred and four *pâdâvartas* of land, in five pieces, situated in the northern boundary (of the village). The first piece belonging to an extinct family measured sixteen *pâdâvartas*. The boundaries of this piece of land were : to the east the *brahmadêya* field of the Brâhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the south the family land (?) of Chachcha and Mâtṛila, to the west the field called Maḍhavâṇaka and the Sagara (?) leading towards the village Kôraṭapadraka and to the north the field known as *Paṭṭipâpaka-kûpa-kshêtra*. The second piece measuring thirty *pâdâvartas* also originally belonged to a family then extinct. Its boundaries were : to the east, the *brahmadêya* field of the Brâhmaṇa Śaṅkara, to the south the *brahmadêya* field of the Brâhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the west the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Bhaṭṭaka, to the north also the field of the same Brâhmaṇa Aṇahaka. The third piece measuring forty-three *pâdâvartas* was cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were : to the east the path going towards the village of Suptâvasadhî, to the south the *brahmadêya* field of the Brâhmaṇa Saṅgaka, to the west the fields known as *Paṭṭâpaka* and *Mâtṛisthâna*, to the north the boundary of the village of Suptâvasadhî. The fourth piece was also under the cultivation of Kikaka and measured ten *pâdâvartas*. Its boundaries were : to the east the public road, to the south the *grâmasîmâ*, to the west the *prapâ* of the nobleman (*kulaputraka*) Varuṇa, to the north the field belonging to Karkkaka. The fifth piece measuring five *pâdâvartas* was also cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were : to the east the *brahmadêya* field of the Brâhmaṇa Chamuṇa, to the south the *brahmadêya* field known as Dâsimaka, to the west the public road (*râjavîthî*), to the north the *brahmadêya* field of the Brâhmaṇa Śaṅkara. The *Dûtaka* of the grant was the prince (*Râjaputra*) **Kharagraha** and it was written by the *Sandhivigrahâdhikṛita Divirapati Mahâpratîhâra Sâmanta* **Mammaka.** The prince Kharagraha is mentioned in the Bhâvnagar plates of Śîlâditya III, of G. 350 and the Bhâvnagar plates of Śîlâditya IV, of G. 372, the Devalî plates of G. 375 and the plates of G. 376. The date of the grant is the **4th day of the dark half of the second month of Paushа** in the **year 357** evidently of the Valabhî era and is equivalent to 675-76 A.D. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at **Mêghavana,** from which the Lunsaḍî plates of Śîlâditya III, of the year 352 were also issued. I am unable to identify Maḍasara, Suptâvasadhî and other places mentioned in this record. I edit the inscription from the original plates which had been lent to me by the Bhâvnagar Durbar for this purpose.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ôm[2] Svasti[|*] Vijayaskandha(ndhâ)va(vâ)râ[t*] Mêghavana-bâ(vâ)sa(sa)kâ[t*] prasabha-praṇat-âmitrâṇâṁ Maitrakâṇâm-atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍal-âbhôga-saṁsakta-prahâra-śata-labdha-pratâpât-pratâp-ôpanata-dâna-

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

2 mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāg-ānurakta-maula-bhṛitaḥ[1]-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śriyaḥ Paramamāhēśvaraḥ[1]-śrī **Bhaṭārkkād**=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vaṁśān=mātā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhau-
3 t-a(śē)sha-kalmashaḥ śaiśa(śa)vāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga[2]-dvitīya-bā(bā)hur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat-prabhāva-praṇat - ārāti - chūḍā - ratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-
4 saṁhatiḥ[*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyak(k)-paripālana-prajā - hṛidaya-rañjan-ānvarttha-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-ga(gā)mbhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ[*] Smara-śaśāṅk-ādṛi(dri)rā(rā)j-ōdadhi-t[ri*]daśaguru-Dhanē-
5 śān-atiśayānaḥ śaraṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tṛiṇavad=apāst-āśēsha-sva-kāryya-phala[ḥ*] prārtthan-ādhik-ārttha-prajā(dā)n-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidaya[ḥ*] pādachār=īva
6 sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōda[ḥ*] Paramama(mā)hēśvaraḥ śrī-**Guhasēnas**=tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-visṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshālit āśēsha-kalmashaḥ
7 praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sampad-rūpa-lōbhād=iv=āśrita[ḥ*] sarabhasam-ābhigāmikair=gguṇai[s*]=sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddhara[ḥ*] prathama-narapati-
8 samatisṛishṭānām=anupālayitā dhamma-dāyānām=apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānā[ṁ*] darśayitā Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṁhat-ārāti-paksha-Lakshmī-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikramō[3]
9 vikram-[ō]pasa(saṁ)pra(prā)pta-vimala-pārtthiva-śrīḥ Paramama(mā)hēśvara[ḥ*] śrī-**Dharasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ sakala-jagad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-diṅ maṇḍala[4] samara-śata-vi-
10 jaya-śobhā-sana(nā)tha-maṇḍal-āgra-dyūti-bhāsu(su)ratar-ān(ṁ)sa-pīṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-manōratha-mahābhāraḥ sarvva-vidyā-par-āpara-vibhāg-ādhigama-dhi(vi)mala-matir=api sarvvataḥ subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpa-
11 pa(pā)danīya-paritōsha[ḥ*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛidayō=pi su-charit-ātiśaya-suvyakta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāva[ḥ*] khilībhūta-kṛita-yuga-nṛipati-patha-viśōdhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-
12 kīrtti[ḥ*] dharmm-ānuparōdh-ō(j)jvalatarīkṛit-ārttha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-niro(rū)ḍha-**Dharmmāditya**-dvitīya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Śīlādityas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ svayam=Upēndra-gu-
13 ruṇ=ēva guruṇ=āty-ādaravatā samabhilashaṇīyām=api rāja-lakshmīṁ skandha-sa-kt[āṁ*] parama-bhadra iva dhuryyas=tad-ājñā-sampādan-aika-rasati[5]-aiv-ōdvahan khēda-sukha-ratibhyām=anāyāsi-
14 ta-sat(tt)va-sampatti[ḥ*] prabhāva-sampad-vaśīkṛita-nṛipati-śata-śirō-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagū-ḍha-pāda-pīṭh(ṭh)ō=pi par-āvajñ-ābhimāna-ras-ānāliṅgita-manōvṛittiḥ praṇatim=ēkā[ṁ*] parityajya prakhyāta-pauru-
15 sh-ābhimānair=apy=arātibhir=anāsādita-pratikṛi(kri)y-ōpāya[ḥ*] kṛita-nikhila-bhuvan-āmōda-vimala-guṇa-saṁhati-prasabha-vighaṭita-sakala-kali-vilasi(si)ta-gati[ḥ*] nīcha-jan-ādhirōhibhir=aśē-

[1] The visarga is superfluous.
[2] Two dashes to the right of ga are superfluous.
[3] Superfluous.
[4] Read diṅ-maṇḍalaḥ.
[5] Read rasatay=.

16 sthair-ddōśair[1]=unāṃ(nnāṃ)śāt-āśyunnata-hṛidaya[ḥ*] prakhyāta-pauruṣh-āstra-kauśal-ātiśayaḥ(ya)-gaṇa-tithi-vipaksha-kshitipati-lakshmī-svayaṃgrāha-prakāśita-vīra-purushaḥ(sha)-prathama-saṅkhy-ādhigamaḥ Paramamāhēśvara[ḥ]

17 śrī-**Kharagrahas**=tasya tanayas-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ sakala vidy-ādhigama-vihita-nikhila-vidvaj-jana-manaḥ-paritōsh(sh)-ātiśaya[ḥ*] sat(t)va-sapā(sampa)dā tyāg-audāryyēṇa va(cha) vigat-ānusandhān(ā)ś-āsamāhit-ārāti-

18 paksha-manōratha-aksha-bhaṅga[ḥ*] samyag-upalakshit-ānēka-śāstra-kauśal-ātiśaya-[2]-dharmma-gaṇavato vibhāgē-pi paramabhadra-prakṛiti(ti)r-akṛiśa(tri)ma-praśraya-vinaya-śō(śō)bhā-vibhūshaṇa[ḥ] samaraśata-jaya-patākā-

19 haraṇa-pratyal-ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-vidhvaṃ(ṃ)sita-nikhila(la)-pratipaksha-darpp-ōdayaḥ sva-dhanuḥ-prabhāva-paribhūt-āstra-kauśal-ābhimāna-sakala-nṛipati-maṇḍal-ābhinandita-śāsana[ḥ*] Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-

20 **Dharasēnas**-tasy=ānujas-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ sach-charit-ātiśayita-sakala-pūrvva-narapatir-ati-du(d)u(ḥ)sādhānām-api prasādhayitā viṣhayāṇām mūrttimān=iva purushakāraḥ parivṛiddha-guṇ-ānurāga-nirdbharaḥ[3]-

21 chitta-vṛitta(ttī)bhir=mManur=iva svayam=abhyupapannaḥ prakṛitibhir-adhigata-kalā-kalāpaḥ kāntimā(n*) nirvṛiti-hētur-akalaṅkaḥ kumuda-nātha[ḥ*] prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig=ant(a)tāla-pradhvan(ṃ)sita-dhvānta-rāśi(śiḥ) satat-ō-

22 t-ō[4]dita-savitā prakṛitibhya[ḥ*] para(ṃ*) pratyayam-arthavantam=ati-bahu-tithaprayōjan-ānubandham=āgama-paripūrṇṇa(ṃ*) vidadhānas-sandhi-vigraha-samāsa-niśchaya-nipuṇaḥ sthānē-nura(rū)pam=ādēśaṃ=dada[d*]-guṇa

23 vṛiddhi-vidhāna-janita-saṃskāra(ḥ*) sādhūnam[5] rājya(jya)-Śālāturīyaṃ(ya)-tantrayōr=ubhayōr=api nishṇātaḥ prakṛiṣhṭa-vikramō-pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hṛidayaḥ śrutavān=apy=agarvvi[ḥ*] tañ kāntō-pi praśa(śa)mī sthira-sauhṛi(day)ō-pi ni-

24 rasitā dōshavatām-udaya-samaya-samupajanita-janat-ānurāga-parivi(pi)hita-bhuvana-samarthi(*)ta-prathita-**Bālāditya**-dvitīya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruvasēnas**=tasya sutas-tat-pāda-kamala-pra-

25 ṇāma-dharaṇī kashaṇa-janita-kiṇa-lāñchhana-lalita-chandra-śa(śa)kala[ḥ*] śiśu-bhāva ēva śravaṇa-nihita-mauktik-ālaṅkāra-vibhram-āmala-śruta-vilāsa[6] pradāna-salila-kshālit-āgra-hast-āravindaḥ kā(ka)nyāyā i-

26 va mṛidu-kara-grahaṇād=amandīkṛit-ānanda-vidhir=vvasundharāyāḥ kārmma(rmmu)kē dhanurvvēda iva sambhā(bhā)vit-āśēsha-lakshya-kalāpaḥ praṇata-sāmanta-maṇḍal-ōttam-[ā*]ṅga-dhṛita-chchūḍā-ratnāyā(ya)māna-śā(śā)sanaḥ Paramamāhēśvara

27 Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Chakravartti(rtti)-śrī-**Dharasēnas**=tat-pitāmaha-bhrātṛi-śrī-**Śīlādityasya** Śārṅgapāṇēr-iv=āṅga-janmanā bhakti-bandhur-[ā*]vayava-kalpita-praṇatēr=ati-dhavalayā dūrataṃ tat-pā-

28 d-āravinda-pravṛittayā nakha-maṇi-ruchā Mandākiny=ēva nityam=amalit-ōttamāṅga-dēśasy=Āgastyasy=aiva rājarshēr=ddākshiṇyam=ātanvānasya prabala-dhavalimnā yaśasāṃ va-

29 layēna maṇḍita-kakubhā nabhasi yāminīpatēr=vviḍambit-ākhaṇḍa-parivēsha-maṇḍalasya payōda-śyāma-śikhara-chūchuka-ruchira-Sahya-Vindhya-stana-yugāyāḥ

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[1] Read dōrdaṇḍa-.
[2] Read kali-kāla-.
[3] Read nirddhāra-.
[4] The second ṭa is superfluous.
[5] Read sādhūnām.
[6] Read vilāsaḥ.

Second Plate.

30 kshitaḥ patyuḥ śrī-**Dērabhaṭasy**=āṅgaj[ā]taḥ kshitipa-saṁhatēr=anurāgiṇyāḥ śuchi-yaś-āṁśuka-bhṛita[ḥ*] svaya[ṁ*]vara-mālām=iva rājya-śriyam=arppayantyāḥ kṛita-parigrahaḥ sau(śau)ryya-

31 m=apratihata-vyāpāram=ānamita-prachaṇḍa-ripu-maṇḍalam maṇḍal-āgram=iv=āvalambamānaḥ śaradi prasabham=ākṛishṭa-śilīmukha-bāṇ-āsan-āpādita-prasā-

32 dhanāsu para-bhuvā[sh*] vidhi-vad=ācharita-kara-grahaṇaḥ pūrvvam=ēva vividha-varṇṇ-ōj[j]valēna śrut-ātiśayēn=ōdbhāsita-śravaṇaḥ punaḥ punar=uktēn=ēva ratn-ālaṁ-

33 kārēṇ=ālaṅkṛita-śrōtra[ḥ] parisphurat-kaṭaka-vikaṭa-kīṭa-paksha-ratna-kiraṇam=avi-chchhinna-pradāna-salila-nivah-āvasēka-vilasan=nava-śaival-āṅkuram=iv=āgra-pāṇi-

34 m=udvahan=ulliṅta¹-viśāla-ratna-valaya-jaladhi-vēlā-taṭāyamāna-bhuja-parisva(shva)kta-viśvambharaḥ Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruvasēnaḥ** tasy=āgrajō²-para-mahīpati-sparśa-

35 dōsha-nāśana-dhiy=ēva lakshmyā svayam=atispashṭa-chēshṭam=āślishṭ-āṅga-yashṭir=ati-ruchiratara-charita-garima-parikalita-sakala-narapatir=atiprakṛisht-ānurāga-rasa-rabhasa-va-

36 śīkṛita-praṇata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chuḍā(chū)ḍāmaṇi-mayūkha-khachita-charaṇa-kamala-yugalaḥ prōddām-ōdāra-dōrddaṇḍ-dalita-dvishad-vargga-darppa[ḥ] prasarppat-paṭīyas[ḥ*]-

37 pratāpa-plōshit-āśēsha-śatru-vaṁśa[ḥ*] praṇayi-paksha-nikshipta-lakshmīkaḥ prērita-gad-ōtkshipta-su(su)darśana-chakraḥ parihṛita-bāla-krīḍō=nadhaḥkṛita-dvijātir=ēka-vi-krama-prasā-

38 dhita-dharitrī-talō=naṅgīkṛita-jala-śayyō=pūrvva-purush-ōttamaḥ sākshā[d*]-dharmma iva samyag-vyavasthāpitā(ta)-varṇṇ-āśram-āchāraḥ pūrvvair=apy=urvvīpatibhis=tṛishṇā-lava-lubdhai-

39 r=yyāny=apahṛitāni dēva-ba(bra)hma-dēyāni(ni) tēshām=apy=ati-sarala-manaḥ-prasaram=utsaṅkalan-ānumōdanābhyāṁ parimudita-tri(tri)bhuvan-ābhinandit-ōchchhrit-ōtkṛishṭa-dhavala-dharmma-

40 dhvaja-prakāśita-nija-vaṁśō dēva-dvija-guru(rūn)=prati yathārha-manaḥta³-pravarttita-mah-ōdraṅg-ādi-dāna-vyasan-ānupajāta-santōsh-ōpātt-ōdāra-kīrtti-paṅkti-param-

41 parā-danturita-nikhila-dik-chakravālaḥ spashṭam=ēva yath-ārttha[ṁ*] **Dharmmādity**-āpara-nāmā paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Kharagrahas**=tasy=āgrajanmanaḥ kumuda-shaṇḍa-śrī-vikāsi-

42 nyā kalāvataś=chandrikay=ēva kīrtyā dhavalita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya khaṇḍit-āguru-vilēpana-piṇḍa-śyāmala-Vindhya-śaila-vipula-payōdhar-ābhōgāyā[ḥ*] kshōṇyāḥ patyuḥ

43 śrī-**Śīlādityasya** sūnur=nava-pr[ā]lēya-kiraṇa iva pratidita(na)-saṁvarddhamāna-kalā-chakravālaḥ kēsari-ndra-śiśur=iva rāja-lakshmīm=achala-vana-sthalīm=iv=ālaṅ-kurvvāṇaḥ Śikhaṇḍi-kē-

44 tana iva ruchima[ch*]-chūḍā-maṇḍana[ḥ*] prachaṇḍa-śakti-prabhāvaś=cha śarad-āgamā(ma) iva pratāpavān=ullasa(sa)t-padmaḥ saṁyugē vidalayan[n*]=ambhōdharān=iva para-gajān=udaya iva tapana-bāl-āta-

¹ Read -ullasad-dīrgha-.

² Read °tasy=ānujō°.

³ Read °manavarata°. Bhavnagar Plates read yathārham=anavarata-.

Jesar Plates of Siladitya III: Valabhi Samvat 357.

Second Plate.

N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE: ONE-HALF. Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No. 2371 E'34—425.

45 pa iva sāṁgrāmē mahā(ha)ṇa-mukhē=bhimukhānām=āyūṁshi[1] kritavān[*] Parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Śīlādityaḥ[2] kuśalī sarvvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=astu vas-sa[m*]viditaṁ[*] yathā mayā mātā-pitrō[3]-

46 r=puṇy-āpyāyanāya Pushya-Sāmbapura-vinirggata-tach-chāturvvidya-sāmānya-Kauśika-sagōtra-Vājasanēyi-sabra(bra)hmachāri-brāhmaṇa-Sāmbadatta-putra-brāhmaṇa Di-

47 kshitāya Surāshṭēshu[4] Maḍasara-sthalyā Maḍasara-grāmē pūrvv-ōttara-sīmni rājakīyāt=pañchaviṁśati-bhū-pādāvartta-parisarā vāpī yasyā āghāṭanāni pūrvvataḥ Pāṇḍava-khaṇḍa(ḥ*)[5]

48 dakshiṇataḥ dathaṭṭa(ttē)-satka-mpilikā[6]-khuṇḍaka -saṁjñita-prachchhā aparataḥ kshētra-Sīmgaraḥ uttarataḥ kuṭumbi-Sāṅgilaka-prakripta(shṭa)-pattiyāṇaka-kshētram tathā uttara-sīmni pañcha-khaṇḍ-ēva-

49 sthitāni chatur-uttara-bhū-pādāvartta-śata-parimāṇa-kshētraṁ[|*] yatr=aika-khaṇḍaṁ utsanna-kuṭumbika-khuṇḍaka-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētram dakshi-

50 ṇataḥ Chachcha-Mātrilayē-satka-kōṭumba-kshētraṁ aparataḥ Maḍhavānaka-kshētraṁ Kūrchpuṭaka-grāmayāyī sāgarak-cha] uttaratiaḥ(taḥ) pattiyāṇaka-dargga-kshētra-saṁjñita-kshētraṁ[|*] dvitiya-khaṇḍa[ṁ*] utsanna-

51 kuṭumbikam=ēva triṁśad-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ sa(ya)sya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ | dakshiṇataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahaka-satka-brahma-dēya-kshētram | aparata[ḥ*] kuṭumbi-Bhōṭaka-

52 satka-kshētraṁ uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahakasy=aiva satka-kshētraṁ[|*] tathā tri(tṛi)tiya-khaṇḍaṁ Kikaka-prakrishṭ(aṁ) tri-chatvāriṁśad-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇa[m*] yasya pūrvvataḥ Saptāvasadhi-grāma-yāyī panthā[ḥ*] dakshiṇataḥ

53 brāhmaṇa-Saṅgaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ aparataḥ pattiyāṇaka-kshētraṁ M[ā*]tri-sthāna-kshētra[ṁ*] cha uttarataḥ Saptāvasadhi-grāma-sīmā[|*] chaturttha-khaṇḍa[ṁ*] Kikaka-prakrishṭam=ēva daśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimā-

54 ṇathā(ṇaṁ)-cha pūrvvataḥ rājavartmā da(da)kshiṇata[ḥ] grāma-śikharaṁ aparataḥ kulaputraka-Varuṇa-satka-prachchhā uttarata[ḥ] Karkkaka-satka-kshētraṁ[|*] tathā pañchama-khaṇḍaṁ Kikkaka-prakrishṭam=ēva pañcha-bhū-pādāvartta-

55 parimāṇaṁ yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Chamasa-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ da-kshiṇataḥ Dāsēnaka-saṁjñita-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ] aparataḥ rāja-vaṭṭā(rtmā) uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ[|*]

56 Ēvam=idaṁ chatur-āghā(ṭana)-viśu(ddh*)dhaṁ vāpī-kshētraṁ s-ōdraṅga[ṁ*] s-ōparikara[ṁ*] sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāya[ṁ*] sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ sa-daśāpar[ā*]-dha[ṁ*] s-ōtpadyam[ā*]na-vishṭika[ṁ*] sarvva-rājakīyān[ā*]m=a-

57 hasta-prakshēpaṇīya[ṁ*] pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brahmadēya-rahitaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-[ā*]rkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakālīna[ḥ*] putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgya[ḥ*] udak-ātisargēṇa dharmma-

58 dāyō nis(ni)srishṭa[ḥ*] yataḥ=sy=ōchitayā brahma-dēyaṁ(ya)-sthityā bhuñjataḥ krishataḥ karshayata[ḥ*] pradiśatō vā na kaiśchid-vyāsēdhē varttitavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nripatibhir=apy=a[sma*]d-vaṁśajair=anyair=vvā

[1] Read dyūnaiḥ.
[2] The name of Śīlāditya IV has been omitted. [See ante, p. 114 and note 1.—Ed.]
[3] Read pitrōḥ puṇya-.
[4] Read Surāshṭrēshu.
[5] Kha of khaṇḍa is written below the line and was added afterwards.
[6] Probably we have to read Kumpa°.

59 anityāny-aiśvaryyāṇy(ṇy)=astha(sthi)raṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyaṁ-cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-[d*]āyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś-ch=ēty=uktañ=cha|| Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ[|*]

60 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya ta[dā*] phala[ṁ*]|| Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān-narēndrair-ddhanāni dharmm-āyatanīkṛitāni[|*] nir[b]bhukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta[||*] Shashṭi(ṭi)ṁ

61 varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ[|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha ta(nyē)-va narakē vasēt || Dūtakō=tra Rājaputra-**Kharagrahaḥ**[||*]

62 Likhitam=idaṁ Sandhivigrahādhikṛita-Divirapati Mahāpratihāra Sāmanta-Mammakēn=ēti || Saṁ 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha ba 4 [||*] Svahastō mama ||

No. 20.—THE BAYANA INSCRIPTION OF CHITTRALEKHA : V. S. 1012.

By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

This inscription, which is being edited for the first time, was discovered by Carlleyle, one of the Assistants of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State.[1] This place (lat. 77° 21′ E., long. 26° 54′) is now a junction on the broad gauge main line of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. It was a place of great importance in mediæval times and for some time was made the Imperial capital by Islām Shāh son of Shēr Shāh I. When Mr. Carlleyle saw this inscription for the first time, it was lying under one of the stone pillars of the balcony which surrounds the courtyard of the Ukhā Mandir at Bayānā. This Mandir is a late structure built about a century ago by a Thākur of the Bharatpur State, by converting a portion of the Masjid built in 720 A. H. by Sulṭān Quṭbuddīn Mubārak Shāh of the Khiljī dynasty of Delhi[2]. The inscription was found in the same position in 1885 by Fleet, and was referred to by him in his article on the Bayānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja dated V. S. 1100.[3] It continued there till I visited Bayānā in 1918, when at my request Mr. C. C. Watson, I.C.S., C.I.E., then Political Agent for the Eastern Rajputana States, asked the Bharatpur Durbar to have the slab removed and it has since been placed in the compound of the Ukhā Mandir. The inscription is incised on a thick slab of yellow sandstone, quite different from the red sandstone used in the construction of the Ukhā Masjid or the Ukhā Mandir and almost of all the ancient monuments at Bayānā. The upper left corner of the inscription is broken and the letters on one-eighth of the entire slab towards the right have flaked off. With the exception of these two parts the rest of the record is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The flaking off of the right side of the slab makes all the lines incomplete and therefore difficult to decipher. The breaking off of the upper left corner has made the beginning of the first five lines incomplete ; out of these lines again, the first three have lost more letters than the fourth and the fifth which have lost only ten and four syllables approximately.

The inscribed surface measures 3′ 6″ × 1′ 9″ and the average height of letters is ½″. The slab bears twenty-five lines of writing which on the whole is very neatly done. As regards **palæography**, in many cases, the *anusvāra* is enclosed within a circle (*cf. payasōm* l. 4), while in other cases it is a plain dot (*cf. vaṁśasya* l. 4). A peculiar form of *cha* is noticeable in *bhūmidāḥ* (l. 7) where the upper part of the upper loop is open, which is usually closed in other instances, as for example, in *prathitaḥ* (l. 18) or *pṛithu* (l. 22). The initial form of the short *i* is

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[1] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 50.
[2] *Ibid.* Vol. XX, p. 72.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

to be found in *ity-ālōchya* (l. 20), *iva* (l. 21), etc. The usual form of the palatal *śa* used in this inscription is the transitional form in which the curve in the upper part of the letter touches but does not coalesce with the vertical straight line which forms the left limb as in *śrīmgāritāḥ* (l. 11). Very often this curve does not touch the straight line on the left as in *chāradarśanaḥ* (l. 16) or *Śrīpālēna* (l. 25). As regards the **orthographical** peculiarities it might be stated that consonants under a superscript *r* are usually doubled (*cf. śauryya*° *svargyē*, *sarvvēshu*, l. 3., etc.). Occasionally consonants with a subscript *r* are also doubled (*cf. ttritā* in l. 8). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the whole inscription with the exception of a portion of the last line is written in verse.

After referring to the Moon, the lunar race, and Krishṇa the record speaks of the Śūrasēna kings, in which clan was born a king named **Phakka**. The name of a king Phakka has been found in an undated inscription of *circa* eighth century A.D. on a pillar built into the inner wall of the main gate of the Chaurāsī-Khamba Masjid at Kāmā or Kāmavana, in the Bharatpur State, which was discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham and published by the late Pandit Bhagavan lal Indraji.[1] The Kāmavana record provides us with a genealogy of the Śūrasēna kings for seven generations. According to the Bayānā inscription, in the family of Phakka there was a king named **Vappuka**, who is styled 'an Indra on the earth' (l. 9). His son was **Rājayika**, who married a lady named **Sajjanī** of the **Māyūrika** family. As mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription[2] dated V. S. 894 (=A.D. 837), the Pratīhāra chief Bāuka defeated a chief named Mayūra from whom Sajjanī appears to have been descended. Sajjanī, who was the grand-mother of **Chittralēkhā**, the donor of the present inscription, must have been living in the earlier part of the tenth century A.D., as the latter was a middle-aged matron in V. S. 1012, having four grown-up sons. The name of Rājayika's son is lost, but from l. 13 we learn that he married a lady named **Yaśaskarī** of the **Pramāra** family from whom was born Chittralēkhā (l. 14). Chittralēkhā was married to a chief named **Maṅgalarāja**, about whose descent no details are furnished. The person referred to in l. 16, whose name is lost, is probably the eldest son of Maṅgalarāja and Chittralēkhā. Fleet proposed to identify this Maṅgalarāja with the chief of that name of the Kachchhapaghāta family, who is mentioned as the ancestor of the king Mahīpāla in the Sāsbahū temple inscription in Gwalior Fort dated V. S. 1150 (=1093-94 A.D.).[3] If this identification be accepted then the eldest son of Chittralēkhā, who is mentioned in l. 16 of the Bayānā inscription, is probably **Kīrttirāja**, who succeeded his father. Three other sons of Chittralēkhā are mentioned in this record. The second was named **Indrajit** (l. 18), the third **Lakshmaṇarāja** and the fourth **Chāmuṇḍarāja** (l. 19). The **object** of the inscription is mentioned in l. 20 whence we learn that Chittralēkhā caused to be built a temple of Vishṇu and gave two villages named Gōgrapura and Nāgapallī as well as certain fields in Hāḍhapalli to the deity (*Chakrin*). From l. 23 we learn that three *drammas* were to be collected for the god (*Śārngin*) in the *maṇḍapikā* of Śrīpathā and a similar sum in the *maṇḍapikā* of Vusāvata. From the same line we also learn that a gift of one *dramma* was to be set apart for the god, probably whenever a horse was sold. It may also be that this sum was levied as *octroi* duty on every horse-load of merchandise carried through the village precincts.

Almost all the **geographical** names mentioned in the record can be identified. **Śrīpathā** has been identified as Bayānā itself by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet.[4] Though phonetically the ancient and modern names cannot be connected, there is some support for this identification as the same

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 34-35.
[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 95 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 36.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 10.

name has been found in another ancient stone inscription discovered at Bayânâ, *viz.*, the Bayânâ Jain inscription of Vijayâdhirâja of V. S. 1100 (=1044 A.D.). **Vusâvata** is the modern market town of Bhusawar in the Bharatpur State. **Nâgapalli** is modern Nawali and **Gôgrapura**, Gogera, both situated in the same State (see Atlas Sheet No. 50 for Nawali and Cunningham's map in his Reports for Bhusawar).[1] **Hâḍḍapalli** is now situated in the adjoining State of Jaipur and is included in the district of Hindaun[2] (see Atlas Sheet No. 50 S. E.).[3] Gogera and Bhusawar are situated in Tahsil Wair and Nawali is in the Bayânâ Tahsil.

We also learn from the twenty-third line that Chittralêkhâ was a queen (*râjñî*) and that her territories were included in the Empire of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Śrî-Mahîpâla.** No chief of this name, mentioned in Kielhorn's list of Northern Inscriptions, could have been reigning in 955 A.D. We find that in V. S. 1003 the suzerainty of the Gurjjara-Pratihâra king Mahêndrapâla II was acknowledged in Partabgarh[4] in the southern part of the Mewâr State. Again in V. S. 1016, the sway of Vijayapâla, also of Kanauj, is acknowledged at Râjaur in the northern part of the Alwar State.[5] The date of the Bayânâ inscription, V. S. 1012, falls between these two dates. The probability then is in favour of the fact that this *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Mahîpâla, whose suzerainty was acknowledged in Bayânâ in 955 A.D., was a second prince of that name of the Gurjjara-Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj, who had come to the throne after Dêvapâladêva, mentioned in the Siyâḍôṇi record of V. S. 1005[6] and was succeeded shortly afterwards by Vijayapâladêva, mentioned in the Râjaur inscription of Mathanadêva. The **date** of the record is given in words in l. 24, as the **Vikrama year 1012, Monday, the 12th day of the bright half of Mâgha** which regularly corresponds to the 8th January, A.D. 955. The composer of the *praśasti* was a Brâhmaṇa named **Sajjana.** It was written by **Śrîśakti** and incised by the goldsmith **Śrîpâla.** After the end of the record there is a supplementary verse mentioning the gift of a village named **Aluvadraka** on the occasion of a solar eclipse (*ravigraha*) by a person named **Indrajit,** who may be identical with the son of Chittralêkhâ mentioned in l. 18. The name of the donee is not legible. Probably this gift was also made to the same temple. I edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 3, 8, 12, 17, 28, 29, 31 and 34 *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*; vv. 2, 6, 21, 25 and 43 *Vasantatilakâ*; vv. 4, 5 (?), 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 27, 42 and 45 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 7, 9, 10, 16 and 18 *Sragdharâ*; vv. 14, 24, 30, 32, 33, 35-40 and 44 *Âryâ*; v. 23 *Upajâti*; v. 26 *Indravajrâ*; v. 41 *Gîti*.]

1 . . . . [*?] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — cha mukhataḥ saṁjâyatê tu=ânalaḥ | âdi= dyauḥ śirasô [dhura kshaya⏑ — — bhyâ⏑ — [ch=âparaṁ] yas=ch=âṁtaṁ pari — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|| 1 ||*]

2 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — [pṛithu]-pattra-śiraḥ śâkhâ-sahasra-vinivârita-lôka-tâpaḥ | chandrâ-prabhâta-phaladô=jani râja-vaṁśa-tuṁgô=pi mukta-vôpatha-bhaṁga-saṁgaḥ || [2 ||*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — —

3 — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [chittar=]yêna râmô samaṁ jâtô yatra Purûravâḥ sa-vasatiḥ śauryyasya rûpasya cha || [3 ||*] Va(Ba)bhûva Nahushô yatra yên=âsâdya sur-êndratâṁ | Yam=âdayaḥ surâḥ svarggê sarvê . . ⏑ — ⏑ . . [|| 4 ||*] . . . .

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pl. I.

[2] I am indebted for this information to the Resident at Jaipur.

[3] Printed by the Survey of India in 1917.

[4] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 182-88.

[5] Above, Vol. III, p. 266.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

BAYANA INSCRIPTION OF CHITTRALEKHA: V. S. 1012.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 2369 E'34 415.

SCALE: ONE THIRD

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

4 ....stu sa[r]vvam=ama[ṁ]galaṁ || [5 ||*] Vaṁśasya tasya mahimā bhuvana-prasiddhaḥ kiṁ varṇṇyatē sa bhagavāñ=jagatāṁ nivāsaḥ | Kana(sha)-śrīr=ādipurushaḥ svayam=ēva janma jagrāha yattra sura-dānava-vandit-āṁghriḥ || [6 ||*] Vā[ḍhaṁ gā]ḍha ⏑— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— — ⏑— —⏑— —

5 — — — —ra-namyā va(ba)hubhir=api paraīr=mmārggaṇaiḥ śrīyamāṇāḥ | vaṁśē(śē) tasminn=abhāvann=adhika-kṛita-bhay-ō[d]dāyit-ārāti-kāk[ā] bhrātaḥ kiṁ chāpa-daṇḍā na hi sarala-matē bhūbhujaḥ Śūra-sēnāḥ || [7 ||*] Nētr-ānanda-karēṇa kānta-vapushā — —⏑— —⏑— — — —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑— [saṁbhā*]-

6 gya-kōśēna cha | chandrēṇ=āpi kalaṁkinā nija-kulasy=ādyēna vandy-ātmanā lajjantā khalu nishkalaṁka-charitā yē=dy=āpi kālē kalau || [8 ||*] Bhuktvā bhuktvā dharittrīṁ chatur-udadhi-payaḥ-prāvṛitāṁ nihsapatnāṁ kṛitvā kṛitv=Āśvamē[dhān=niyata] ⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— — — — —⏑— — ⏑

7 [di]m=avani-bhujāṁ gachchhatāṁ puṇya-bhājāṁ madhyē kāla-kramēṇa krasta-ripur=abhūt=**Phakka**-nāmā narēndraḥ || [9 ||*] Vra(Bra)hm-Ēndr-Ōpēndra-Chandra-Draviṇa-pati-Yamair=apy=ayaṁ lōka-nāthaḥ sārddhaṁ yōddhum samarthaḥ sakalam=api jagan=manyamānas-tṛiṇāya | kēśēshv=ā[kramya]— —⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— — — — — —⏑[La*]-

8 kshmīr=bhaya-chakita-manā yat-kulē=pi sthirā=bhūt || [10* ||] Gōttrē yattra pavitr-ātmā satāṁ ttrātā dvishāṁ vishaṁ | va(ba)bhūva **Vappukō** nāma yaśō-rāśiḥ pratāpavān || [11 ||*] Sēvā-saṁnihitaiḥ surair=iva nṛipaiḥ Rambh-Ōrvvaśībhyāṁ sumair=mmāṇiky-ābharaṇaiḥ surūpa ⏑⏑— — —⏑— —⏑—[*]— — —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑

9 [vabhai]r=[uchchaiḥśravaḥ]-sannibhair=aśvair=Indra iv=āparaḥ kshiti-talē yō dṛik-sahasraṁ vinā || [12 ||*] Tasya **Rājayikō** jātō Jāmadagnya iv=ātmajaḥ raṇē rājanya-mūrddhānō nirlūnā yēna līlayā || [13 ||*] **Māyūrika**-kula-bhūtāṁ sēn=ōḍhvā **Sajjan**=īti vikhyātāṁ [!]...................[Hrida* ?]-

10 yēshu dvi[shāṁ] bhūpaḥ sa[bhayē]shu divā-niśaṁ | tishṭhann=api na saṁspṛishṭō na cha dṛishṭō bhayēna yaḥ || [15 ||*] Na prākārair=nna sāraiḥ kari-turaga-narair=nn=ādribhis=tuṁga-śṛiṁgair=nn=āmbhō-gambhīra-gartair=jjala-vikala-bhuvāṁ na sthalair=nna drum-aughaiḥ | n=ānyair=nnā[yā-puraiḥ=]—⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑— —⏑— —⏑— — — — — —⏑—

11 ṇaṁ pravi[śad=a]ri-puraṁ nirddahad=v(b)aṁbha[ṁ]ch=cha || [16||*] Divyair=ābharaṇ-āṁga-rāga-vasanaiḥ pushpais=cha śṛiṁgāritāḥ sarvvattr=ōtsava-gīta-tūrya-rasitair=ānanda-sāndrāḥ prajāḥ | praty=av(b)daṁ vasudhāṁ cha sasya-saphalām=ālōkya yō vismitair=lōkair=—⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑— — —⏑— —⏑—[||17||*] —[jvā ?]-

12 lā-mālī[nā]=pi jvalita-huta-bhujō gharmma-kālē=ntarālād=bhaṁga vrājāṁ vahantaḥ smṛita-kula-charitā vi(bi)bhyati [sm=ā ?]tta-sat(tt)vāḥ | daṁshṭr-ārabdha-dvipēndra-sthira-subhaṭa-kar-ākrānta-kunt-ōgra-raudraṁ saṁgrāmaṁ bhāvayanti pratiniyata-vadhaṁ stri-sabhāṁ(bhaṁ) yē niku[mbhāḥ] || [18||*]........⏑— —..........⏑—⏑..[|*]......

13 mv(b)udha— —..ā-chandramā iva vai rukaḥ(chā ?) || [19||*] **Pramāra**-kula-saṁbhūtā sādhvī tēna mahātmanā | **Yaśaskar**=īti vikhyātā pariṇītā yaśō-rthinā || [20||*] Tēn=ādhipēna tanayā sa-nayā su-rūpā puṇya-priyā savinayā śubha-lakshaṇā cha | tasyāṁ ....[sama ?*]-

14 jani **Chittralēkhā** || [21||*] Tēna **Maṁgalarājēna** sā śāstr-ārtha-vidā satā | sādhvī bhrātṛimatī rājñā pariṇītā priyaṁvadā || [22||*] Pativratāṁ vikshya kalau yugē tāṁ lōkaiḥ kṛita-stūshu mahā-satīshu | Arundhatī-Parvvata-rāja-puttrī-La[kshmī ?]⏑— — ⏑⏑—⏑— —[||23||*]............

15 . .[tan-nāma] gṛiha(ṇ)ati nṛiṇāṁ | śravaṇā(v=api !] śṛiṇvantaḥ galit-ākhila-kalmashaḥ bhavataḥ || [24||*] Śēshō=pi bhūri-vadanō na guṇāṁs=tadīyān śaknōti vaktum=achirāt-kimu mādṛiśō=nyaḥ | Manv-ādi-kīrttita-mana=tu(?) su-kīrtti y=aiva strī-dharmmam=āśu ⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——[||25||*] ——⏑——⏑⏑—⏑———

16 sutō=bhūt=priya-sat(tt)va-satyaḥ | āvītayad=yaḥ sva-yaśaḥ-prabhābhir=vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-madhyaṁ vihit-āri-chakraḥ || [26||*] Dilīpa-Raghu-Rāmāṇāṁ charitaṁ chāru darśanaḥ | anukṛitya prajānāṁ yō jagāma priyatāṁ vibhuḥ || [27||*] Ākramya dru[ma]-saṁginī [dalita-] —— —⏑——⏑— —— —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑——

17 [tyakta-bhīḥ] kausikaḥ | chakr-āhva-dvitayāni yānti vibhidāṁ praudha-kshap-āśaṁkayā yasy=ānēka-va(ba)l-augha-dhūli-paṭalair=āchchhāditē bhāsvati || [28||*] Dhāvantyā sakhi sambhramēṇa galitā n-[ā]gṛihi kāñchi mayā hārō yasya samarppitas=tvaritayā taṁ na smarāmi sphuṭaṁ | ———⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑—

18 d-uttārya bhagn=āsmy-ahaṁ śōchant=īti ripu-striyaḥ sva-puratō yat-sainik-ōdvāsitāḥ || [29||*] Indrajid=asu cha sutō-bhūd-yasyāḥ saṁgrāma-lōlupaḥ prathitaḥ | jitvā va(ba)hu-bhūp-ēndrān-apahasitō Rāvaṇir=yēna || [30||*] Saujanyasya nidhir=ddayālu-hṛidayaḥ kalpa-drumō mārgga[ṇē]———⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑—

19 sat(tt)v-ādhikaḥ satya-gīḥ | su-prītiḥ pratipanna-pālana-vidhau chaṇḍa-dvishām=antakaḥ pūrṇṇ-ēndu-dyuti-śubhra-bhūri-charitō yō vidyay=ālaṁkṛitaḥ || [31||*] Tad-anu cha Lakshmaṇarājō jātas=tasyāḥ sutaḥ Pṛithu-prakhyaḥ | Chāmuṇḍarāja-nāmā paśchād=Bhīm-ādhikaḥ sva-guṇaiḥ || [32||*] Kusuma. . . . .[subhā !]-

20 gya-rūpa-rājyāni | muktiḥ svargga-nivāsō na bhavanti vin=ārchcha[naṁ] Vishṇōḥ || [33||*] Ity=ālōchya chintāya chāru-charitā sā Chittralēkhā sati sarvvaṁ chañchalam=ākalayya jagatō rūpaṁ vapur=jjīvitaṁ | Vishṇōḥ kārayatē sma mandiram=idaṁ hēm-āṇḍa-chūḍā-maṇi-vyālamv(b)-[ārddhaka]-daṇḍa—⏑⏑⏑—— —[pa*]-

21 tāk-āṁśukaiḥ || [34||*] Kēyūra-tāra-hārair=maṇi-nūpura-kanaka-kaṁkaṇ-āvalibhiḥ | kaladhauta-mēkhalābhir=yāḥ kalpa-latā iv=ābhānti || [35||*] Yāsāṁ darśana-lōbhān=na kshaṇam=api Madhu-ripur=nnijāṁ pratimāṁ | muñchati na cha Rambh-ādyāḥ svargga-strīḥ saṁsmaraty=a[dhunā] || [36||*] [Prativimvi(bimbi)tā (?)] . . . . . .[ni*]-

22 rmmala-kapōla-phalakēshu | anubhavati [s-ērshya]-Lakshmī kalahaṁ manyē smitaḥ satataṁ || [37||*] Kuvalaya-dala-nayanābhiḥ pṛithu-jaghanābhiḥ śaśāṅka-vadanābhiḥ | prēkshaṇakam=aṁganābhis=tābhiḥ siddhaṁ tayā dattaṁ || [38||*] Gōgrapura-Nāgapallyau dvau grāmau Chakriṇē tatō dat(tt)vā | kshē[tr]āṇi Hāḍha pallyāṁ (?)] . . . .

23 [n=a]sya || [39||*] Dramma-tritayaṁ dattē prati-divasaṁ Śrīpathā-stha-maṇḍapikā | aparaṁ tritayaṁ Vusāvaṭa-maṇḍapikā Śārṅgiṇē satataṁ || [40||*] Prati-ghōṭakaṁ cha dānē drammō dēvasya bhagavatō vihitaḥ | śalā kṛitā vyavasthā rājñyā śrī-Chittralēkhayā bhaktyā || [41||*] Mahārājādhirājēna śrī-Mahīpāla-bhūbhujā. . . . .⏑— —. . . . .

24 Cha[shṭha]-maṇḍalē || [42||*] Yāvad=dadhāti vasudhāṁ sa-dharāṁ phaṇ-Indrō yāvaj-jalaṁ cha vimalaṁ marud-āpagāyāṁ | prālēyaśaila-śikhar-ākṛiti-chittra-chāru tāvad=vibhātu bhuvi harmmyam=idaṁ Murārēḥ || [43||*] Ēkē varsha-sahasrē dvādaśabhir=vvatsarair=yutē Māghē | dvādaśyāṁ śubhrāyāṁ [pratishṭhitaṁ śaśi-dinē !]. . . . . .[||44||*]

25 Viprēṇa Sajjana-nāmnā virachitā praśastiḥ Karaṇika-Śrīśaktinā likhitā Śrīpālēn=ōtkīrṇṇā suvarṇṇakārēṇa || Bhadram=astu || Aluvadraka-nāmānaṁ grāmam=asmai ravi-grahē Indrajid-da⏑——. . . . .⏑—⏑. .[||45||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.)..........From (*his*) mouth was born the fire and from the head the sky.........

(V. 2.) From the moon sprang the royal family (*tree*) which had a thick foliage, had kept off the heat (or suffering) of the people through its thousand branches and was productive of much fruits (or good) and which, though high (or noble), was free from encountering shocks and breaking down (or fear and destruction).

(V. 3.) (*In which family*).......rejoiced together and where was born Purūravas, the common abode of beauty and valour.

(V. 4.) Where was born Nahusha, whom when he obtained the kingship of the gods in heaven, all the gods, Yama and others.........

(V. 5.) ...... (*may remove* ?) all evils...............

(V. 6.) The greatness of this family is well known throughout the world. What more to say, where the Lord of the creation (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and the enemy of Kaṁsa, who is the refuge of all creatures and whose feet are worshipped (*equally*) by the gods and demons, himself took his birth.

(V. 7.) In that family were born (*those*) who were honoured by......and resorted to by numerous other supplicants, who made the crow-like enemies fly with their fear increased. O brother, were they the bows ! No, simple minded (*fool*), they were the Śūrasēna kings.

(V. 8.) Who, even today, in this Kali age, being of spotless character feel ashamed of the moon, the originator of their race on account of his having a stain though it has a beautiful form pleasing to the eye......and is honoured (*by people*).

(V. 9.) In course of time, amongst the righteous kings who had passed away, each in his turn, after enjoying the earth extended to the four oceans and free from all enemies and performing the Horse-Sacrifice.........there was born a king named **Phakka** who had exterminated (*lit.*, thinned) his enemies.

(V. 10.) This lord of the people was able to fight even with Brahman, Indra, Upēndra, the Moon, Kuvēra and Yama and regarded the whole earth (*as contemptible*) as a blade of grass. Dragged by hair, Lakshmī......with her mind struck with fear became settled in his family.

(V. 11.) In that family was born **Vappuka** who was a mass of fame and was powerful, whose soul was pure and who was the saviour of the good (*but*) was (*like*) poison to his enemies.

(V. 12.) Who, through having princes, who were like gods and who had come to him for (*rendering*) service, through (*women*) adorned with diamonds and equalling Rambhā and Urvaśī (*in beauty*)... and through horses that were like Uchchaiḥśravas—was like another Indra on the face of the earth : (*only he was*) without his (Indra's) thousand eyes.

(V. 13.) To him was born a son (*named*) **Rājayika** who was like Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) inasmuch as he cut off the heads of warriors in battle with (*perfect*) ease.

(V. 14.) He having married the well-known **Sajjanī** born in the **Māyūrika** family.......

(V. 15.) The king, though residing day and night in the enemies' hearts possessed of fear, was neither touched nor (*even*) seen by that fear.

(V. 16.) (*The king not daunted by*) ramparts, nor by the (*army consisting of the*) best of elephants, horses and men, nor by hills with high peaks, nor by the deep ravines caused by (*the rush of*) water, nor by land and forests of trees nor by phantom cities......entering the city of the enemy, burning (*it*) and completely annihilating (*it*).

(V. 17.) (*Whose*) subjects, adorned with beautiful ornaments, perfumes and clothes and decked with flowers, were full of enjoyments everywhere through festivities, songs and sounds of drums. And every year seeing with wondering eyes that the earth was full of crops, who, ...

(V. 18.) Even (*men*) of strong character (?), bearing the shame of defeat, feel frightened being reminded of the family of him (*who was unbearable like*) the fire with a garland of flames during the hot season—those wicked demons (?) who look upon the battle—which is made fierce by the heads of spears held in the hands of the best of warriors seated on the wicked and angry elephants—like an assembly of women.

(V. 19.) ......like the moon in splendour.

(V. 20.) By that great soul, who wanted fame, was married (*the lady*) named **Yaśaskarī**, who was chaste and was born in the **Pramāra** family.

(V. 21.) By that king was begotten on her (*i.e.* Yaśaskarī).....a daughter (*named*) **Chitralēkhā** who was well-behaved, beautiful, fond of (*acquiring*) merit, well-disciplined and auspicious.

(V. 22.) By that good king **Maṅgalarāja** who knew the proper interpretation of the Śāstras, she, who was devoted to her husband, who had brothers and who spoke pleasantly, was married.

(V. 23.) Seeing her devotedness to her husband, in the Kali age, the people (*placed her*) among women of the Kṛita age who were great *Satīs* (chaste women) like Arundhatī, the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Gaurī) and Lakshmī.

(V. 24.) ....by uttering her name, even hearing (*her name*) the ears of men are rendered free from all sins.

(V. 25.) Even Śēsha, possessing many mouths, cannot speak of her qualities, quickly ; how can one like myself (*do so*) ! .. ..

(V. 26.) .....(*She*) had a son to whom were dear energy and truth (*and*) who, having destroyed the circle of his enemies, brightened the interior of the universe by the rays of his fame.

(V. 27.) This king of beautiful form, following the conduct of Dilīpa, Raghu and Rāma, obtained the love of his subjects.

(V. 28.) ......The sun being covered by the mass of dust (*raised by the feet*) of the multitude of his armies, the owl is without fear and the *chakravāka* pairs separate fearing that the night was far advanced.

(V. 29.) The wives of his enemies driven out of their own city by his soldiers thus lament : O friend, while flying in confusion, my girdle which had dropped was not picked up by me ; I do not remember distinctly the person to whom I entrusted my necklace:....

(V. 30.) Her younger son was **Indrajit** who was well known, and eager for battles. Having conquered many kings the son of Rāvaṇa (*i.e.*, Indrajit) was jeered at by him.

(V. 31.) (*He was*) the abode of civility, was kindhearted and was like a *kalpa-druma* (wish-giving tree) to the supplicants......., was full of energy and truthful, took a great delight in protecting those who had approached (*him*), and was like the god of death to rampant enemies. His numerous acts were white like the rays of the full moon and he was adorned with knowledge.

(V. 32.) After him was born unto her a son named **Lakshmaṇarāja**, who was as celebrated as Pṛithu and after him another (*son named*) **Chāmuṇḍarāja** who was greater than Bhīma through his own qualities.

(V. 33.) ..... good fortune, beauty, kingdom, emancipation and abode in heaven cannot be obtained without worshipping Vishṇu.

(V. 34.) Having thought of this for a long time and having found out that everything on this earth (*as well as*) beauty, body (*and*) life are transient, she, Chitralēkhā, the chaste and of esteemed character, caused to be made this temple of Vishṇu with a crest-jewel shaped as a golden egg and which was....(*adorned with* ?).....,and flags.

(V. 35.) (*The girls*) who with armlets, shining necklaces, jewelled anklets and bracelets of gold, (*and also*) with the girdles of gold appear like (*so many*) wishing-creepers (*kalpa-latā*),

(V. 36.) Owing to the temptation of seeing them, the enemy of Madhu does not leave his own image even for a moment nor does he now remember the heavenly damsels like Rambhā and others.

(V. 37.) They being reflected (?) in (*his*) pure cheeks, the smiling (*Vishṇu*) always experiences the anger of the jealous Lakshmī.

(V. 38.) A show given by these ladies whose eyes were like the petals of lotus flowers, whose hips were heavy and whose faces were like the moon was also arranged by her.[1]

(V. 39.) Having given to Vishṇu the two villages **Gōgrapura** and **Nāgapallī** (*she also gave*) fields at **Hāḍhapallī**.

(V. 40.) Three *drammas* were given, every day, to the holder of the Śārṅga bow (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) by the market-place[2] at **Śrīpathā** and also another three by the market place at **Vusāvaṭa**.

(V. 41.) A gift of one *dramma* per horse was fixed for the god, the lord. This arrangement was made by the queen, the illustrious Chitralēkhā, out of devotion.

(V. 42.) By the illustrious king, the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Mahīpāla**...... in Chaahtika-*maṇḍala*.

(V. 43.) As long as the lord of the snakes bears the earth along with the mountains, as long as there is pure water in the celestial river (*i.e.*, the Ganges), so long may this temple of the enemy of Mura (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) which is (*as high as*) the peak of the Snowy Mountains (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) and which is conspicuous and beautiful, continue to shine on this earth.

(V. 44.) In the year **one thousand increased by twelve years, on Monday** (?) **the twelfth day of the bright half of Māgha** was (*this temple*) dedicated.

Line 23. This eulogy was composed by the Brāhmaṇa named **Sajjana**, written by the *Karaṇika* **Śrīśakti** (*and*) incised by the goldsmith **Śrīpāla**. Let there be good (*for all*). **Indrajit** (*gave*) to him (*i.e.*, the god Vishṇu), the village of **Aluvadraka** on the occasion of a solar eclipse......

No. 21.—THE GURGI INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA.[3]

BY THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago, among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj, at **Gurgi**, a village about two miles due east of Rewah town, in the state of that name, in the Baghelkhand Agency of Central India. Gurgi is situated in lat. 81° 27′ and long. 21° 30′ (*vide* sheet No. XIII of the Rewah Topographical Survey, issued by the Survey of India in 1873). Though Rewah had been visited by older members of the Archæological Survey of India such as Sir Alexander Cunningham, Mr. J. D. M. Beglar and H. B. W. Garrick, this inscription has not been noticed by any one of them.[4] It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewah just below the Throne Room or Durbar Hall. Its existence was brought to my notice in April 1920 by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., then Home Member of the Council of Regency of the Rewah State who also gave me information about its place of discovery.

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[1] Probably in verses 35-38 we have a reference to the dancing girls (*dēva-dāsī*) given to the temple.

[2] *Maṇḍapikā*—a market place (*māṇḍavī* in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī).

[3] [The text and translation of this inscription were published in Mr. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Archæological Survey of India Memoir No. 23) pp. 122 ff., but as they contained a number of errors the inscription as revised by me is re-edited here.—Ed.]

[4] [Probably the stone inscription referred to by Beglar in Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIII, p. 12, note 1, is identical with the present inscription.—Ed.]

The inscribed slab measures about 4' 1" by 3' 4" and the average height of each letter is ½". The entire surface with the exception of about two inches at the top and six inches at the bottom is covered with writing. There are altogether forty-nine lines of writing on the slab. With the exception of the invocation at the beginning, the entire inscription is in verse. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the record has, on the whole, been very carefully incised. Consonants with a subscript *r* are not doubled, but there are exceptions, *e.g.*, *tridaśa* (l. 3). Consonants with a superscript *r* have been doubled in all cases. The **characters** of the inscription are similar to those of the Chandrehe inscription of Prabōdhaśiva of the Kalachuri year 724.[1] The initial form of *i* consists of two dots placed side by side and a comma below them: *cf.*, *iva* (ll. 7, 20) and *itthaṁ* (l. 13). Among consonants the following forms call for notice. There are two triangles in the lower part of *kha* one at the foot of each of the vertical lines, *cf.*, *nikhila* (l. 8). Two forms of *tha* have been used: the older form consisting of two spheres one over the other and the later form in which the upper loop has become open, *cf.*, *mithy=* (l. 3) and *prathita* (l. 15). An angle is present in the back of *da* in all cases, *cf.*, *jagad* (l. 2). The upper part of *dha* is undeveloped and the letter consists of a loop attached to the left side of a vertical straight line. An acute angle is also to be seen in the lower part of *bha*, *cf.*, *mahābhiḥ* (l. 7). *Ra* is wedge-shaped, *cf.*, *rūpa* (l. 3). In *la* there is only one curved line in the left limb of the letter instead of two as in later forms, *cf.*, *rāla* (l. 1). The palatal *śa*, in all cases, is of the transitional form, in which the right limb of the letter consists of a straight line which is not touched by the left limb. This left limb is formed of a curve shaped like the Roman letter 'S' with a triangle at the bottom, *cf.*, *śrēṇi* (l. 1). The sign of *avagraha* has been used occasionally in this inscription, *cf.*, *tasy=āpadē='gra* (l. 30) and *Mahēndrē='ravadē* (l. 31). The final form of *t* is to be found in *abhūt* (l. 38) and of *m* in *saiddhāntikānām* (l. 5) and *dāsham* (l. 6). A peculiar form of the ligature *kra* is noticeable in *ākranda* (l. 2).

The inscription, so far as is left of it, is not dated and from its fragmentary nature it is difficult to say with certainty to the reign of which Kalachuri king it belonged. It falls into two different parts: the first part consisting of the spiritual genealogy of the ascetics of the **Mattamayūra** clan and the second of a short account of the rulers of the **Haihaya** dynasty of **Tripurī** and the landed property belonging to the Śaiva ascetics. In this respect the Gurgi inscription resembles the Bilhari inscription[2] of the rulers of Chēdi.

The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva. In the third verse we are introduced to Madhumatī an abode of the *Saiddhāntikas* and the clan of "mad-peacocks". The fourth verse also refers to this clan of Śaiva ascetics. In this (religious) family of Śaiva ascetics was an ascetic named **Chūḍāśiva**. His disciple was called **Prabhāvaśiva**. **Yuvarājadēva I.**, son of **Mugdhatuṅga** (Prasiddhadhavala), having brought him (to the Chēdi country), made him accept a monastery which was built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple **Praśānta-śiva** is the most prominent figure in this inscription as well as in that found at Chandrehe. From verse 11 of the present record we learn that he had built a temple of Śiva close to the palace built by Yuvarājadēva I. In addition to this temple he had dedicated images of Umā, Śiva and Durgā (*i.e.*, Ardhanārīśvara), Kārttikēya (Shaḍānana), Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī in the temples close to the palace (v. 12). This abbot also built for himself a retreat for meditation (*tapaḥ sthānaṁ*) on the banks of the Śōṇa, an account of which we also find in the Chandrehe inscription. He was succeeded by his disciple whose name cannot be read (v. 17).[3] This disciple of Praśāntaśiva gave his place (as head of the monastery) to a younger brother disciple named Prabōdhaśiva (l. 25).

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 149 f.
[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 23 ff.
[3] [I read the name as Īśānaśambhu.—Ed.]

From the 26th line the record becomes almost entirely illegible with the exception of a few letters at the extreme right. **Prabōdhaśiva** appears to be the abbot in whose time the inscription was issued. The **object** of the record was very probably to commemorate repairs to an object caused to be built by his spiritual preceptor (*sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita* l. 26) as well as some monument erected by himself (*sat-karmma-nirmmāpitam* l. 29). Verses 36-45 also seem to record certain grants made by **Yuvarāja (II)**. The account of the rulers of the Haihaya dynasty probably began from v. 27 introducing the family of the moon to which the Kalachuris belonged. The last few words in l. 35 indicate the defeat of a **Gūrjara** king, evidently a king of Kanauj. The **Kōkalladēva** mentioned in l. 40 is probably the second king of that name who was the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva II. There is a reference to the defeat of a **Gūrjara** ruler and a king of **Gauḍa**. The country of **Vanavāsa** and the lord(?) of **Kuntala** appear to have been mentioned in l. 42. These two countries are most probably mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Gāṅgēyadēva, the son of Kōkalla II. and the father of the great conqueror Karṇa, whose conquest of the Kuntala country is mentioned in the Khairhā plates of his grandson Yaśahkarṇa.[1] The mention of the campaigns of Gāṅgēyadēva indicates that Prabōdhaśiva was alive in his reign and therefore the record is later in date than the Chandrehe inscription. The next five lines contain the property bestowed on the Śaiva ascetics possibly by Yuvarājadēva I. who is mentioned in l. 47 and also by his surname Kēyūravarsha, in l. 43. In l. 43 are mentioned **Sārasaḍōllaka**—which is identified by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad with modern Sāhdol, a station on the Bilaspur-Katni section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway—**Vakaḍōllaka** and three other villages. In l. 44 we have **Ābhīrapallī**, **Kavacha-Kshētra** and a third name **Sarasvatī** which may be that of a village or of a river. In the next line a number of villages are mentioned of which the following only are legible : **Sāmantapāṭaka**, **Bhadvachiurā**, **Tujurmbā**, **Kukkuḍiyā** and **Rajōgrāma**. It is stated in l. 47 that **Karōḍhaka**, **Brahmapurī**, **Nannēśvara-Kshētra** and another village, the name of which is not clear, were given to the god Sōmanātha. The *praśasti* was composed by **Madhu**, the son of Trayīvarddhana of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. It was written on the stone by **Śivanāga** the son of Avvōka and incised by the *sūtradhāra* **Mādhava** the son of Mahēśvara. I am unable to identify the localities mentioned and edit the record from the original stone which I examined on several occasions in 1920 and in 1921.

TEXT.

[Metres :—vv. 1-5 and 16 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 6-8, 12, 17, 20, 24, 26, 26, 30-33 and 35 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 9-11, 13-15, 18, 19, 21-23, 25 and 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 29 and 34 *Mālinī* ; vv. 36-46 *Anushṭubh*].

1 Ōṁ[2] — — — — — vāya || Lāṅkā-[vīrēndra(?)]-vā(bā)hu-vyatikara-chaṭula-[sphā]ṭik-ādrīndra-kōṭi-śrēṇi-saṁghaṭṭa-vi(bi)bhyad-gaganachara-vara-chchhanna-dik-chakravālam

[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 210 ff. [The context does not give us any justification of bringing in Gāṅgēyadēva. It shows, on the other hand, that the credit of the conquests mentioned in verse 34 must go to Kōkalladēva (II.) who is introduced in the verse immediately preceding it. Moreover, since both the Chandrehe inscription (972 A.D.) and the present record belong to the time of Prabōdhaśiva, it is very unlikely that he could flourish at the time of Gāṅgēyadēva (1037 A.D.) also. It is more likely that the grants were made by Yuvarājadēva (II.), as indicated by v. 43, probably towards the end of his reign and recorded at the time of his son Kōkalla (II.) who is mentioned as *nṛpati* in l. 41. If my surmise is correct then v. 34 gives us some new information about the achievements of Kōkalla II. and v. 35 indicates that Yuvarājadēva (II.) also bore the surname of Kēyūravarsha like his grandfather, Yuvarāja (I.).—Ed.]

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

2 — — ⏑ — ⏑ — hi(t) jagad-akṛita tad-ākramaṇa-m(chrā)ṇa-gala-svachchhandaḥ sē=dri-vādī mudam=upachinutāch=chandra-chūḍā-maṇir=vvaḥ || [1 ||*] Nandin=ākēyaṁ praviśya [paśupati]-

3 ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ dēvi-ti mauy[ē] mithy=aitan=mām=i s=āny[ā] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — sa | magibē tvad-rūpa-dhārī tridaśa-ripur=asau dṛiśyatāṁ pātālē=pā hā=iti dē-

4 [vyā] ka(ru)-vachana-jitaḥ pātu maunī [Śivō] vaḥ || [2 ||*] — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ha saṅgiha-dhūma-prava(ba)ndha-prārabdha(bdh)-āhāla-mēgh-ōdaya-mada-mudit-ōnnāḍi-nrityan-mayūrā | a-

5 sty=uchchaiḥ [sau]dha-jāla-jvalad-anagn-maṇi-[jyō]tishāṁ=cha(krav)ālaiḥ svar-lōkam=vā hasantī jagati Madhumatī dhāma saiddhāntikānām || [3 ||*] Pūrvvē yatr=āvatīrya vrata-niyama-manō-vṛitra-

6 yas=tāpas-ēndrāḥ śishyāṇām-ādadānuḥ Śiva-mataram=atanu vyasta-niḥśaha-dōsham | yēshām-ady=āpi kīrttir=ddhavalayati sudhā-dhavala-kāntiḥ prasiddhā vitvaṁ taraṁ punna-vidvaj-ja-

7 na-kumuda-vana-ānandinī chandrik=ēva || [4 ||*] Śarvāṇām-anvayē=smin=yati-mahati munir=mmānanīyō munīnām-ēnaḥ-śuṣk-ēndhanānāṁ=dava-dahana iva dyōtamānair=mmahōbhiḥ |

8 śrīmān=Chūḍāśivō=bhūd-Bhava-charaṇa-yuga-dhyāna-vō(bō)dh-arddhi-lābha-prōdbhūt-ātyanta-śubhra-tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhyantara-bhrānta-kīrttiḥ || [5 ||*] Tasy=ākhila-kshitipati-praṇat-ōttamāṅga-chūḍā-

9 maṇi-dyuti-chay-ārchchita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | śishyō va(ba)bhūva bhuvana-traya-kīrtta-nīyaḥ śrīmat-Prabhāvaśiva-nāma-munir=mmahātmā || [6 ||*] Āsīya yaṁ sahaja-vāsanayā mayajñaḥ śrī-Mugdha-

10 tuṅga-tanayō Yuvarājadēvaḥ | sat(tt)v-ōpakāra-bhavad-uttama-kīrti-hētōr=agrāhayan=maṭham=ananta-dhana-pratishṭham || [7 ||*] Tasy=āmalēna tapasā cha vivarddhamāna-vidyā-va(ba)lēna cha sama-

11 sta-jagat-pratītaḥ | śishyaḥ prakāma-kamanīya-guṇ-aika-dhāma śrīmat-Praśāntaśiva-nāma-munir=vva(ba)bhūva || [8 ||*] Ākṛishṭā chira-mōchitēna tapasā yasy=āṅga-saṅg-ōtsukā Lakulinā=bhōga-

12 parāṅmukhasya satataṁ niḥśrēyas-ākāṅkshayā | ājñāṁ prāpya yaz-ōpakāra-kṛitayē tad-vallabhānāṁ satāṁ sthānēshu sthiratām=avāpya vanit=ēv=ātyanta-satya-vratā || [9 ||*] Tyāgaṁ stambhan-i-

13 v=āvalamv(b)ya vilasaj-jñān-āmvu(mbu)-sēka-kriyām-āsādya prasarat-tapō-va(ba)la-kṛita-pratyanta-rakshā-kramaḥ | itthaṁ yasya yaś(ō)-mayaḥ sa vavṛidhē kālēna kalpa-drumō yēna vyāptam=idaṁ prasa-

14 hya sakalaṁ vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-bhāṇḍ-ōdaram || [10 ||*] Yēna śrī-Yuvarāja-kārita-lasat-Kailāsa-śṛiṅg-ōpama-prāsād-ōttarataḥ Sumēru-śikhara-spardddhi prasiddham=bhuvi | sadma sthāpitam=Īśva-

15 rasya sakala-trailōkya-vismāpakaṁ yat=svarggaṁ vrajatas=tadīya-yaśa(sa)saḥ sōpāna-mārggāyatē || [11 ||*] Yaḥ pratyatishṭhipad=Umām=Umayā cha miśram=Īśaṁ Shaḍānanam=atha prathit-ōru-kīrttiḥ |

16 prāsāda-sannihita-dēva-gṛihēshu vidvān=dvārē tathā Gaṇapatiṁ=cha Sarasvatīṁ=cha || [12 ||*] Dāh-ōttīrṇṇa-suvarṇṇa-dāna-śamita-dravy-ārthi-sārtha-spṛihaḥ siddha-sthānam=achīkarat=tad=aparaṁ yaḥ Sō-

17 ṇa-tīr-ōpari | yasmin=yōga-jushaḥ praviśya niyama-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhayaḥ śāntāḥ siddha-samādhayō='chchha-matayō gachchhanti muktāḥ padam || [13 ||*] Tīrtha-sthāna-nishēvaṇ-ōdyata-dhiyā-

18 m=atyanta-vicitrāntayā yas=tat=kāntava(vā)n=munih sura-sarit-tīrē tapaḥ-sthānakam | yat=saṁsēvya Mahēśvar-ārohaṇa-ratā Vārāṇasī-vāsinō manyantē bhava-sāgaram gurum=api kshiṇam

19 yathā [gōshpa]dam || [14 ||*] Āsīnasya jit-āsanasya vijanē hṛit-padma-madhya-sthita-Sthāṇu-dhyāna-nilīna-nischala-manaḥ-saṁvēdit-āntar-mmaṇalaḥ | jagmur=yasya dināni dāna-nirata-

20 — — ⏑ — — [rthika?] tat(t)tva-jñāna-vichakshaṇaiś=cha guṇibhiḥ sārddhaṁ parīkshā-kshamaiḥ || [15 ||*] Tīvr-āstōr=amśu-saṅghā iva niratiśay-ōllāsinaḥ svaiḥ pra-bhāvai[r]=yasy=āntē-vāsinō=dhas-tamasi ni-

21 ⏑ ⏑ —[pratyahaṁ] vā(bō)dhaya[ntaḥ |]=kānt¹=ālōka-dān-ōpakṛiti-pariṇamat-kīrttayaḥ saṁbhṛit-ājñā-sōbhā-bhūbhṛinh-chhirōbhiḥ pravara-muni-janair=a(r)chyamānāś=charanti || [16 ||*] Tasy=ābhava-

22 [t=]⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — —ḥ samasta-kavi-puṅgava-gīta-kīrttiḥ śrī Īśānaśambhur=akhil-āvanipāla-mauli-mālā-maṇi-dyuti-piśaṅgita-pāda-padmaḥ || [17 ||*] N(r)jjitya

23 ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑sarv[v]-ārthināṁ yēna śrir=gamit=ōpabhōga-padavī [durgatya-duḥkha-chchhidā] sad-vidyā-bhava-va(ba)ndhana-vyatikara-pradhvaṁ(m)sa-karmma-kshama-vyāpār-ēti

24 [samagra-saṁ²] ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — || [18 ||*] Yō mādyat-kali-kāla-danti-dalana-vyāpāra-pañchānanaḥ śrīman-Mattamayūra-vansa(vaṁśa)-tilakō niḥśēsha-vidyā-nidhiḥ | vidvat-pa-

25 [riṣhadā] — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [tasy]=āśēsha-guṇ-ākarasya bhuva[n .] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — || [19 ||*] Śrīmat-Pravō(bō)dhaśiva-nāma nij-ānujasya sthānaṁ sama-[r*]pya viji-

26 — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — [| *] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ ⏑ — — [||20 ||*] [Yēna] tyāga-tapaḥ-samādhi-nidhinā sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita-

27 — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —[| *] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ta-siddhi-vā(bā)dhaka-bhi[yā] n=ōllaṁghayanty=amva-(mba)rē || [21 ||*] Kū-

28 [paṁ] — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [| *] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ [. ā]rthi-nivaha[-saṁ]mhō=py=apūrvv-āpita-prā[ṇ]ya-sva-

29 ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|| 22 ||*] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ valla⏑⏑ — sat-karmma-nirmmāpitam |

30 — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|| 23 ||*] — — ⏑ — [tad-anu?] — ⏑ ⏑[sau?]jamē-ātmā tasy=āspadē='gra-

31 ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — [| *] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — [||24 ||*] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — — [Ma?]hēndrē='rvvu(rbbu)dē yasy=ōchchaiś=cha

32 ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [| *] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑[m=āsī]t-kshamaḥ || [25 ||*] Sāmantapāṭa-

33 [ka*]⏑ — ⏑⏑yāya — — — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — [| *] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑nilā[m] || [26 ||*] Ēn-ānēk-ānvaya-

34 — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [| *] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — [gṛi]hītvā va(ba)lāt=khyātaṁ kha-

¹ We may have to restore as *nyastāśā*.

² Restore as *Siddha*(?).

35 [dga*]⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑——⏑——⏑—[||27||*] ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑
—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [|*] nirjjitya **Gūrjjara**-patim

36 ⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [||28||*] ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑
——⏑——⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑———⏑—— [|*]⏑⏑]parijana-rakshō-

37 —⏑——⏑—— ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑——⏑——[||29||*] ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—
⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑—⏑——[|*] sā[nanda]-mauli-maṇi-

38 —⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——[||30||*] ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——
——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑ parākramō=bhūt [|*] chitrē=pi ya[l-li]-

39 khita-rūpam=avēkshya —— [vī]ra-vratām⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— || [31||*] ——⏑]ā
⏑⏑⏑—⏑ta vī[ra]—— ——[ya]-vikrama-nidhir=viparīta-mallaḥ | ŚaIn=nri-

40 paḥ kavi-kadamva(mba)-[ghanīya]mānas= ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑[pa]ṭhah ||
[32||*] Tasmād=abhūd=⏑ ⏑⏑ — dita-Pushpa[dhanvā?] ——yamāṇa-vapur=apra-
tima-pratāpaḥ | **Kōkalla**-

41 **dēva**-nṛipatiḥ patir=uttamā[nāṁ]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— || [33||*] [Pra]viśati
[hu]ta-śaktir=Gū[rjja]— —[Hi]m-ādrim jalanidhi-jala-durggam **Gauḍa**-rājō=dhiśē-

42 śā | nivasati **Vanavāsē Kuntalē**[1]—⏑——⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑———⏑——⏑——|| [34||*]
——⏑——⏑⏑⏑—⏑ya-kīrttanīya[ṁ] puṇy-ānvitāya munayē svayam=a-

43 rchchitāya | ——nam=ū(u)llikhita-[śā?] ⏑⏑—⏑——[**Kēyū***]**ravarsha**-nṛipatiḥ⏑⏑—
⏑——||[35||*] Pakka.. ..⏑——[taṁ] tathā Sārasaḍōllakam | Vakkaḍōllaka-[Rajyau]-

44 chchvā(?)kō.. .. nā(?)sapuṇḍikā || [36||*] .. ..⏑ ——⏑ .. .. puraṁ
[Khayēllikā?] | [puraṁ] Kalābhirapallī.. .. .. .. Sarasvatī || [37||*] [Ētēshāṁ]
dvādaśakaṁ=cha Kavacha-kshētram=ēva cha |

45 Sāmantapāṭakaṁ=ch=aiva Vaṭa.. ..⏑—⏑⏑ [|| 38||*] .. .. ..[yāta——yī] śāsana..
⏑m=ity=api | Sa.. .. [Bha]dvachiurā Tu[ju]mvā cha Ku[kku]ḍiyā || [39||*]
Rajō-grām-ānvitā-

46 n=ētān=śāsanatvēna dattavān | .. ..⏑[vēdā]nta-pāragāya garīyasē ||
[40||*] [Puraṁ] paura-jan-ākīrṇṇaṁ [puraskāra(?)]-samastakaṁ | bhaktyā sama-
rppayāmāsa śāsanatvē-

47 na bhūpatiḥ || [41||*] Karōḍhakaṁ Vra(Bra)hmapurī[ṁ] ni[chcha?]-kapōṇḍikām |
Nanu-ēśvara-[kshētra]m=adāt=Sōmanāthāya Śa[mbhavē?] || [42||*] [Da]ttā śrī-
Yuvarājēna pālitā sāntarair=nṛipaiḥ | ākalpa-

48 sthāyinī bhūyād=vṛitaiḥ śaiva-tapō-bhṛitām || [43||*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-śrīmat-Trayī-
varddhana-nandanaḥ | praśa(śa)[stim=akarōt=] stutyō **Madhur**=madhurayā girā ||
[44||*] Alēkhi lēkhakēn=ēyam=A-

49 vvōka-tanujanmanā | aksharair=dṛiḍhaiḥ spashṭaiḥ **Śivanāgēna** dhīmatā || [45||*]
Utkīrṇṇā sūtradhārēṇa Ma[hē]śvara-sutēna cha | **Mādhavēna**⏑——na guṇinā Vi-
śvakarmmaṇā || [46||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! [Salutation to Śiva!] ||

(Verse 1.) Let the moon-crested (god Śiva) dwelling on the mountain, whose own pleasure is rendered terrible by the sound of the lamentation (*of the worldly beings*?), who made the world ....with the horizon of its quarters covered by the host of birds frightened by the clashing of the row of the peaks of the excellent crystal mountain shaken by the movement of arms of the hero (?) of Laṅkā—increase your joy.

[1] Probably we have to restore as *Gūrjjar-ēśā* and *Kuntal-ēśā*.

(V. 2.) Nandin, who is the (*lady*) that has entered ... ! ..... I think she is Dêvî. This is not true; I am not she; (*she is*) another person...... You simple minded, he is an *asura* who has assumed your form. See how I have felled him before me and by what weapon. Let Śiva who was (*thus*) silenced being conquered by the harsh(?) words of Dêvî, protect you.

(V. 3.) There is in this world, **Madhumatî**, the abode of the Saiddhântikas, where the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the unseasonal rise of clouds formed by the mass of smoke ......and which is smiling (*in derision*) as it were, at the heaven through the mass of the rays of the big jewels shining on high in the rows of mansions.

(V. 4.) Where appeared the foremost of ascetics whose mind was restrained by vows and who taught the great doctrine of Śiva which is devoid of all faults; whose well-known fame the splendour of which (*was as white as if it had been*) washed with nectar, whitens the universe even today like the rays of the moon gladdening the mass of *kumuda* flowers which were the prosperous and learned men.

(V. 5.) In this great family of Śaivas was (*born*) the illustrious ascetic **Chûḍâśiva** who was honoured by sages and who in his shining glory was like the forest fire to the dry fuel of sin; whose fame was exceedingly white having arisen out of the perfection of knowledge acquired through meditation on the feet of Bhava (Śiva).

(V. 6.) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious **Prabhâvaśiva** whose feet were worshipped by the rays of the crest jewels on the head of all the kings bowing (*in reverence*) and who was learned and famous in the three worlds.

(V. 7.) Having brought him out of a natural desire, **Yuvarâjadêva**, the son of the illustrious **Mugdhatuṅga**, who was versed in polity, in order to gain good fame arising out of the welfare of (*all*) beings, made him accept a monastery which was established at an enormous expense.

(V. 8.) His disciple was the ascetic the illustrious **Praśântaśiva**, who was famous in the whole world through his spotless austerities and force of learning which was (*always*) increasing and who was the sole abode of exceedingly good qualities.

(V. 9.) Attracted by (*his*) long accumulated austerities, Lakshmî, who was eager to have a bodily contact with him who was averse to pleasure on account of his desire of final emancipation, received his order to do good to others and obtained fixity (*i.e.*, became stationary), like a very devoted wife, in the houses of the good who were his (Praśântaśiva's) friends.

(V. 10.) Having taken to charity as the (*supporting*) pillar, having obtained the sprinkling of the water of shining knowledge, with all its tips protected by the increasing force of austerities, grew his wish-yielding tree (*kalpadruma*) which was his fame and which in time completely filled the vase-like interior of the universe.

(V. 11.) By him was established a temple of Śiva (*built*) to the north of the palace which was built by the illustrious Yuvarâjadêva and was like the shining peak of the Kailâsa mountain, which (temple) aspired to be as high as the peak of the Sumêru mountain, was famous on the earth, caused wonder in the three worlds and acted like a stair-case to his fame marching towards heaven.

(V. 12.) He, whose vast fame was well-known and who was learned, dedicated the images of Umâ, Umâ mixed with Śiva (Hara-Gaurî) and Shaḍânana in the temples adjacent to the palace as well as those of Sarasvatî and Gaṇapati at the gate.

(V. 13.) He who had quenched all desires of hosts of supplicants by the gift of gold which had emerged (*purified*) from burning (*i.e.*, sacrificial fire?), built another abode for the *Siddhas* on the bank of the river Śôṇa having entered which the *Yôgins* who had exterminated anxieties caused by impediments through (*the performance of*) vows, (*who were*) free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the position (*fit*) for (*obtaining*) emancipation.

(V. 14.) He, the sage, for the absolute rest of those who had a mind to live in a holy place, built an abode (*for performing*) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges), taking resort to which the inhabitants of Benares, devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, think the ocean of existence, though vast, to be as small as the impression of a cow's foot (*in the soil*).

(V. 15.) Seated in a solitary place, he, who had won a mastery over (*all*) the postures of sitting (*āsana*) and whose mind—devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva (*who was always present*) inside his lotus-like heart—possessed the inner satisfaction, passed his days in making gifts......in company of qualified men who were adepts in supreme knowledge and could stand the test.

(V. 16.) His disciples who shine in their own majesty bright like the mass of rays of the sun explaining......everyday to those who were in darkness(?) (as the sun removes the darkness) and whose fame is vast on account of the good done through the gift of sight (*ālōka*) (as the sun gives light), roam about honoured by the best of sages whose orders are held (*reverently*) by the kings (*bhūbhṛit*) on their heads (as the sun is honoured by the summits of mountains which it beautifies).

(V. 17.) His (disciple) was the illustrious [**Īśānaśambhu**]......whose fame was sung by all principal poets, and whose lotus-like feet were reddened by the splendour of the jewels of the garlands on the crowns of all the kings.

(V. 18.) Having conquered........of all the supplicants by him, who was the remover of the misery of poverty, was placed the goddess of fortune (*Śrī*) in a position to be enjoyed (*by all*); (*he who was?*) ....in the matter of destroying the obstruction of the bondage of existence through true learning..............

(V. 19.) He, who was a lion (*pañchānana*) in the act of subduing the rutting elephant of death in the shape of Kali age, who was the forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** clan, who was the store house of perfect bearing, (*who in the*) assembly of the learned........, of him who was the source of all the (good) qualities........

(V. 20.) He having given place to his younger brother (*disciple*) named **Prabōdhaśiva**......

(V. 21.) By him, who was the receptacle of charity, austerities and meditation (*was built a maṭha*[1] *near*) the one built by his master (*i.e.*, *guru*), which the..............do not cross in the sky for fear of obstruction to their success (or perfection).

(V. 22.) Also a well[2] (*was dug by him*).........and also the host of supplicants (*obtained?*) ....as abundant.....(*even*) of what was not desired before.

(V. 23.) ....caused to be built by (*his*) good works..............

(V. 24.) ....than the high-souled one.......in his abode.........

(V. 25.) ....on high on the Mahēndra or the Arbuda hills.......

(V. 26.) Sāmantapāṭaka..............

(V. 27.) (*In*) the family of the moon.........(*who*) taking by force the famous sword......

(V. 28.) ....having defeated the lord of the **Gūrjaras**..............

(V. 29.) ....the protection of the family..............

(V. 30.) ....the crest jewel..................

(V. 31.) ....was born the valiant ......seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture ....

(V. 32.) From him (*was born*).........the king, the treasure house of valour, the terrible fighter, who was like.....to the host of poets..

(V. 33.) From him (*was born*) the king **Kōkalladēva** who was the lord of the good, who excelled the god of love in physical (*beauty*) and was of unequalled valour..............

[1] [Probably the damaged portion contained a reference to the *maṭha* built by Prabōdhaśiva which is also found in the Chandrēhe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 18, v. 16.—Ed.]

[2] [For a reference to this well see also Chandrēhe Inscription, v. 16.—Ed.]

(V. 34.) The Gūrjara (lord?) enters the Himālaya devoid of power and the lord of **Gauḍa** lies in the watery fort of the sea. There lives in **Vanavāsa** the lord(?) of **Kuntala**........

(V. 35.) The King **Kēyūravarsha** (gave)......to the ascetic who possessed merit and whom he had himself honoured......

(Vv. 36-37.) (The villages) Pakka...... as well as Sārasaḍōllaka, Vakkaḍōllaka, Rājyauchchhvēkā(?)......tōsapuṇḍikā......pura, Khayōlikā(?)......Ābhirapalli......and Sumavadi.

(Vv. 38-40.) The twelfth part of these as well as the Kavacha-*kshētra* Sāmantapāṭaka and Vaṭa......Bhadrachūrā, Tajjuvā and Kukkuḍiyā along with the village of Rajō (*the king*) gave by means of a grant to the great (*ascetic*) who was versed in the Vēdāntas.

(V. 41.) The king made the grant with all honours and out of devotion to him (*and also gave?*) a city crowded with citizens.

(V. 42.) (*He also*) gave to the Śiva called Sōmanātha, (*the villages of*) Karōḍḍaka, Brahmapuri......kapōṇḍikā and Nannēsvara-kshētra.

(V. 43.) May this allowance (grant) to the Śaiva-ascetics granted by the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva** last till the end of *kalpas*, being protected by the future kings.

(V. 44.) The praiseworthy **Madhu** who was the son of the illustrious Trayīvardhana of the Bhāradvāja lineage, composed this eulogy with sweet words.

(V. 45.) This (*praśasti*) was written on stone with clear letters by the scribe, the intelligent **Śivanāga**, the son of Avvāka.

(V. 46.) (*It was*) incised by the engraver **Mādhava**....who was the son of Mahēśvara, was gifted and was (*as clever as*) Viśvakarman.

No. 22.—THE MAHAKOSALA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTARAJADEVA.

By Pandit L. P. Pandeya.

In October 1932, this important charter was presented to the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society, Bālpur (via Rāigarh, District Bilāspur, C. P.), by a gentleman in whose family it had been lying for years. Definite information about its find-spot is lacking but it is said that the plates were discovered in a field in the course of digging.

This charter consists of **three copper-plates** each measuring about 8·1" in length and 4·2" in breadth which are strung on a big circular ring of the same metal. The ring is 4·2" in diameter to which is fixed a circular **seal** measuring 1·6" in diameter. On the seal is engraved the figure of a standing bull with two horns and a raised hump facing the proper right. Above the figure of the bull is the mark of a crescent moon and below it the **legend** in two lines, which reads :—(1) *Śrī-Mahābhavagupta* (2)*rājadēvasya*. The plates have no raised rims and they with the ring and the seal weigh 120 *tolas*.

Of the three plates, the first is inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate contains nine lines of writing, the second seven lines on each side and the third has eleven lines on the inner and four lines on the outer side. The letters on both the sides of the second plate are comparatively big, each measuring ⅓rd of an inch. In the inner side of the third plate the letters in the last five lines are smaller than those of the first six lines. The writing on the plates excepting a few lines on the first side of the third plate is in good preservation.

The **characters** belong to the 'acute angled' type of the Northern script, attributable to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. The letters have been nicely and clearly engraved and the majority

of them resemble those of the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta.[1] The **language** is Sanskrit and prose throughout with the exception of the imprecatory and benedictive verses.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted :—The *visarga* is omitted in *namaḥ* (l. 1) and [illegible] (l. 4); ī is used for i in *-abhi°*(l. 13), *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* (l. 20), etc.; *b* and *v* have not been distinguished. The rule of *sandhi* has been overlooked in *yadi ākshara* (l. 30).

The exact **date** of the record cannot be verified from the details given in the inscription and the reading of the day of the fortnight is not certain, though it appears to be 6. Accepting this reading to be correct, the record is dated the **6th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada of the 11th regnal year** of the M. P. P. **Mahābhavaguptarājadēva**, the forehead ornament of the Sōma family (*Sōma-kula-tilaka*) and the Lord of Trikaliṅga. The charter records the grant of the **Liñjira** village in the neighbourhood of the Prithurā-*bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa who was the son of Chakradhara and belonged to the Kapishṭhala-*gōtra*,[2] Vasishṭha-*pravara* and the Maitrāyaṇī-*śākhā* (of the Black Yajurvēda). The donee is simply called *Bhaṭṭa* in the inscription and it is not clear whether this was his name or the usual brāhmaṇic title. He was an inhabitant of Ullakhēṭa and had originally emigrated from Madhura in the Mid-country (*Madhya-dēśa*). The gift was made on the Siṁha-*saṁkrānti* and the record was issued from the victorious camp at Kisarakēllā. The writer of the charter was the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Rudradatta, the son of Dēvadatta who had emigrated from Ayōdhyāpura. The usual device on the seal of the Sōmavaṁśī kings is the *gaja-Lakshmī* but in the present inscription the device is, as has been noticed above, different and is similar to that used in the inscriptions of the Early Gaṅga kings. Though the dates of the two known Mahābhavaguptas of the Sōmavaṁśa have not been properly fixed, their personal or birth names, *viz.*, Janamējaya and Bhīmaratha are usually found in their grants. But the grant under publication does not give such a name to the donor Mahābhavagupta. It is, therefore, not certain if he is to be identified with either of the Mahābhava-guptas already known or is an altogether different ruler of the family.

Of the **geographical** places mentioned in the grant **Kisarakēllā** may be identified with the village of Kesarkelā, about six miles to the east of Bolangir in the Patna State of Sambalpur District. The village **Liñjira** may be identified with the village of the same name close to Baramakēlā in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. **Prithurā** is the present day Pithōṛā in the Padampur tract, about 45 miles to the north-west from Sambalpur town. The distance between Pithōṛā and the Liñjira village in the Sarangarh State is about 20 miles. These two are on the opposite banks of the Mahānadī, which flows through the borders of both the Sarangarh State and the Padampur tract, forming respectively their northern and southern boundary. **Ayōdhyāpura** is to be identified with the modern Ayōdhyā in the Faizabad District of United Provinces. **Ullakhēṭa** may be the present Ulakhara village in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. It is about 20 miles to the west of Liñjira.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 ओं[4] ॥ नम[:*]शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति [॥*] किसरकेल्लासमावासितमहाविजय-

2 कटकात्परममाहेश्वरमातापितृपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिरा-

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 190 ff.

[2] This *gōtra* is mentioned in *Pāṇini*, VIII-3-91.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

MAHA KOSALA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTARAJADEVA.

Seal.

Actual size.

i.b.

ii.a.

ii.b.

iii.a.

iii.b.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3377 E'36-421.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

3 जपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकसोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिप-

4 तिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेव: कुशली । इमुराभुक्त्यन्त[:*]पा-

5 तिनिष्ठिरग्रामे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान्सम्पूज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्बि(म्बि)न: समा-

6 हर्त्तृसंनिधातृ(तृ)दण्डपाशिकचाटभटराजवल्ल(ल्ल)भादीन्स(न्स)र्व्वान्स(न्स)मा-

7 ज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिस्सनिधि: सोपनिधि-

8 स्सदशापराधो निषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेश: सर्व्वोपरिक-

9 रिकर¹करादा[न]समेत(त:) सर्व्वपीडावर्ज्जित: कपि-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 ष्ठल(ल)गोत्राय पञ्चार्षे(र्षे)यवसिष्ठप्रवराय मैत्रावि(व)रुणा-

11 श्वलायिने मध्यदेशमथुराविनिर्ग्गत² तक्कोटवास्त-

12 व्य³ भट्टब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय चक्रधरसुताय सिद्ध(सिंध)मङ्गान्तौ माता-

13 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभी(भ्याभि)वृद्धये सलिलधा(धा)रापुर:स-

14 रेण चन्द्रतारकार्क्कक्षितिसमकालो(लमु)पभोगार्थन्तात्र(त्व)-

15 ग्रामस्तेनाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादितोयस्मिन्नवगत्य स-

16 मुचितभोगभागकरहिरण्या(ण्य)द्यमुपनयद्भिर्भवद्भि:

Second Plate; Second Side.

17 सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविभिश्च भूपतीभिं(तिभि)र्द्धर्म्मगौ-

18 रवादस्मा(स्म)दनुरोधा[त्] अस्मद्दत्तिरियमनुपालनीया तथा चैव-

19 मुच्यते धर्म्मशास्त्रे ॥ ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि: सग-

20 रादीभि(दिभि:) [।*] यं(य)स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

21 लं [।*] माभू:(भू)दफलशङ्का व: परदत्ते(त्ते)ति पार्थि(र्थि)व ।(।) स्वदा-

22 नात्फलमानन्त्यम्परदत्तानुपालने [।*] भूमिं य:

23 प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमी(मि)म्प्रयच्छती(ति) [।*] उभौ तौ

Third Plate; First Side.

24 पुण्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नी(नि)यतौ स्वर्ग्गगामी(मि)नौ ॥ षष्टिंवर्ष-

25 सहस्राणी(णि) स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमी(मि)द: [।*] आच्छेत्ता(त्ता) चानुम-

26 न्ता च ताने(न्ये)व नरके वसेत् ॥ सुवर्ण्णमेकङ्गामेकाम्भूमेरप्य-

¹ Read sarv-oparikara.

² Read vinirggatāya.

³ Read vāstavyāya.

27 हैमङ्कन्दर[1]ननरकमायाति यावदाहूतसंप्ल(प्ल)वम् ॥

28 धर्म्मरपतमग्रयमं सुवर्णं भूर्म्मिर्षभी सूर्य्यसुताच गावो(व:) [।*]

29 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यस्कांचनङ्गाच मही च दद्या-

30 त्(त् ॥ स्वा)मान्योयन्धर्म्मसेतुर्नृ(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः-
(द्भिः) [।*]

31 सर्व्वाने(ने)ताम्भा(न्भा)वी(वि)नः पार्थि(र्थि)वेन्द्रा[न्*] ॥[2] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥

32 इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुलोला(लां) श्री(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजी-
वितञ्च [।*] सक-

33 लमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलाप्य(लोप्याः) ॥
मवर्द्धमा-

34 नविजयराज्यसम्वत्सरे एकादशमे भाद्रपदव[दि]दी(दि)न[६] [।*] महासन्धी-
(न्धि)[वि]ग्रहीकश्री-

Third Plate: Second Side.

35 भद्रदत्तेन देवदत्तस्य सुतेन श्रयोध्यापुरविनिर्म्मतेन

36 लिखी(लिखि)तमिदं शासान(सनम्) ॥ ⊙ ॥ यदि आक्षर[3]परी(रि)भ्रष्टं

37 मात्राहीनस्तु[4] यद्गे(द्भवेत्) [।*] तत्सर्वमक्षरमीविदाम्[5] कस्य न

38 स्खलते(ति) मन[:] ॥

No. 23.—DRAKSHARAMA INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I., 33RD YEAR.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The publication of the texts of South Indian Inscriptions has placed before the student of ancient Indian history a mass of material which will serve to clear up doubtful points in the history of the various dynasties of the Dekhan. The inscription edited below is one such. It is engraved on a slab in the south wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Ganjām district and is registered in the Madras epigraphical collection for 1893[6] as being on a third slab from the bottom between the third and the fourth pillars.[7] The text of it in Telugu script is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume IV.[8] For the interesting historical information which it furnishes it is edited here.

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[1] Read — *ampulam* | *kṛaman-vasundhara*.

[2] Probably it was intended to write *Yaḷ Māchanai*.

[3] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[4] Read *yad akshara* or *padya-aksharam*.

[5] Read *-hīnañ-cha*.

[6] Read *kshantavyam-arhata vidvāmsaḥ*.

[7] No. 349.

[8] No. 1230, pages 425-9.

As will be seen from the transcript, the inscription is not well preserved. The **language** employed is Sanskrit throughout and the **alphabet** Telugu. In several cases the writer uses the *anusvāra* in place of the conjunct: see for instance *Maṇḍalañjāri* (l. 5). There are instances of the omission of (1) *visarga*, (2) *rēpha* and (3) *anusvāra*. For (1), see *dhara* (l. 3), *vishaya* (l. 5), *abhihita* (l. 10); for (2), see *dhamma* (l. 6), *Jaṅkama-* (l. 9), *kīti* (l. 9) and *kumaṅgēya* (l. 15); and for (3), see *Gaṅga* (l. 10) and *tapasvinā* (l. 12). There are also few instances of needless doubling of consonants.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa king **Kulōttuṅga I.** and is dated in the **33rd year of his reign** (=A.D. 1103). He is styled *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Pṛithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Pāṇḍyakulāntaka*, *Chōḷakulaśēkhara*, *Vīramahēndra*, *Vikramachōḷa*, *Rājarājēndra*, *Rājakēsarivarman*, and *Tribhuvanachakravartin*. All these epithets except the last three are not usually met with in his Tamiḻ inscriptions but are found in some of his Telugu records.

The importance of the inscription consists in recording the military achievements of one of the king's chief officers variously named as **Vaṇḍuvarāja, Pallavarāja, Tiruvaraṅga** and the crest jewel of the Śūdra family. He was the son of a certain **Śiriḷaṅgō**, a resident of **Maṇḍalañjēri** in **Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu** a subdivision of **Chōḷamaṇḍalam**. He is described as a good Vaishṇava, 'the resort of the poor' and 'the abode of heroism.' By being devoted to the feet of **Rājēndra-Chōḷa**, *i.e.*, **Kulōttuṅga I.**, he obtained prosperity in the world and was the very sprout of the creeper, *viz.*, his fame. At the command of the king he effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and espoused the goddess of heroism. Filling the battle-field with the blood of his foes, ploughing it with the hoofs of his war steeds, sowing therein the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants which were cut to pieces by his sword, he caused to grow his master's fame-creeper. He reduced to ashes the whole of the **Kaliṅga** country, defeated the **Gaṅga** king, destroyed in battle **Dēvēndravarman** and others and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the Oḍra country which was as it were the raising aloft of Rājēndrachōḷa's fame.

The immediate **object** of the inscription is to register the facts (1) that this illustrious chief constructed with black granite a temple of Vishṇu in the *agrahāra* village of **Āḷavēli**, making provision for its offerings, (2) that, for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brāhmaṇs, and five *Vēdaśarmins* in its vicinity he gave some lands at Oḷarāppākkam (3) and that he provided also for offerings to the temple of Pañchavaṭi-Hari on the banks of the **Gōdāvarī** in **Vēṅgi-maṇḍalam**. Reference is made in the damaged portion at the end of the inscription to a pavilion, probably erected by him, at Drākshārāma.

The proper import of the inscription can be well estimated with the help of the Tamiḻ work *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅgoṇḍār composed in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. The book says that the king, while he was yet a *yuvarāja*, led an expedition into the north and destroyed Chakkarakkōṭṭam (X, v. 33): then went to the south and was crowned there (*ibid*, v. 34). After removing the chaotic condition that was prevailing in that part of the land, he was conducting his rule with justice, pleasing himself by hunting on the banks of the Kāvērī. After some time he set out with all his paraphernalia for *pārivēṭṭai* on the banks of the Pālāṟu (*ibid*, v. 47), reached Adigai where he worshipped the god Naṭarāja and proceeded to Kāñchī. By the way, reference is made to his conquest of the Chēra and Pāṇḍya kings (*ibid*, vv. 66-69). On an occasion when he was seated there in the *chitramaṇḍapa* on the western side of his palace, surrounded by his ministers Vaṇḍaimāṉ-Toṇḍaiman and others,—provincial chiefs (*maṇḍalikas*) and kings waiting at his gate,—it was reported to him that the king of the north Kaliṅgas had failed to pay his tribute twice (*i.e.*, for two years) (XI, vv. 3, 4, 16 and 27). On the emperor's ordering that the Kaliṅga country should be subdued and its king brought there, Vaṇḍainagar-araiyaṉ, who is variously

called Karuṇākaraṉ, Pallavarkōṉ, and Vaṇḍaivēndaṉ, (vv. 52-54) volunteered to undertake the invasion of the seven Kaliṅgas, and, obtaining the king's permission, set out on his march (vv. 29-31). On the way, he successively crossed such rivers as the Pālāṟu, Poṉmugari, Peṇṇai, Pēṟāṟu, Gōdāvari, Pampānadī, and Gōtamai (vv. 55-57). The fight that ensued was a severe one in which many were killed and wounded. "Invading Kaliṅgam at the sea," says the book, "planting a pillar of victory, capturing elephants and treasure, Vaṇḍaiyarkōṉ secured the grace of the feet of Abhaya of powerful army and sword (XII, v. 68)." The poem closes with an exhortation to sing the achievements of the king, *viz.*, the defeat of the five Pāṇḍyas and the Chēra king, the tribute that was being brought from the north; and also the fame of the cities Vaṇḍai, Mayilai and Mallai and of their chief, Toṇḍaiyarvēndaṉ who, capturing the elephants of the Kaliṅgas, bestowed *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* on the king (XIII. v. 65). Verse 44 of Canto II (*Kaḍaitirappu*) states in unambiguous words that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief led the expedition to Kaliṅga and reduced it.

It will be seen from this short summary of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* that the account about the Kaliṅga war agrees with what is given in the inscription under publication. There does not appear to be any room for doubting that the chief referred to in the poem is identical with the one mentioned in the inscription and that the war described in both is the same. This being the case, the information furnished by the one is not only corroborated by the other but is greatly supplemented. The inscription gives the name of the chief as Vaṇḍuvarāja and Pallavarāja while the poem adds to these the names Karuṇākaraṉ and Toṇḍaimāṉ, the latter being only a synonym of Pallavarāja. With Karuṇākara we may compare the epithet *dīna-nidhāna iha* of the inscription. This work gives us the additional information that the chief was the lord of Vaṇḍai, Mallai and Mayilai and that he had invaded Ceylon. Both the book and the inscription declare that the chief invaded the Kaliṅga country at the command of the king, the former stating that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief successfully prosecuted the war and the latter adding that the chief reduced to ashes the whole of the Kaliṅga country, defeated the Gaṅga in battle and destroyed Dēvēndravarman and others with the help of Kōsala. Both the documents state that the chief set up a pillar of victory, the inscription specifying that it was on the borders of the Oḍra country.

The name Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimāṉ is not unknown to inscriptions. In the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram, there is an inscription of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I., dated in the 43rd year of his reign with the introduction *pugaḻ-mādu*, registering a grant made by Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷaṉi-Maṇḍaiyāḻvār, the wife (*dēviyār*) of Vēḷāṉ Karuṇākaraṉ Toṇḍaimāṉ. Here it is stated that the chief was a native of Vaṇḍalañjēri in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa-vaḷanāḍu in Chōḻamaṇḍalam. The name of the donor and the temple to which the gift was made may be taken to show that Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimāṉ professed the Vaishṇava creed while the title Vēḷāṉ is indicative of his being a Śūdra by caste and these facts are in accord with what is reported in the Drākshārāma inscription. Vaṇḍalañjēri is but a variant of Maṇḍalañjēri and Vaṇḍai is perhaps connected with it. The subdivision to which the village belonged is the same in the two inscriptions: and it may be noted that Tirunaṟaiyūr and Vaṇḍalañjēri are places in the Kumbakōṇam *taluk*.

Having shown how the two documents *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and Drākshārāma inscription refer to the same Kaliṅga war, we here take up the question regarding the date of this war. Before doing so, it may be useful to know if there was only one war with Kaliṅga or more. As the earliest notice of the conquest of Kaliṅga in the records of Kulōttuṅga I.—without any mention of the details connected with it—occurs in a stone inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign corresponding to A.D. 1096 and as this is found repeated in the inscriptions of the

30th year and after,[1] one is strongly inclined to believe that this should have taken place in or a little before A.D. 1096. Some of the inscriptions of the king dated in the 42nd and 45th years of his reign[2] refer to an invasion of Kaliṅga in which the king himself is said "to have left his throne, crossed the Vēṅgi-maṇḍalam in the north, set fire to Kaliṅga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kaliṅgam[3]." From the fact that the king himself is said here to have taken the lead in this war, and greater details are furnished regarding it than in the earlier records, it appears to be different from and later than the one already mentioned and may have to be assigned to A.D. 1111 or thereabout. But as the historical introductions of Kulōttuṅga I. do not regularly record all his achievements, adding year by year the later conquests, as do those of the early Chōḷa kings, it will not be safe to assign these events to the years in which we find them noticed at present.

If the capture of Kaliṅga mentioned in the 26th year record (A.D. 1096) proves to be the one effected by the king himself, whether it is identical with or different from the Kaliṅga war described in detail in the 42nd and the 45th year inscriptions (A.D. 1111-14), the war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription has to be assigned to a much earlier date as will be seen from the sequel. In enumerating the achievements of Kulōttuṅga I., *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* speaks chiefly of his conquests of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra, the capture of Śālai and the destruction of Viliñam with a passing reference to Navilai and Maṇalūr which were perhaps connected with his war against Kuntala. The book is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñchi while the chief Vaṇḍaiyarkōṉ, at his instance, invaded Kaliṅga, waged a deadly war, planted a pillar of victory there, returned with heaps of treasure and elephants and bestowed *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* on him. The inscription under publication confirms this account in the main and adds a very important statement that he defeated Dēvēndravarman and others as we have already noted. Dēvēndravarman here referred to cannot be any other than the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., who, according to the Vṛihatkōḍila grant, bore that surname[4] and had his coronation performed in A.D. 1070, the very year in which Kulōttuṅga was also crowned. His son and successor Chōḍagaṅga, for all that we know about him, does not seem to have borne the surname Dēvēndravarman but was Anantavarman which name, we may note, was assumed by all his successors. Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. reigned for 8 years[5], *i.e.*, up to A.D. 1078. He was a supporter of the cause of Vijayāditya VII., for the Korni plates record that when Vijayāditya grew old and like the setting sun left Vēṅgi which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōḷas, Rājarāja of Kaliṅganagara, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity in that region.[6] Here is evidence to show that Rājarāja was an enemy of his Chōḷa contemporary who was none other than Kulōttuṅga I. Thus the invasion of Kaliṅga, undertaken solely by the chief and minister Vaṇḍuvarāja-Pallavarāja, at the instance of king Kulōttuṅga I. as detailed in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the inscription under publication, must have taken place before A.D. 1078 and probably about A.D. 1076-7.

Now if there is any truth in the statement of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* that the Kaliṅga king withheld the payment of tribute twice, it must have reference to a treaty or agreement probably

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[1] Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 777, 782 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72.

[2] No. 608 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904 is dated in the 42nd year and No. 44 of the same collection for 1891 is dated in the 45th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. and have the same introduction.

[3] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 445 lines 22 to 27; the chiefs overcome in the war are here mentioned by name.

[4] C. P. No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918-19.

[5] His coronation took place in Śaka 992, Jyeshṭha, ba. 8 (= A.D. 1070, May 20) (*A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* 1918-19, p. 59); and that of his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in Śaka 999 (= A.D. 1078) (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 161f).

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

made between the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III., the father of Rājarāja I., and Vīrarājēndra whom practically Kulōttuṅga I. succeeded. The Kanyākumari inscription of Vīrarājēndra clearly states that that king regained Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga which were neglected by his two predecessors.[1] In his Tamil historical introductions, Vīrarājēndra actually claims to have driven the Chāḷukyas at Vijayavāḍai, i.e., Bezwada, and crossing the seven Kaliṅgas, and reaching the Mahēndragiri, to have bestowed that country on Vijayāditya who, it is said, sought his refuge.[2] This seems to have taken place in A.D. 1063. Further troubles arising in this quarter, Vīrarājēndra, after his successful war in Ceylon in A.D. 1069 against Vijayabāhu, is said to have sent a large army into Kaliṅga and to have defeated the Chāḷukyas and their allies at Chakkarakkōṭṭam.[3] It might be on this last occasion, i.e., immediately before Kulōttuṅga's assumption of power, that the Kaliṅgas were probably made to pay tribute to the Chōḻas.

To the student of Tamil literary history the inscription has no less an interest as it serves to determine the date of composition of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which may be taken to be contemporaneous with the Kaliṅga war of Vaṇḍuvarāja. With the help of a number of manuscripts, Mahāvidvān K. Subbaraya Mudaliyar brought out an early edition of this work which is now out of print. In it as well as in the edition of the late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri published several years afterwards in 1898, verse 63 of Canto XI has at the end of the first line the words '*aḍipan vīram*' which has been changed into '*Anantapanman*' in the recent edition of Mr. N. Gopala Iyer; and there is no alternative reading given for it. The difference is indeed very vital and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case of the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantapanman' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based and the age of that manuscript also. If indeed the name Anantapanman is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration. The Drākshārāma inscription shows, as we have seen already, that the date of the Kaliṅga war must be earlier than A.D. 1078. And being conducted by the same minister of the king as is mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, the introduction of the name Anantapanman in the poem, supposing that it actually occurs in an early and trustworthy manuscript, calls for an explanation. Besides, the following questions also naturally arise. Did Vaṇḍuvarāja conduct two wars against Kaliṅga, both in the absence of the king, or only one? If two, was one waged against Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. and the other against his son Anantavarman? And does the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* celebrate the latter, omitting the general's other achievement? And if only one, how does Anantavarman figure in the poem and Dēvēndravarman in the inscription? It seems to me that the easiest way of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that while the war was actually waged in the reign of Dēvēndravarman, his son Anantavarman took an active part in it as we do find in many instances. Among the numerous records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, there are several which furnish both the Śaka and regnal years which work out for his accession A. D. 1074-5.[4] This date, it will be observed, is three years earlier than the date given in the plates for the king's coronation. The difference has to be accounted for by supposing that Anantavarman was nominated for rulership in A. D. 1074-5 but was actually crowned in A. D. 1078. Since stone inscriptions generally count the regnal years of kings from the date of nomination, it is clear that during the first three years, i.e., in the period A. D. 1074-5 to 1078, he must have been co-regent with his father Dēvēndravarman

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

[2] See above Vol. XXI, p. 242.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

[4] Nos. 240, 280, 286, 287, 288, 292 and 293 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1896.

Rājarāja I. and this is perhaps the reason why, in the large collection of his epigraphs, there is almost none dated in the first three years of his rule. The above fact shows further that, being associated with his father in the government of the country, he could well have figured in the Kaliṅga war referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription as having been waged against Dēvēndravarman.

The names of villages that occur in this inscription are **Ālavēli**, **Ōlarppākkam**, and **Drākshārāma**. The last mentioned place is well known and I am unable to identify the first two.

TEXT.

1 ....

2 prāk-pratyag-dakshiṇ-ā[śā-vi]ja..

3 [dhara][ḥ*] śrī-**Kulōttuṁgga**[1]-**Chōḍaḥ**[|*] Svasti[||*] Samastabhuvanāśraya-Śrī-Prithivī-vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramē[śvara]-[Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ravi-kula-tilaka-Chō]ḷa[2]-kula-śēkhara-Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka-[Samasta-rājāśraya-Rāja]-[3]

4 rājēndra[3] Vīramahēndra-Vikramachōḍa-Vijayābharaṇa-śrī-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ-Tribhuvanachakravartti-śrī-Kulōttu[ṁga-Chō]ḷadēvasya] trayas-triṁśatimō saṁvatsarō..... **Chōḍama-**

5 **ṇḍalam**-akhila-mahī-maṇḍanaṁ [sa]j-jana-sēvyaṁ tasmin-[4]**Tirinarayūr-nāḍ-i**[ti] vishaya[ḥ*] sarva-sasya-śō[bhi]taḥ tatr-āsīt-sukha-dhāmani **Maṇḍalaṁjēri** viśrutā lōkē punnāga-.........khēti purī.

6 j-ēti sambh-āḍhyā [||*] Tan-mukhyas-**Siralaṁgōv**[5]-ity-āsīt sach-chhūdra-puṁgavaḥ [|*] satya-tyāga-dayā-yuktō Vaishṇavō dha[r*]mma-vatsalaḥ[6][||*] Tasy-ātmajas-**T[ruva]raṁga**-var-ābhidhānas-sad-vaishṇavō jagati dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ [|*] satya-

7 ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ —śrita-vīra-lakshmī **Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa**-charaṇ-āśraya-[la]bdha[7]-Lakshmīḥ[8] [||*] Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa dharaṇīpati-kīrtti-vallī-sat-pallavō ◡ ◡ ◡ — Ilavarāja-nāmā [|*] śrī-dvāra-chāmara-ghan-ātapa-vāraṇ-aika-śaṁkha-dhvaja-pramukha-rājita-rājya-bāhuḥ[9][||*]

8 Kṛitvā dig-vijayan-nihatya cha ripūn-Rājēṁdra-Chōḍ-ājñayā vīra-śrī-lalanā-svayaṁ-vṛita-patir-yyaś-Chōḍa-chandraḥ prabhuḥ [|*] yat-prasthāpita-danti-(da)dāna-salila-klinnaṁ prabhōḥ prāṁgaṇaṁ tach-chhauryyaṁ dvishatāṁ kapāla-ni-

9 vahā gāyanti vīṇu-cha(chchha)lāt[10][||*] Ka[r*]bhura-aśva-khurair-dvishāṁ su-rudhirair-āpūrayann-āhava-kshōṇīṁ tīvra-kṛipāṇa-kṛitta-radanī-pūrṇṇa-kara-muktā[ni] kurā[n] uptvā kī[r*]tti-latām vivardhayati yō Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-prabhōs-sō-yaṁ [**Vaṇḍa]-**

10 **varāja** ity-abhihita[ḥ*] sach-chhūdra-chūḍāmaṇiḥ[11] [||*] Bhuṁktv-ātya **Kaliṅga-dēśam**-akhilaṁ nirjjitya **Gaṁga[ṁ*]** raṇē bhaṁ[k*]tvā Kōsala-kuṇḍavāla nivahair-[**Dē]vēṁdravarm**-ādikān [|*] vīraḥ **Pallavarāja** ity-abhihitō Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-prabhōḥ kīrtty-uttambhan-iv-**Ōḍra**-sīmani [ja]yastambhaṁ śubha[ṁ]

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[1] Read *Kulōttuṅga*.

[2] The letters in brackets are filled in with the help of other inscriptions of the king, e.g., No. 1243 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, page 431.

[3] Here and in what follows the writer uses *anusvāra* for the conjunct.

[4] Read *Tirunaraiyūr*.

[5] Read *Siriḷaṅgō*.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[7] Read *labdha*.

[8] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[10] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[11] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

11 nyakshipat[1][||*] Sō-yaṁ śrīmān-**Ālavāly**-agrahārē nirmmāy-ālaṁ-nīla-pāshāṇa-baddhaṁ [|*] ramyaṁ harmmyaṁ svasya kīrtty-ankurābhaṁ[2] bhuñjan-viśvaṁ varttatē tasya Vishṇōḥ[3] [||*] Divyaṁ [rū]paṁ śrī-nivāsaṁ vichitraṁ kṛitvā tattr-aiv-ākarōt-tat-pratishṭāṁ[4] [|*] bhūmiṁ

12 kṛitv-āsmai vyadād-atra bhaktyā grāmō dhīmān-āsha nity-āmṛitāya ||[5] Chakrē Brahmēśvar-ōpāntē paṁchānāṁ cha tapasvinā[ṁ*] [|*] datānāṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ cha paṁchānāṁ Vānakarmmiṇāṁ [||*][6] Bhāktuṁ tri[ṁ*]śat-khaṇḍikā-vrīhi-bīj-āvāpa-kshētrān-**Ōlarāpāka**-nāmni [|*] grā[mē]

13 — — — ⏑ ḍirāya — — kṛitvā prādāt-tat-kar-ābhyantarēṇa[7] [||*] **Vēṁgi-maṇḍala**-maṇḍanē[8] pravila — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — tē prabhav-āpy-asahya-durisā **Gōda**[**varī**] tat-taṭē [|*] śrīmat-Paṁchavaṭī-Harēr-bBhagavatō ha[r*]mmyāya — — ⏑ —

14 ....*ṛti-vishayē...........prādād-amṛitāya vidi[ta]m-āchaṁdr-ārkkaṁ || Sa tu **Guddavādi-vishayē**......

15 ....ma-yuktā...maṁḍapaṁ....**Dākshārāmē**[9] purē-tra....tē [dha]nyair-vvadānyair-yutē kṛitvā **Pallavarāja**...............

16 tasmād-dharmō na haṁtavyō rakshaṇīyō manīshibhiḥ || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēti(ta) vasuṁdharāṁ [|*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi......jāya[tē krimiḥ] [||*]..ṭaḥ Vilēkhakō **Rājēṁdra-Chōḍāchāryyaḥ**[10][||*]

TRANSLATION.

..........victory of the eastern, western and southern quarters.....the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa**. Hail! In the thirty-third year *(of the reign)* of Rājakēsarivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva, the resort of all the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the ornament of the solar race, the foremost of the Chōḷa family, the *(god of)* death to the Pāṇḍya family, the refuge of all kings, *(styled)* Rājarājēndra, Vīramahēndra, Vikrama-Chōḷa and Vijayābharaṇa.....**Chōḍamaṇḍala** *(is)* the ornament of the whole world and is the resort of illustrious men: therein is the division of **Tirinaraiyūr-nāḍu** which is resplendent with all kinds of crops: in that *(division)*, the resort of happiness, is the city of **Maṇḍalañjēri**, well known in the world and *(filled with?)* *punnāga (trees)*. The chief of it was **Śrīilaṅgō**, the foremost among the good Śūdras, possessing the qualities of truthfulness, generosity and compassion, a Vaishṇava and *(one)* devoted to *dharma*. His son, who bore the good name **Tiruvaraṅga**, was a good Vaishṇava, the sole resort of the poor in this world, the abode of the goddess of heroism.....and truth, and had obtained prosperity by being devoted to the feet of **Rājēndra-Chōḍa**. He, named [Pa]llavarāja, was the fine sprout of the creeper of fame of Rājēndra-Chōḍa, the lord of the earth...and was like the arm of the kingdom decorated with the insignia of royalty (?) such as the *chāmara*, the parasol that wards off rain and heat, the conch, the flag, etc. By the order of Rājēndra-Chōḍa, this chief Chōḷachandra effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and was voluntarily espoused as lord by the goddess of heroism. The courtyard of his master was made wet

[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Read *aṅkurābham.*

[3] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[4] Read *pratishṭhām.*

[5] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[8] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[9] Read *Drākshārāmē.*

[10] The last two lines, which are found in the text on p. 429 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, are not in the impression.

with the ichor flowing from his marching elephants and the heaps of skulls of his enemies sang his heroism. He, who, ploughing the battlefield with the hoofs of his steeds, flooding it with the blood of his foes, sowing (*therein*) the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants cut to pieces by his sharp sword, caused to grow the creeper of fame of his master Râjêndra-Chôḷa, is the crest jewel of the good Sûdras, named [Vaḍḍu]varâja.

Reducing to ashes the whole of the **Kaliṅga** country, subduing the **Gaṅga** (*king*) in battle and destroying the chiefs **Dêvêndravarman** and others with the multitude of swords of Kôsala (*i.e.*, with the help of the Kôsala army)[1] this hero named Pallavarâja set up a fine pillar of victory on the borders of the Oḍra (*country*) as if raising aloft the fame of his lord Râjêndra-Chôḷa. This illustrious chief constructing with black granite a beautiful temple to Vishṇu in the *agrahâra* of **Alavâli** as if it were the plant of his fame, is now enjoying the universe. This wise person made an excellent image of Vishṇu and set it up there and getting some land in this village gave it with devotion for the daily offerings of the god. And for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brâhmaṇas, and five *Vânaḥprasthas* in the vicinity of the Brahmêśvara temple, he bought............at the village of **Olarâpakam** (*such an extent of*) land that could be sown with thirty *khaṇḍikas* of seed paddy and gave it free of all taxes. (*To provide*) for offerings to the temple of the god Paṭṭahavaṭi-Hari on the bank of the **Gôdâvarî** whose swelling waters during floods run with unlimited force, and situated in the beautiful country of **Vêṅgi-maṇḍala**, he gave........in.......ṭi-vishaya to last as long as the sun and the moon. And **Pallavarâja** having made..........pavilion .....at the city of **Drâkshârâma** in **Guddavâdi-vishaya** filled with rich and generous persons.....Therefore (*this*) charity must not be destroyed but must be protected by the wise.

(The usual imprecation.)

Râjêndra-Chôḷâchârya is the engraver.

No. 24.—UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

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In editing the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume VI, I drew attention to the fact that some of the inscriptions of **Uttaramallûr** contained therein supply interesting references to the kind of autonomy prevailing in the Tamil country, supplementing, as they do, the information embodied in the two Uttaramallûr inscriptions which describe the qualifications of members of village assemblies, the mode of election and the names of committees into which they were formed. One of the inscriptions that relates to the choosing of persons for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, the fineness) of gold in current use in the village, is No. 290 of the said volume.[2] This inscription is registered as No. 12 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1898; and remarking on it, the late Dr. Hultzsch has noted 'Seems to contain rules regarding the exchange of gold'. A romanised text and translation of the inscription is given below.

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[1] I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for this translation of the phrase *Kôsala-[illegible]*. He kindly suggested that [illegible] might have been used in the vernacular sense of [illegible] formed on the analogy of Skt. [illegible]. If [illegible] stands for [illegible], [illegible] is often substituted for [illegible], and [illegible] means a division of country, the phrase may be rendered "with the multitude of young men of the Kôsala division". In either case, Kôsala appears to have been allied with the Chôḷa. No such alliance is known. The Chôḷa king Vîrarâjêndra is said to have cut to pieces a certain Siṅgaṇa of Kôsala (above, Vol. XXI, p. 241). Perhaps Kôsala continued more than to be on friendly terms with the Chôḷa.

[2] See page 149.

The record is in the Tamiḻ language and alphabet and is well preserved like most of the other inscriptions found in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Uttaramallūr. Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words. For instance, see *svasti śrī* and *sabhai* in line 1, *samvatsara*, *vyavasthai*, *vrishabha* and *bilo* in line 2, *samvatsara* in line 5 and *vyavasthai*, *sabhai*, *madhyastha* and *dāsa* in line 7.

There are a few words of lexical interest which may be noted here. These are *Māḍavīdi*, *Śaṅkarappāḍi*, *samaiyam*, *parimāṟu* and *kōḷeṟu*. Of these, *māḍavīdi* means 'a street having storeyed buildings'. Sometimes it is found to be the name of a particular street. Generally, such streets surround the village temple and as their names indicate appear to have been the residence of wealthy and distinguished people. In the Tamiḻ work *Maṇimēgalai*, the term *māḍavīdi* actually occurs[1] and it is there described as 'the beautiful street of the actresses (*nāḍaga-magaḷirāḍaiyar*) containing storeyed buildings with gold-carvings (*āḍaga-chigaramāḍam*).[2] From inscriptions, we learn that the construction of storeyed buildings and mansions was a privilege given only to a few and that such buildings were made of burnt bricks. Since the subjoined inscription states that the election by the people of Māḍavīdi was for or from their *chēri*, it seems to denote a particular quarter of the village where perhaps the privileged persons and wealthy people lived. As *pāḍi*, like *chēri*, is applied to denote a quarter of a big village or town, Śaṅkarappāḍi has to be taken to mean another part of the same village resorted to by, or containing the residences of, a different class of people. In an inscription of Chidambaram, Śaṅkarappāḍiyār figure as a separate class of inhabitants (*kuḍigaḷ*) and are mentioned along with *Vyāpāris* (merchants), *Veḷḷāḷar* (cultivators), *Śāliyar* (dealers in cloth) and *Paṭṭinavar*.[3] The same inscription gives a second group distinctly called *Kīḻkalaṇai* including in it *Tachchar* (carpenters), *Kollar* (blacksmiths), *Taṭṭār* (goldsmiths) and *Kōliyar*. We see here that while the latter group embraced the artisan classes, the former combined together businessmen and other classes such as Veḷḷāḷar and Śaṅkarappāḍiyār. Another inscription mentions a group of inhabitants specifically termed *Puṟakkalaṇai* which included in it *Śāliyar*, *Vāṇigar*, *Kaikkōḷar* (dealers in cloth), *Sēnai-aṅgāḍiyār* and *Kōyil-aṅgāḍiyār*, *i.e.*, shopkeepers of the military and of the palace or temple (quarters).[4] We see that this group consisted only of merchants. The inclusion of Śāliyar in this group of *Puṟakkalaṇai*, as well as in the first part of the previously cited inscription, and the fact that, like the other, this consisted chiefly of merchantmen may suggest that both the inscriptions refer to the same group of *Puṟakkalaṇai*. Though we do not know what the avocation of Śaṅkarappāḍiyār was, the inclusion of the class of Veḷḷāḷar among the *kuḍigaḷ* of the first inscription seems to point to its inclusion also of other classes of inhabitants than *Puṟakkalaṇai* which, according to the second inscription, appears to have consisted entirely of merchants.

I would like to draw attention to three more references to Śaṅkarappāḍiyār which seem to suggest that some of them at least were merchants who were members of the *Nagara* constitution and that these people had a corporate body. One of these references is in an inscription[5] of Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam dated in the 26th year (=A.D. 1044) of the reign of Rājādhirāja I. It

[1] Canto IV, line 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, lines 31-2.

[3] No. 223 of *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Vol. IV, l. 25 f. The portion under reference runs as follows:—
Inda-kkumaiṇmēṉṉagaipurattu śriya vyāpārigaḷum veḷḷāḷarum śaṅkarappāḍiyārum śāliyarum paṭṭinavarum uḷḷitta kuḍigaḷum tachchar kollar taṭṭār kōliyar uḷḷitta kīḻ-kalaṇaigaḷum koṇḍu i-nnivandam taṇḍu-kilittavar kilattakkadavad-āgavum.

[4] No. 299 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910. The text runs as follows:—
Kaikkōḷar śāliyar vāṇigar sēnaiy-aṅgāḍi kōyil-aṅgāḍi maṟṟum uppērpaṭṭa puṟa-kkalaṇaiyum aiyattu muṇḍu eḻa kuḍiyum puḍu śrum kuḍiyum ērrikkoṇḍu tagikkaḍamai pāchchaḍamai maṟṟum i-pparul koḷḷum pala raṅgalam pala upādigaḷum.

[5] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 463.

records that the merchants that composed or constituted the *Nagara* of Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷapuram sold a piece of land to be granted to the temple of Brahmīśvara on the hill at the place and made it also tax-free. In mentioning these members, the names of two persons are given after the calling *Vyāpāri*, one appears with the calling *Śāliyaṉ* and two after the designation *Śaṅkarappāḍiyāṉ*. That all these were merchants is first stated in the inscription itself. From this it appears that in the composition of the *Nagara* constitution, besides those who were purely merchants by profession, there were others, such as Śāliyar and Śaṅkarappāḍiyār who were also merchants but were called by the class to which they belonged or the quarters which they occupied. The next reference is found in an early Chōḷa inscription[1] dated in the 3rd year and 215th day of the reign of a king (of whose name only Kēsarivarman is preserved). It records that the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār of Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi (North bazar) quarter of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a rent-free village in the district of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam gave a written document stating that they received 15 (*kaḷañju*) of gold from Śēndan Gaṇapati *alias* Śūraśikhāmaṇi-Pallavaraiyaṉ of Maṇṇum-Perum-Paḻuvūr in Kuṟṟa-kōṭṭam, a subdivision of Śōḷa-nāḍu and agreed to supply one *uḻakku* of oil daily, as long as the sun and the moon would last, for a sacred lamp which the donor had placed in the temple of Tiruppulivalattu-Mahādēva. The phrases *Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi Śaṅkarappāḍiyōm eḻuttu, oṭṭi ēṭṭiṭṭu kuḍuttōm* and *chandrādityavar* used in this inscription would suggest that there was a regularly constituted body of the people of *Śaṅkarappāḍi*. Against the suggestion of a regularly constituted body, it may be said that a few of the Śaṅkarappāḍi might as well have given such a joint undertaking. But in that case, it would be natural to expect the mention of their names and also the insertion of a clause to the effect that the agreement will be binding not only upon themselves but upon their descendants also. The Madras Museum plates of Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa in reciting the contents of a *vyavasthā* (standing order or regulation) made by the *Nagara* corporation of Kachchippēḍu, *i.e.*, Conjeevaram in the 18th year of the reign of Parāntaka I (=A.D. 925) refers to the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār of the three *chēris* (suburbs) of the village of Raṇajayappāḍi, Ēkavīrappāḍi and Vāmana Śaṅkarappāḍi and states that they received 20 *kaḷañju* of gold for the upkeep of a lamp in the temple. Here also one cannot but find a suggestion that the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār of the three *chēris* should have had a corporate body which received the amount.

All that we (could) gather about the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār from the references cited above is that they formed part of the *kuḍi* (inhabitants), that they were chiefly in big cities (Kāñchipuram, Guṇamēnagaipuram, Ulagaḷandaśōḷapuram and Uttaramērūr), that some of them at least, if not all, were merchants and took part in the transactions of the *Nagara* constitution which we find prevailing in such cities and that they had a corporate body among them.

The use of the word *samañjasa* in the phrase *samañjasarāi-kāṇa* leaves no doubt as to its meaning "to verify or test the correctness of". The personal noun formed from this word is *samañjitan* which is met with in some of the inscriptions of the Travancore State. In one of them the *Samañjitan's* duty is clearly stated to be verification of some items of expenses according to prescribed scales.[2] As *Samañjitan* figures along with *sabhā* and *Tiruvaḍi*,[3] it appears that *Samañjita* and *Tiruvaḍi* are the designations of particular offices in the *sabhā* and it is not unlikely that they represent the secretary (Skt. *Kāryadarśi*) and President. In this connection it is worthy of note that the transactions of the *sabhā* are mostly recorded by one individual who is called the *madhyastha* or *karaṇattāṉ*. It is not unlikely that he also performed the duties of the

[1] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 262.
[2] *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, pp. 130 and 174.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 50-51.

accountant. He is bidden to do it at the command of another who is called in some cases *sabhai-Tiruvadi*. As these two officials are stated to be in the assembly, there is not much doubt that they were at the same time members of the assembly and took part in their deliberations. The word *parimāṟṟu* is formed by adding the prefix *pari* to the verb *māṟṟu* "to exchange". It is generally used in the sense of serving. But in our inscription it has acquired the meaning "in usage or current". It will be noted how the prefix has altered the original meaning of the verb. *Sāḻigrai* is a compound word with a slight mistake in spelling. The proper form ought to be '*sāḻigrai*' as suggested in the note under the text. It is composed of '*sāl*' (imprecation) and '*urai*' (uttering or pronouncing).

The inscription is dated in **the fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day** of the reign of the **Chōḻa king Parakēsarivarman**, who took Madurai, *i.e.*, **Parāntaka I**. Its date is, therefore, **A.D. 922**. It registers a standing order (*vyavasthā*) made by the members of the assembly (*sabhā*) of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** fixing the number of persons to be chosen for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, fineness) of gold current in the village, the method of choosing them and the procedure to be followed by the persons so chosen in conducting their work. The inscription lays down that the people of Māḍavīdi should write on palm-leaf (tickets) the names of persons that are capable of testing gold, from among the rate-payers of their quarter, who are neither very old nor infants, and put them in pots. From the names so entered and put in pots, four persons shall be chosen from their quarter. Two persons from the army and three persons from the Śaṅkarappāḍi shall be chosen in the same manner. The nine persons so selected shall test gold by using the touch-stone and without partiality to any body. It is enjoined that they should hand over daily the wax used by them, without misappropriating any cut-gold, to the great men of the Tank Committee (*ēri-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*), and, once in three months, appear before the great men of the Annual Committee (*saṁvatsara-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*) and make a declaration to the effect that if they had acted contrary to this stone inscription they shall (incur the curse of) living with hunger. The clause damaged at the end of the record seems to register that these nine persons shall receive individually 7½ *mañjāḍi* of gold each month, perhaps as remuneration for their work.

The point that calls for special attention here is that the nine persons, selected for testing gold, did not form a committee at all, and should not, therefore, be confused with the Gold Committee[1] *Pon-vāriyam* of which mention is made in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1904. The texts of the two published records take particular care to use the word *vāriyam*—and this occurs more than once—to show that it was a committee that was formed, while in the inscription under publication the word *vāriyam* is studiously avoided in referring to persons selected for the testing of gold to indicate distinctly that the nine persons did not form a committee though the very record employs the words *vāriyam* and *perumakkaḷ* when it speaks of the Tank and Annual Committees. Again while the Gold Committee is not made dependent on or subordinate to any other body in the two published inscriptions of Uttaramallūr, the epigraph now under publication makes the nine individuals submit to the authority of the great men of the Tank Committee and make them appear once in three months before the Annual Committee and take an oath of declaration. We have drawn special

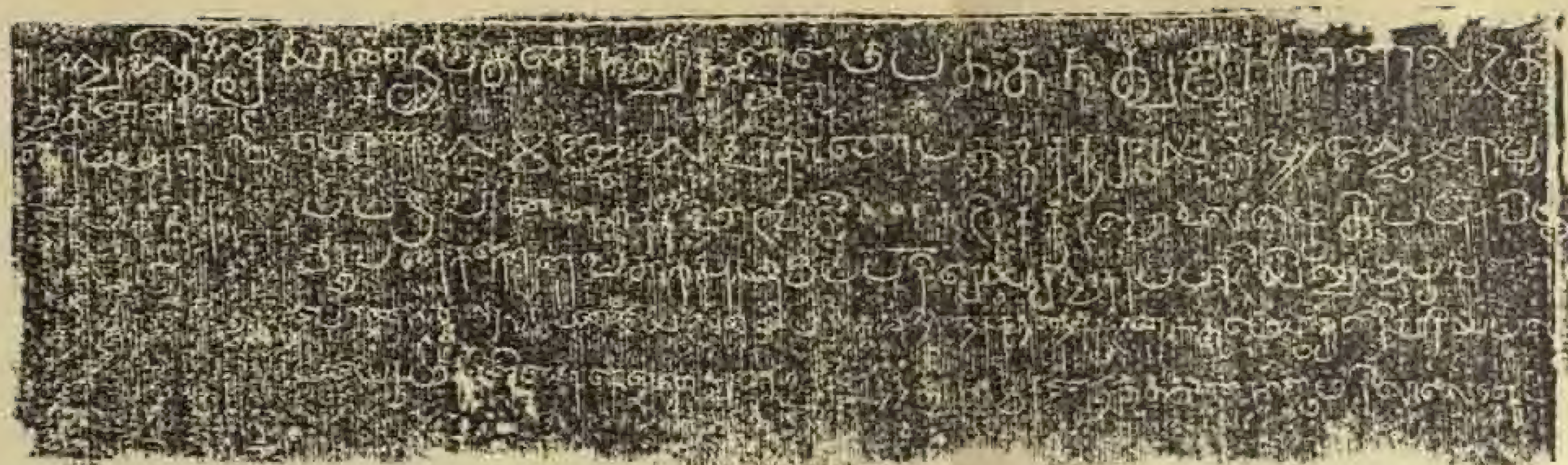
[1] The text relating to Gold Committee runs as follows:—

A: Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum pon-vāriyattukkum [illegible] kuḍumbile [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] pañcha-vāra-vāriyam [illegible] pon-vāriyam [illegible]

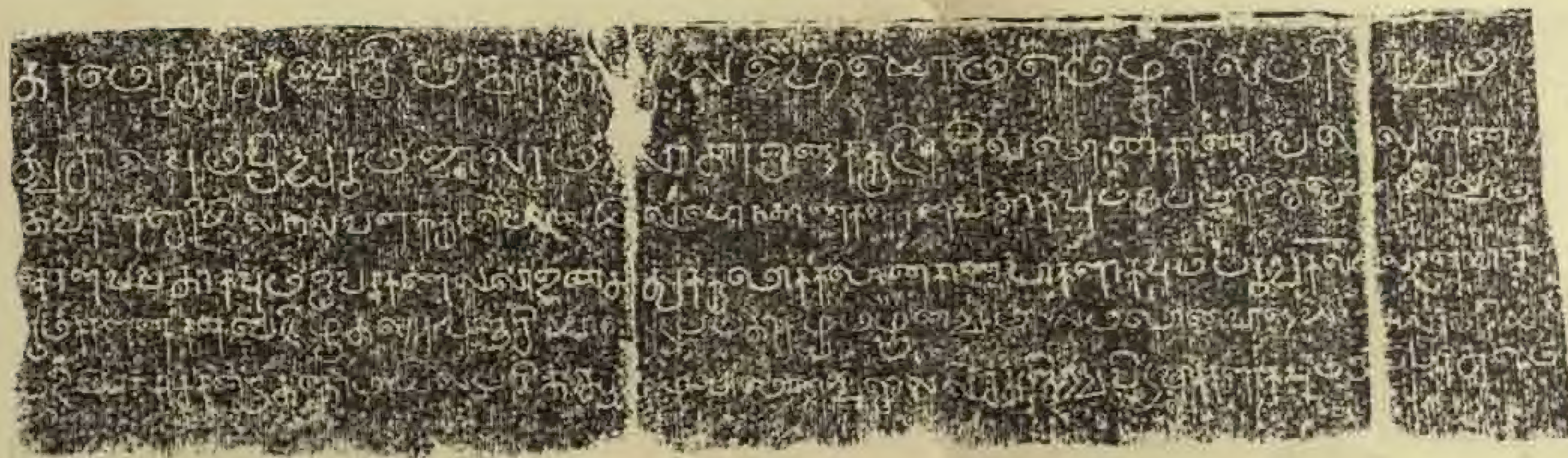
B: Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum, pon-vāriyattukkum[1] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] avarvar pon-vāriyam avarvar pañcha-vāra-vāriyamum [illegible]

UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

First six lines—Left half.



First six lines—Right half.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 2293 E'35-425.

SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Seventh line.
Section I.



Section II.



Section III.



Section IV.



attention to the above, for the method of selection of persons by pot-tickets and the object of testing gold might be a temptation strong enough to infer that the nine persons formed into a committee—though the inscription does not warrant it—and to identify it with the one known to us from the two published inscriptions.

The inscription makes it sufficiently clear that the nine persons chosen for testing gold currency, whose monthly emoluments were fixed, were subordinate to the great men of the Tank Committee and rendered technical aid in the discharge of their duties.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Madirai**-koṇḍa kô-p**Parakêsaripanma[r*]kku**[1] **yāṇḍu padi-ṉandu**[2] **nāḷ aimbattandu**[3] i-nnāḷ[āl] **Uttaramêru-chaturvvêdimaṅgalattu** sabhaiyôm emm-ûril parimāṟum

2 poṉ samañjasaṁ-kāṇbadaṟkku[4]-chcheyda vya[va*]sthaiy-āvadu [|*] ūlavum vrid-dharum bālarum=a[l*]lādār iṟai-kkudigaḷil poṉ-kāṇa-vallar-eṉa-

3 ppaḍuvārai nôkki Māḍavīdiyār kuḍi-kkuḍav-ôlai eḻudi-pputtagavittu aivarai-kkoḷvad-āgavum [|*] i-pparisê

4 nālvarai-kkuḍav-ôlaiyil [tam] cheriyil ... ivargaḷ=ellā-jeṉattukkum-okka poṉ kāṇbā[r*]gaḷ-āgavum [|*] i-pparisê Śaṅkarappāḍiyilum mûvarai-kko[(v)]vad-āgavum [|*] paṟai-kaḷil uraiyādê

5 poṉ-eḻudiḍādiy[5] uraippad-āga [|*] āṟṟaikk-āṟṟaikku uraitta maḍoṉu ēn-vāriya-ppe-rumakkaḷ kaikkê veṭṭi mudal-āga vaḷḷiyādê koḷuppad-āga [|*] mu-mmūṉṟu-māsam pōnavāṟê mun[va]ttaṟu-vāriya-

6 pperumakkaḷ[iḍ]aikkê ēṉṟu oṇgaḷ-uṟṟadu nāḍoṟum nāḷum ilā-lākaippaḍi [pi]ḷaikka eḻuttāmāyil paditta vā[vêm-eṉṟu] soll-ch[chū]l-iṟṟu[6] viḍuvārgaḷ-āgavum [|*] i-pparisu em-

7 m-ûril poṉ-eḻupp[ā*]ṟkku[6] vyavasthai śeydôm Uttaramêru-chchaturvvêdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyôm [|*] i-pparisu eḍu . . . . . ḍuvuk . . . . rukku mey-vêṟṟu-vagai tiṅgaḷ-ā[l]-arai [mañ]jāḍi poṉ peṟuvad-āga [|*] idu [kuṟiyu]-iṟundu . . . . ṉ madhyastaṉ **Śivadāsaṉ Tiruvaḍigaḷêṉ** ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the standing order made by us, (*the members of*) the assembly of **Uttaramêru-chaturvêdimaṅgalam**, on this **the fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day of** (*the reign of*) king **Parakêsarivarman**, who took **Madirai** (*i.e.*, Madura), for examining the correctness of gold current in our village:—

The people of Māḍavīdi shall write on palm-leaves (*the names of each of*) the rate-payers, as are not very old or infants, and as could be called capable of testing gold, and put them into pots. From among those whose names had been so entered on palm-leaves and put into the pots, four persons shall be chosen from their *chêri* (*i.e.*, quarter). In this (*i.e.*, the aforesaid) manner, two persons shall be chosen from the army. In the same way, three persons shall be chosen from

[1] The syllables *Madirai-koṇḍa kô-pParakêsaripanmaṟku* are engraved in three lines below *Svasti śrî*.

[2] Read *padiṉaindu*.

[3] Read *°aindu*.

[4] Read *°daṟku*.

[5] Read *-vum*.

[6] Read *eḻuppāṟku*.

Śaṅkarappāḍi. These (*i.e.*, the nine persons) shall test gold with impartiality towards all people. They shall not rub gold on big stones, but use only the touch-stone. (*They*) shall hand over daily, to the great men of the Tank Committee, the wax used in rubbing, without misappropriating (*any of*) the cut (*pieces*). On the expiry of every three months, (*they*) shall appear before the great men of the Annual Committee and declaring the (*following*) imprecation leave them: 'If against the orders contained in (*this*) stone inscription, we had misappropriated any (*gold*) that had been brought to and handled by us on any day, we shall (*be cursed to*) live with hunger (*for ever*)'. Thus, we, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, made (*this*) standing order for testing gold in our village. In this manner, ... shall receive individually, every month, seven and a half *mañjāḍi* of gold. Being present in the assembly, I, the *madhyasta*, **Śivadāsan Tiruvaḍigaḷ** . . . . this.

No. 25.—IRDA COPPER-PLATE OF THE KAMBOJA KING NAYAPALADEVA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, belongs to Chaudhuri Mrityunjay Narayan Praharaj, Zemindar of **Irdā** in the Balasore District of Orissa, whose estate is at present under the Court of Wards. About the beginning of 1934, the plate was sent on loan from the Balasore Collectorate to Mr. W. V. Duke, M.A., the then Principal of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, who was requested to have its inscription deciphered and interpreted. In December 1934, when I was staying in Cuttack on leave, the plate was handed over to me for this purpose, with the consent of the present Principal Dr. B. K. Singh, by Professor Nirmal Chandra Banerji, M.A., of the College. I am grateful to Dr. Singh for the facilities afforded to me in the College laboratories in cleaning up the plate and taking photographs and estampages of it, and also to Professor Banerji for the ungrudging help I received from him in various ways. My thanks are further due to Rai Bahadur Radhacharan Das, Collector of Balasore, for permission to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to ascertain the actual findspot of the record and the circumstances under which it was discovered. As it is, the document may be called after the place to which it now belongs, although, as internal evidence would show, it must have come originally from a locality in South-west Bengal.

This is a **single sheet of copper**,[1] measuring 10·7" by 9·7". It is engraved with writing on both sides, and bears at the top a circular **seal** affixed by soldering. The seal, which has a diameter of 4·2", is divided into two semicircular panels: the upper one contains the *Dharmachakra* device, *viz.*, a wheel between two couchant deer, and across the lower panel is the inscription **Śrī-Nayapāladēvasya**, *i.e.*, 'Of (King) **Nayapāladēva**', which is cut in bold relief. Similar Dharmachakra seals are found also on the copper-plates of the Pāla and the Chandra kings of Bengal. But the way in which this seal is affixed is somewhat different. In the case of the Pāla and Chandra plates, the lower portion of the seal comes into the writing and thereby causes a break in the middle of the first few lines on both the sides. But in the present plate the seal is fixed above the writing, so that it does not affect the arrangement of the text in any way. This seal again is not pointed at the top like those of the copper-plates of the Pālas and the Chandras.

It contains altogether forty-nine lines of writing. The letters are engraved with care as far as line 31. But thereafter, the incision is done rather perfunctorily, the letters being as a rule formed by shallow strokes and not always completely made out. These circumstances, as also

[1] In l. 40, it is called *tāmra-phalī*.

the corroded condition of many of the letters, make the reading of the concluding part of the inscription at places hopelessly difficult. A triangular piece of the plate is missing from its edge, which appears to have been cut away by some sharp instrument. With this portion some three or four letters have completely disappeared; but it is possible to restore two of the missing letters with certainty. There are a few indistinct passages on the reverse, belonging to the donative verses, which I have failed to decipher: fortunately, these do not form any important parts of the document.

The **characters** of the inscription are Proto-Bengali, representing a stage midway between the Bādal Pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla[1] and the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I.[2] This is illustrated, for instance, by the forms of the letter *śa*. On the seal of the Irdā plate, the letter occurring in the conjunct *śrī* has clearly a loop joined to the right hand upright by means of a horizontal stroke, as is generally the case in the Bādal Pillar inscription. But in the rest of this record, the *śa* takes a more cursive appearance, in which the loop shows, in the majority of cases, a slight opening at the base. This form later leads on to the open type of *śa* of the Bāngarh grant. The letter *ja* of our plate resembles the type occurring on the Bādal pillar. But in the Bāngarh record its left curve is extended upwards, in which respect it approaches more to the modern Bengali form. Palaeographically, the Irdā copper-plate may be placed in the **latter part of the 10th century A.D.** The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being partly in prose and partly in verse. Lines 1, 18-21, 26-32 and 40 contain prose text; but it will be seen that the major part of the inscription is in metrical form. It contains in all thirty-two and a half verses, of which none except the usual donative ones occurs in any of the published records.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted: the *avagraha* sign is often used and often omitted; the final *t*, *n* and *s* are indicated by an oblique stroke put below the individual letter, *e.g.*, in ll. 25, 36 and 40; the *anusvāra* invariably takes the place of final *m*; the dental nasal is substituted for *anusvāra* in *saṁśaś* in l. 29; and single and double *daṇḍas* are frequently used in the metrical portion of the text. As is usual in the inscriptions of this period, no distinction has been made between *v* and *b* in writing.

The inscription opens with salutation to the god Śiva, although the seal itself bears a purely Buddhistic device. The first five verses give a description of **Priyaṅgu**, the capital (*rājadhānī*), from which place the document appears to have been issued. The subsequent verses introduce the family of the donor. First is mentioned King **Rājyapāla**, a scion of the **Kambōja** race, whose queen was **Bhāgyadēvī** (vv. 6-8). She gave birth to a son **Nārāyaṇapāla** who was a devotee of the god Vāsudēva (v. 13). Nārāyaṇapāla had a younger brother **Nayapāla** who gained ascendancy after him (vv. 14-15). Rājyapāla is described as a *saugata*, *i.e.*, a worshipper of the Buddha, and he, as well as his son Nayapāla, has full imperial titles, *viz.*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* (ll. 18-20). The **object** of the document is to record the gift of the village of **Bṛihat-Chhattivannā**, adjoining to **Kaṇṭi**, **Saṁmāsha** and **Bāḍakhaṇḍa**, within the **Daṇḍabhukti** *maṇḍala* of the **Varddhamāna** *bhukti* (ll. 20-21). The various appurtenances and conditions of the property are related in vv. 16-21. The king gave it away on a **navamī** day in the month of Kārttika to the *Paṇḍita* **Aśvatthaśarmman**, who was born at **Drōṇa** but actually hailed from **Kuntīra**. The donee was the great-grandson of Bhaṭṭa-**Divākaraśarmman**, grandson of the *upādhyāya* **Prabhākaraśarmman** and son of the *upādhyāya* **Anukulamiśra**. He belonged to the Vātsya *gōtra* and the Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvvya-Jāmadagnya-Āpnavāna *pravara*, and was an adherent of the Chhāndōga *charaṇa* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* (of the Sāmavēda; ll. 26-31). An enumeration of the officers

[1] *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 160 and Plate.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 324 and Plate.

and persons of the royal household, who are expected to keep the document in force, is given in vv. 23-24. Vv. 30-31 and 33 are customary stanzas relating to land grants, while v. 32 makes a reference to the royal donor. Finally, in line 49, is mentioned the date of the gift, viz., **the 2nd (?)[1] day of Kārttika, the regnal year 13.**

The record is of much historical importance. Rājyapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla are names well known in the genealogy of the Pāla kings of Bengal, and Rājyapāla I. of this dynasty had also a queen Bhāgyadēvī, like the Rājyapāla of the present record. One is tempted, therefore, to identify the two Rājyapālas, but there are certain other facts that make this proposition quite unlikely. In the first place, the kings Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla, sons of Rājyapāla, cannot be the same as those mentioned in the Pāla records. The son and successor of Rājyapāla I. of the Pāla dynasty was Gōpāla II, whose name appears in the Bāngarh, Āmgāchhī and Manahali plates. Secondly, Rājyapāla of this record has the epithet *Kambōja-vaṁśa-tilaka*, i.e., 'an ornament of the Kambōja clan'. In the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, the Pālas are supposed to have descended from the 'Samudra-kula', whatever that may mean, and in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadēva they are represented as belonging to the Solar race (*Mihirasya vaṁśa*). But nowhere has the Kambōja origin been attributed to the Pālas. The name-ending 'Pāla' need not again mislead us, since there were several ruling families in Northern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. which had this appellation. The Irdā copper-plate, therefore, introduces us to **a new line of kings**, who, judging from the characters of the inscription, should be referred to the second half of the tenth century. It evidently belongs to a time when the Pāla kingdom was in a state of turmoil and the rivals of the Pālas were gradually asserting themselves.

The only other inscription that speaks of a Kāmbōja king of Bengal is the one on a pillar from Bāngarh (Dinājpur District), now in the Mahārājā's palace at Dinājpur, which also on palæographic grounds can be assigned to the tenth century A.D.[2] It records the construction of a Śiva temple (evidently at Bāngarh) by a king of Gauḍa (*Gauḍa-pati*) whose name is not specified but who bears the epithet *Kāmbōj-ānvayaja*, i.e., 'born in the Kāmbōja line'. This family could not have made themselves masters of Gauḍa without ousting the Pālas, and it follows, therefore, that they held possession of the Pāla territories in Bengal for some time during the tenth century. The **Kāmbōja occupation** is usually referred to the latter half of the century, that is to the period before the accession of Mahīpāla I. A passage of the Bāngarh grant credits Mahīpāla with having recovered his paternal or ancestral kingdom (*pitryaṁ rājyam*) which had been *anadhikṛita*,[3] i.e., not taken possession of, and *vilupta*, i.e., lost. This passage, which is repeated also in the Āmgāchhī and Manahali grants, is supposed to bear allusion to the Kāmbōja occupation of Bengal and its subsequent recovery by Mahīpāla. The Kāmbōja king of Gauḍa of the Dinājpur pillar inscription and the princes whose names appear in the Irdā copper-plate presumably represent one and the same family. From the evidence of the present record it is now clear that the Kāmbōjas seized not only North Bengal, but also the south-western portion of the province including

[1] [See below p. 157, n. 5.—Ed.]

[2] Chanda, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1911, p. 619 and *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 35. I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar [*Vaṅgadeśer itihāsa* in Bāṅgalā, 1330 B.S., p. 250], that the expression *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varshēṇa* of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of the *Gauḍapati* and not as a chronogram.

[3] It may also mean 'lost owing to non-occupation' (*anadhikṛita-*, i.e., *anadhikārāt*). A. K. Maitra takes *anadhikṛita* in the sense of *anadhikārī*, i.e., usurper, and compares the term *adhikṛita* in *Amara*, II. 8.5 (*Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p. 109, footnote), which, however, is a purely official designation and would not, with a *an* prefixed to it, yield this sense. The form *anadhikṛita* could perhaps be supported as an instance of *anabhidhāna* ;—*anadhikṛitam-* ..., like *udāhṛita* and *pīta* of the *Mahābhāshya* (under Pāṇini, I.4.67). But this appears to be somewhat far-fetched. In any case it follows that the kingdom prior to Mahīpāla's accession had passed into the hands of some other ruling family.

the Vardhamāna *bhukti*. They had their capital at a place called Priyaṅgu, which remains for the present unidentified.

But who were these Kāmbōjas, and from where did they come? In the inscriptions of Aśōka a Kambōja country is mentioned along with the Yōna which lay on the North-western frontier of India. The Kāmbōjas are mentioned along with the Yavanas as north-western tribes in the *Mahābhārata*, and, as Grierson has shown, the Kāmbōjas spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Iranian.[1] Their country had great reputation for horses, to which there are allusions in the *Mahābhārata* and in the Buddhist literature.[2] This reputation must have reached even far off Eastern India, as is evident from the reference to the Kāmbōja horses of Dēvapāla (*Kāmbōjēshu yēna vāji-yuvabhiḥ*, etc.) in his Mungir and Nālandā grants. If horses could be brought into Bengal from the North-western frontier of India during the Pāla period, it is not unreasonable to suppose that for trade and other purposes some adventurers could also have found their way into that province. No doubt it can be shown that there was a Kambōja on the North-eastern frontier as well.[3] In the Tibetan work *Pag-sam-jon-zang*,[4] there are references to both the Kambōjas, and the eastern one is identified with the Lushai Hill tracts between Burma and Bengal. But the work belongs to a much later period, and there is nothing to show that the Kambōja of the North-eastern frontier was in existence as early as the tenth century A.D. It has been suggested by some scholars[5] that the Kāmbōja invaders penetrated into Bengal from the north-east and that they belonged to a Mongolian stock which is now represented by the Kōch tribe. There is, however, no sure evidence in favour of this supposition.

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the copper-plate, some remarks are necessary. **Vardhamāna** *bhukti*, comprising the major portion of the Burdwan Division of Bengal, is already well-known from inscriptions.[6] But the information, that it had a *maṇḍala* called **Daṇḍabhukti**, is now furnished by the Irdā copper-plate for the first time. The *Rāmacharita* mentions a certain ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, named Jayasimha, who was an ally of King Rāmapāla of Bengal and defeated Karṇakēśari of Utkala, i.e., Orissa. R. D. Banerji[7] has observed that this conflict would not have been possible if Daṇḍabhukti were not situated in South-west Bengal. That Daṇḍabhukti was included in the Vardhamāna *bhukti* lends support to this view and disposes of once for all the contention of H. P. Sastri[8] and Krishnaswami Aiyangar[9] who identify it with Bihār.

Daṇḍabhukti appears also in the list of conquests of Rājēndrachōḷa, in his famous Tirumalai inscription.[10] Between 1012 and 1024 A.D., the Chōḷa King proceeded towards Bengal from the South, taking the route along the eastern coast. The territories he conquered on the way seem to appear in the list in due geographical order. Thus we have Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa), Kōsalai-nāḍu

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 802, and 1912, p. 256.

[2] On the Kāmbōja horses see *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 256. For a detailed account of the Kāmbōjas see B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, 1924, pp. 230-51.

[3] Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 308-9. Dr. Raychaudhuri is of opinion that the Kāmbōjas came to Bengal from the north-west, like the Gurjaras—*ibid.*, p. 311, n. 1.

[4] Ed. S. C. Das, Part I, pp. 4, 74 and Index, p. 10. I am obliged to Dr. P. C. Bagchi for having drawn my attention to these references.

[5] Chanda, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1911, p. 619. S. K. Chatterji thinks that the word *Kōch* or *Kōch* was derived from *Kāmbōja*.—*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 69.

[6] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 94.

[7] *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 89.

[8] *Rāmacharita*, Introduction, p. 10.

[9] *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 2, 1922-23, p. 371.

[10] *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 233.

(Dakshiṇa-Kōsala), Taṇḍabutti (Daṇḍabhukti), Takkaṇalāḍam (Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā), Vaṅgāladēśa (East Bengal), and finally, Uttiralāḍam (Uttara-Rāḍhā). Judging from the order in which the different territories are mentioned, it has been already suggested by R. D. Banerji[1] that Daṇḍabhukti coincided with the Midnapur and Balasore Districts. He further thinks that the name is recognizable in modern 'Dantan,' in South Midnapur. Whatever be the value of the latter suggestion, it is quite clear that in the Tirumalai inscription Daṇḍabhukti is specified separately along with Kōsala and Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, and, therefore, it could not have formed part of either. Again, the mention of this locality *between* Kōsala and Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā would also show that it could not have been much farther away from the tract immediately to the north of Balasore. Taking all this evidence into consideration we can safely conclude that the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* comprised at least the southern and south-western portion of the Midnapur District, including the lower reaches of the Suvarṇarēkhā river, if not a portion of the Balasore District itself.

Chhattivannā, the name of the village granted, is possibly derived from Prākṛit *chhattivaṇṇa* (Sanskrit *saptaparṇa*, Bengali *chhātim*). This equivalent is given in Vararuchi's *Prākṛitaprakāśa* (II. 41).[2] It is rather tempting to identify the place with modern Chhātnā in the Bankura District, which name is also supposed to have originated from the Chhātim tree.[3] The adjective *Bṛihat*, prefixed to the name (Bṛihat-Chhattivannā), suggests, however, that there must have been at least two places bearing this name. In the District Map of Midnapur,[4] a place 'Chhatina' is shown on the Suvarṇarēkhā, between Belyabera and Nayabasan, and it is not impossible that this is the Chhattivannā of our inscription.

TEXT.[5]

[Metres : vv. 1-5, 7-11, 13, 18-21, 26, 28, 29, 33, *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 6, 12, 16, 23-25, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 14, *Indravajrā* ; vv. 15, 27, *Upajāti* ; vv. 17, 22, *Vaitālīya* ; v. 30, *Śālinī* ; v. 31, *Pushpitāgrā* ; and v. 32, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ[6] namaḥ [Śivā]ya | svasti | Dūra-vyōm-ōdgama-k[l]āntair=iva yatra surālayaiḥ | chalat-patākā-jihv-āgrair=vvilihya-

2 [ntē] payōmuchaḥ || [1*] Yasyāṁ hōm-āgni-dhūm-aughaḥ karōt[i] gagan-ōdgataḥ | ma[kha-bhūta]-Sunāsīra-vāhan-āmbhōda-vibhramam || [2*]

3 Apāṁ gāhana-pāṇḍubhyāṁ jaḍitā iva tōyadāḥ | haimān=agni-ruchō yasyāṁ prākārān=adhiśēratē || [3*] Sphāṭi-

4 kāni sphaṭ-ābhāni gōpurāṇi vi(bi)bharti yā | yaśōbhir=iva liptāni nitya-nirggāmi-[bhi]ḥ prabhōḥ || [4*] Tasyā

5 visme[ya*]nīy-arddhir=vvarddhamāna-guṇ-ōdgatēḥ | mahāma-dharmma-rā[j]asya rājadhānyāḥ **Priyaṅgutaḥ** || [5*] **Kamvō(mbō)ja-vaṁśa-ti-**

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[1] *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 71, 80; *Bāṅglār Itihās*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 248.

[2] Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 334.

[3] Beglar, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 190. For the ending *vaṇṇā* cf. Palāsavaṇṇā, a place name in the *Rāmacharita*, p. 37. It may be noted that many places in the Midnapur District are called after some tree, the names ending in *bani* or *banee*, *e.g.*, Jhenbani and Palāsbani (near Jhargram), and Phoolbanee (near Contai).

[4] Published by the Survey of India (as corrected in 1918).

[5] From the original.

[6] It is preceded by the usual auspicious symbol.

Irda Copper-plate of Nayapaladeva.

Obverse.



N. P. Chakravarti.   SCALE : TWO-THIRDS.   Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reverse.



6 [laksha*]ṇ[1] sthira-vikrama-śrīr=akriaṇa-dāna-mahimā-mahita-prabhāvaḥ | kshmāpāla-mauli-chaya-chumbita-pāda-piṭhaḥ pri-
7 [thvī-pa*]tiḥ Prithur=abhūd=cha **Rājyapālaḥ** || [6*] Śrīmatō **Rājyapālasya** vōlā-valaya-mēkhalām | nishkaṇṭakam=anū-
8 pāyam paripālayatō bhuvam || [7*] Sūnu=sūnṛita-vāg=yasya jananī jana-pūjitā | śrīmatī **Bhāgyadēvī**-ti dēvī-va
9 Himaśailajā || [8*] Yēna pāda-nakha-jyō[t]snā-jalēn=ālika-saṁsthitāḥ | prakshālitā vipakshāṇām=aśubh-ā[ksha]-
10 ra-paṅktayaḥ || [9*] Darppa-jvarō vīrya-kaṇḍur=ādhmānaṁ yēna mānajaḥ | chi-kitsitāni mahatā pratāpēn=aiva vidvi-
11 shām || [10*] Bhuvaṁ [yajñ-ā]ṁinō dēvā divaṁ sōma-sutas=tathā | āvasanti nṛipā yasmin=niyamēn=aiva lōkayōḥ || [11*]
12 Nārācha-ruddha-nabhasām=ari-vāhinīnām=aṅgaiś=chaturbhir=api jētum=ayātam=ājau | ēkaḥ prasūnamaya-pa-
13 [ñcha]-śaras=tv=Anaṅgō yam jēshyat-īti kuta ēva kathā-pravṛittiḥ || [12*] Sa Vāsu-dēva-pād-āvja(bja)-pūjā-nirata-mānasaḥ [1*]
14 śrī-**Nārāyaṇapāl**-ākhyaḥ kalyāṇī kshitipō='bhavat || [13*] Nārāyaṇasy=ēva Narō mahātmā Saṁkarshaṇasy=ē-
15 va cha Śārṅgapāṇiḥ | Dharmmātmajasy=ēva Dhanañjayō=bhūt=tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-**Nayapāladēvaḥ** || [14*] Lavdh(bdh)-ōdayō
16 bhrātur=anantaraṁ yaḥ śriyaṁ samāsādya durāsadō='bhūt | satāṁśukaṁ[2] chandra-masi prapannē divaṁ vivasvān=i-
17 va gāhamānaḥ || [15*] Yēna dvishāṁ na gaṇitāni mahā-vaṭ[h]ālāni n=āpēkshitaḥ[3] parijanō=pi nijaḥ samīpē |
18 ēkākin=aiva bhuja-Mandara-mathyamānāl=lav(b)dhā samika-jaladhēḥ śataśō jaya-śrīḥ || [16*] Paramasugatō[4] ma-
19 hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaḥ[5] śrī-**Rājyapāladēva**-pād-ānudhyātaḥ pa-ramēśvara-parama-
20 bhaṭṭārakō(ka)-mahārājādhirājaḥ śrimān=**Nayapāladēvaḥ** kuśalī | śrī-**Varddhamāna**-bhuktāv=antaḥpāti-**Daṇḍa**-
21 **bhukti**-maṇḍalē **Kanti-Saṁmēsha-Vā(Bā)ḍakhaṇḍa**-prativa(ba)ddha-**Vri(Bri)hach-Chhattivannā**-grāmē | Karaṇair=vyavahāriṇaḥ samaṁ
22 kṛishakāṁś=ch=aiva[6] nivāsibhis=tathā [|*] dvija-pūj-ādi-pūrvvam=ādiśaty=avagachchhantu bhavanta īdṛiśaṁ || [17*] Pradakshayā parichchhi-
23 nnaḥ sīmayā sīmā samantataḥ | vāstu-kshētra-jalādhāra-gartta-mārg[ga]-sama-nvitaḥ || [18*] S-ōshar-āvaskara[7]-sthāna-nivita-la-
24 vaṇ-āku[ra]ḥ | sahakāra-madhūk-ādi-taru-shaṇḍ-ādi-maṇḍitaḥ || [19*] Varjjitaḥ sarvva-pīḍābhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa gōcha-
25 raḥ | rāja-grāhyēṇa sarvvēṇa pratyāyēna samanvitaḥ || [20*] Sa-haṭṭa-ghaṭṭa-sa-tara ā-chandr-ārkka-kshitim yāvat | [21*][8]

[1] The right-hand flourish of the ksha is visible in the original; so the reading ślākah is certain.

[2] Read satāṁśukaṁ.

[3] Read -āpēkshitaḥ.

[4] Read -sugata-.

[5] Read -paramabhaṭṭārakō-.

[6] Read bhuja-mahīpati-.

[7] Read kṛishakāṁś=ch=aiva. The metre in the third pāda of this verse is faulty.

[8] Read -āvaskara-.

[9] This is only half of a verse.

Reverse.

26 bhūchchhidra-nyāyēna bhaṭṭa-śrī-Divākaraśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya upādhyāya-śrī-Prabhākaraśarmmaṇaḥ pau-

27 trāya upādhyāya-śrī-Anukulamiśrāṇāṁ putrāya **Drōṇ=ōdbhava-Kuṇṭira**-vinirggatāya Vātsya-sagō-

28 trāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvvya-Jāmadagnya-Āpnuvāna-pravarāya chChhandōga-charaṇāya Kauthuma-śākh-ā-

29 dhyāyinē bhaṭṭa-putra-paṇḍita-śrī-**Aśvatthaśarmmaṇē** mīmānsā[1]-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vāda-vēdinē grā-

30 mē=yaṁ **Yugādyā[ṁ]**[2] navamyāṁ snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakaṁ kṛitvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-ya[śō]-

31 'bhivṛiddhayē | bhagavantaṁ Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśy=āsmābhis=tāmraśāsanīkṛitya dattaḥ | Tad-[y.—][3]

32 pratyāyaṁ samagram=asmai vidhēyatāṁ gatvā kāl-ōchitaṁ [dadānāḥ] sukhēna nivasath(ta?)=ēha || Mahishī-yu-

33 varāja-mantriṇaḥ saha ṛitvigbhir=a(thō) purōhitaṁ | ⏑⏑—⏑⏑—r=niyōginō dharmmajñāṁś=cha sa-

34 [maṁ] pradēsh[ṭri]bhiḥ || [22*] Adhyaksha-varggam=akhilaṁ karaṇais=samētaṁ |[4] sēnāpatīṁ=cha saha sainika-saṁgha-

35 mukhyaiḥ [|*] dūtān sa-gūḍhapurushān saha man[tra]pālair=anyān=api kshiti-patīn=anujīvinaś=cha || [23*]

36 Āgāminō=pi nṛipatīn=nija-tīrtha-yuktān sā—na(?)[5] vīkshati vadaty=anūdāni ch=[āpi] | asmān samīkshya

37 hara[ṇē] cha nisa(ha)mya dōshaṁ dānaṁ bhavadbhir=anupālyam=idaṁ sad=aiva || [24*] Asmān=pratisphurati yaś=cha vichāra-

38 ṇāyāṁ dānān=mahān=atiśayaḥ paripāla[nē cha?]— — ⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑ m=athō na kiṁchit — — ⏑[6] pālana-

39 m=apālanam=āhur=ēnaḥ || [25*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau ni-

40 yatas(taṁ) svargga-gāminau || [26*] Yē brāhmaṇānām=a-yathā haranti pradēśa-mātrām=api bhūta-dhātrīṁ | purīsha-kūpē pitṛibhi-

41 r=samētās=tē kalpa-kōṭir=api yāpayanti || [27*] Svadattāṁ para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhū-

42 tvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē || [28*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya

43 tasya tadā phalaṁ || [29*] Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārtthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō=

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[1] Read *mīmāṁsā*.

[2] For this reading I am indebted to the editor. [Evidently the reference is to the *Kṛitayugādi* day which falls on *Kārttika su* 9. See L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 50.—Ed.]

[3] After *ta* there is no space for more than two letters.

[4] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[5] Probably the reading should be *sakhīna*. [I would read *sarvvān=abhibhikshati*, i.e., requests all.—Ed.]

[6] [The reading seems to be *dānāt-param* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ *sthānam=āhū na kiṁchi(t)d dharmmaś=cha*. After *chi*, *t* seems to have been written at first and then scored out.—Ed.]

44 yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [30*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anu-

45 chintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | sakalam-idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vuddhā[1] na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [31*]

46 Ēvaṁ bhīma-pā(pa)rākramō narapatir=v(b)rūtē vivichya svayaṁ — — — ⏑⏑—⏑—va hi kaliu — — ⏑— — ⏑

47 vaḥ[2] | dātuṁ n=ōtsahatē manō yadi tadā=py=anyai[r=yad-asmā]dṛiśair=dattaṁ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑— sukṛitinaḥ — — ⏑—

48 —⏑—[3]|| [32*] Gām=ēkāṁ suvarṇam=ēkaṁ bhūmēr=apy=arddham-aṅgulam | haraṁ[4] narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-samplavam || [33*]

49 **Samvat 13 [Kārtti]ka-dinē 2** (?)[5] anēna tāmra-phali 1 -)ō[6] anu ni [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Salutation to Śiva! Welfare!

(V. 1.) Where the temples, as if tired in ascending up to the distant firmament, lick the clouds with the tips of the tongues of their fluttering banners.

(V. 2.) Where the mass of smoke, rising up to the sky from the fire of oblations, creates the illusion of cloud, the carrier[7] of Indra (*who is*) invoked in sacrifices.

(V. 3.) Where the clouds, exhausted as it were, by bathing and drinking of water, rest over the golden rampart walls which are as resplendent as fire.

(V. 4.) Which bears crystal gateways, shining white, as if anointed with the glories of the king continuously flowing out through them.

(V. 5.) From that capital city of **Priyaṅgu**, which is of wonderful wealth and increasing virtue, and is (*the seat of*) powerful and righteous kings—

(V. 6.) Here flourished **Rājyapāla**, an ornament of the **Kambōja** family, who was (*the very*) Pṛithu, the lord of the earth. He (*possessed*) steadfast prowess and fortune, his majesty was heightened by the glory attained in ceaseless donation, and his foot-stool was kissed by the multitude of the heads of kings.

(Vv. 7-8.) To (*that*) illustrious **Rājyapāla**, ruling without obstacle or calamity over the earth girt by the sea-coast, (*was born*) a son whose mother (*was*) the illustrious **Bhāgyadēvī**; she was of gentle speech and worshipped by people, like the goddess who is the daughter of Himālaya;

(V. 9.) Who (*i.e.*, the son), by the water of moon-light emanating from the nails of his feet, washed away the syllables portending evil written on the foreheads of his enemies :

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[1] Read *buddhvā*.

[2] [Probable reading : *kṛipaṇa-vilāsam=ēva hi Kaliu dānaṁ* [*vilōkit-ēn*] *vaḥ*.—Ed.]

[3] After *dattaṁ* we should perhaps read : *tat-para-pālanē sukṛitinaḥ* [*śaraṇa*]*ṁ* —*i.e. śaraṇaṁ*.

[4] Read *haran=*.

[5] There was probably no other numeral sign after 2. [I find two digits here and would read them as 18. The second numerical figure is clearly 8 as shown in the plate. In the first digit the scribe seems to have first engraved the symbol for 9, probably without thinking, as the grant was made on the 9th day, which he later corrected into 1. The reading cannot be 2 as the grant was made subsequent to that date. It is more likely that though the gift was made on the several day, the plate in confirmation of this was actually issued on the 18th.—Ed.]

[6] The preceding letter has entirely disappeared.

[7] The elephant of Indra.

(V. 10.) Who, by dint of his great prowess, cured his enemies of the fever of arrogance, the itching of power and the swelling caused by pride.

(V. 11.) During the (*rule*) of that king, the sacrifice-devouring gods came down to dwell on earth and likewise the performers of Sōma sacrifices went up to live in heaven, according to the law (*established*) in the two worlds.

(V. 12.) Even the four-fold army (the four *aṅgas*) of his enemies, who had filled the sky with their arrows, did not approach in battle to gain victory over him; how could then there be even a talk of the god of love (*Anaṅga*)[1] defeating him—the god who is all alone and has only five arrows of flowers!

(V. 13.) He, who was known as **Nārāyaṇapāla** and had his mind devoted to the worship of the lotus-feet of Vāsudēva, became the prosperous ruler of the earth.

(V. 14.) As the high-souled Nara is to Nārāyaṇa, the holder of the Śārṅga bow (*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa) is to Saṁkarshaṇa (*i.e.*, Balarāma), and Dhanañjaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) is to the son of Dharma (*i.e.*, Yudhishṭhira), so also was his younger brother **Nayapāladēva** (*to himself*).

(V. 15.) Having gained ascendancy after his brother and secured Fortune, he became unconquerable, just as when the moon has set, the sun rises in the sky (and becomes unapproachable in its glow).

(V. 16.) Neither did he care for the mighty forces of his enemies, nor did he depend on his own friends near him; he alone, churning the sea of battle by his arm resembling Mount Mandara, obtained on a hundred occasions the fortune of victory.

(Ll. 18-21.) The *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Nayapāladēva**, in good health, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Rājyapāladēva, the devout worshipper of Sugata, (*i.e.*, the Buddha), in the village of **Bṛihat-Chhattivannā** adjoining to **Kaṭṭi**, **Saṁmāsha** and **Bāḍakhaṇḍa**, within the **Daṇḍabhukti** *maṇḍala* belonging to the **Vardhamāna** *bhukti*—

(V. 17.) (*He*) is thus addressing the tradesmen together with the clerks, and the cultivators together with the householders (*of the village*), after having paid (*due*) respect to the Brāhmaṇas: May it be known to you.—

(V. 18.) (*This village*)—bounded on all sides by its own well-established limits, together with homestead and arable land, water-courses, pits and paths; (V. 19.) together with land which is barren and also where sweepings are thrown; including salt-mines, and adorned with groups of trees like mango, *madhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*), *etc.*; (V. 20.) exempted from all oppressions, not to be taken notice of by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, and together with all the taxes due to the king; (V. 21.) also with the markets, bathing places and *ferries*,[2] for as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure—

(Ll. 26, 29-31.) this village is granted by me according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra* by means of a copper charter, in the name of the god Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, Śiva), after having bathed on the *navamī* day commencing the (Kṛita-)*yuga*, with the customary observance of the touching of water, for the increase of merit and fame of my parents and myself,—

(Ll. 26-29.) to the *Bhaṭṭaputra*, *Paṇḍita* **Aśvatthaśarmman**, who was born in **Drōṇa** and emigrated from **Kuntīra**, of the Vātsya *gōtra* and the Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āurvva-Jāmadagnya-Āpnavāna *pravara*, an adherent of the Chhāndōga *charaṇa* and a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* (*i.e.*, of the Sāmavēda), who is conversant with the *Mīmāṁsā* philosophy, grammar, logic and the

[1] There is here a play on the word *aṅga*.

[2] The expression *sa-tara*, and not *sa-hara* as previously read by me, occurs also in l. 25 of the Rāmganj copper-plate of Īśvaraghōsha (Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 154).

Vādsa, and is the great-grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* **Divākaraśarmman**, grandson of the *upādhyāya* **Prabhākaraśarmman** and son of the *upādhyāya* **Anukulamiśra.**

(Ll. 31-32.) So (*you*) should live here in happiness, having timely paid to this (*person*) all the dues as enjoined.

(V. 22.) The queen (*mahishī*), the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*), the ministers (*mantrin*) and the priest (*purōhita*) along with the *rāṇāka*......and the *dharmajñas* with the *pradēshṭṛis*.[1]

(V. 23.) All the heads (*adhyaksha*) of departments along with the clerks (*karaṇa*), the commander-in-chief (*sēnāpati*) along with the heads of military associations (*sainika-sangha-mukhya*), the ambassadors (*dūta*) with the officers of the secret service (*gūḍha-purusha*) and the political advisers (*mantrapāla*), as well as other subordinates of the king, as also the future kings engaged in their appropriate places—(all of them) he (*i.e.*, the donor) sees......, addresses and orders :—

(V. 24.) Having regard to us and also considering the blame attaching to the person who deprives a gift, this should always be protected by you.

(V. 25.) He who praises us in our consideration that the protection (*of a gift*) is much more glorious than the gift itself...................

[Here follow vv. 26-31 which are some of the customary ones occurring in landgrants.]

(V. 32.) Thus says the mighty king after duly considering .... if one does not feel encouraged in mind to make a grant ....

[Here occurs v. 33 which is again of the same group as vv. 25-31.]

(L. 49.) **The year 13, on the 2nd (?) day of Kārttika.** By this, copper plate 1...........[2]

No. 28.—THE SARKHO PLATES OF RATNADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 880.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This set of **two copper-plates** was found in 1916 in a tank called Gadhia in Sarkhō[3], a village near Jāñjgir in the Bilāspur district, Chhattīsgarh, C. P. Mr. Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the then Chhattīsgarh Gaurava Prachāraka Maṇḍalī (now Mahākōsala Historical Society), came to know of them in 1925 and took immediate steps to acquire them for his Society. They are now in the possession of the Society at Bilāspur. Mr. Pandeya has published them in the Hindī Monthly *Mādhurī* of Lucknow (Vol. V, pp. 317-22). As the plates had not, however, been edited in any research journal, I requested my friend, Mr. W. G. Mandape, B.A., LL.B., Additional District and Sessions Judge at Bilāspur, to procure them for me. I feel highly obliged to him for doing so and to the Mahākōsala Historical Society for kindly permitting me to edit them.

They are two substantial plates measuring 13·5" in length, 8·6" in breadth and ·1" in thickness. The first plate weighs 174 *tolas* and the second 181½ *tolas*. There is a hole ·6" in diameter at the centre of the top of each plate for the ring which must have originally connected them. But no such ring or seal has yet been discovered. The edges of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of letters. There are 36 lines in all, 18 being inscribed on the inner side of each plate.

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[1] The class of officers called *pradeshṭṛi* is referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and may be identical with *prādeśika* of Aśoka's inscriptions.—Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1925, pp. 54-55.

[2] For the concluding letters see n., cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 140, n. 3. The figure 1 after 'copper-plate' indicates that the charter consisted of only one sheet.

[3] The name appears as Sirko in the Degree Map 64 J.

The letters on the first plate were not deeply engraved and have been somewhat damaged by rust. There are also depressions on its inscribed surface in some places. Still there is no uncertainty in its reading.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī as in the other plates of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur and call for few remarks. The form for *i* is made up of two curves with a looped or a hooked end turned in opposite directions and placed one below the other (cf. *iti* in ll. 9 and 16, *iha* in l. 20, *indōr-*, l. 25, etc.); *ī* has the form of a triangle with the base turned upwards (cf. *īśaḥ*, l. 30); the medial *u* is shown in two ways: (1) generally with a curve attached to the foot of the vertical stroke and turned to the left (cf. *purushaḥ*, l. 2, etc.) and (2) occasionally with a curve turned downwards and attached to the middle of the vertical stroke (cf. *śruti*, l. 19). The medial *ē* and *ō* are shown in some cases by means of a *prishṭhamātrā* (cf. *tad-anvayē* and *putrō* in l. 2); both the *mātrās* for medial *ai* and *au* are occasionally placed above the line (cf. *-tasmai*, l. 25 and *chandr-ārkkau*, l. 27); in other cases one of them appears as a *prishṭhamātrā* (cf. *sarva-bhūpaiḥ*, l. 25 and *-sākshiṇau*, l. 27). *Va* and *ba* are not generally distinguished, *e.g.*, *vandhūn* for *bandhūn* in l. 8; in the case of the grammatical form *babhūva* (ll. 7, 21) and the conjunct *bdh* (cf *labdh°* in l. 17), however, *ba* is denoted by the sign for *va* without its left hand loop[1]; the letters *pa* and *ya* are not properly distinguished in some cases (cf. *tarpa*, l. 21 and *maryyan*, l. 30); so also *cha* and *va* (cf. *ch-āsta*, l. 34). As regards **orthography** we might note that the dental *sa* is used for the palatal *śa* in such cases as *-santōshit-ātmā* (for *santōshit-ātmā*), l. 4, *satrūn* for *śatrūn*, l. 11, and *vice versâ* also, though rarely, as in *sahaśrēṇa* for *sahasrēṇa*, l. 33; *ya* is used for *ja* in *Vāyapēya*, l. 33, and possibly in *Yāmavant-*, l. 18. The class nasal is occasionally used for *anusvāra* as in *-anan(ta)vaṁśa*, l. 2; the consonant following *r* is only in a few cases reduplicated (cf. *Kārttavīryaḥ*, ll. 2-3, *-tarkka-*, l. 17, etc.). The following orthographical mistakes may also be noted: *kāṇata* for *kāṇta*, l. 13 and *tatsayāē* for *tattanjñā*, l. 23.

These plates were granted by **Ratnadēva II.**, a **Kalachuri king of Ratanpur** in Chhattīsgarh. The first eleven verses give his genealogy as in other plates of his dynasty. From Kārtavīrya were descended the Haihayas. In their family was born **Kōkkala** who had eighteen sons. The eldest of them became the ruler of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*. In the family of a younger brother of these[2] was born **Kaliṅgarāja** who had a son named **Kamalarāja**. His son was **Ratnarāja (I.)** who married **Nōnallā**. Their son was **Prithvīdēva (I.)** who had a son named **Jājalladēva (I.)** by **Rājalladēvī**. Jājalladēva's son was **Ratna-**

[1] In the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II. (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.) and those of Prithvīdēva II. (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.) *ba* in such cases is shown by a letter closely resembling *pa*.

[2] This expression, which occurs in most of the charters of the kings of Ratanpur, seems to show that Kaliṅgarāja was a remote descendant (and not a grandson) of Kōkkala. The Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladēva II. (1114 A. D.) also distinctly says 'The family of a younger son of these produced in course of time (*krameṇa*) Kaliṅgarāja'. If so, this Kōkkala must be taken to be Kōkkala I. This view is corroborated by some inscriptions of the main dynasty at Tripurī. The Benares copper-plate inscription of Karṇa (1042 A. D.) describes in a Prākrit verse that Prasiddhadhavala, the son of Kōkkala I., took Pālī to provide for the future great descendants of the family. The Bilhari stone inscription says that Mugdhatuṅga (who is identical with Prasiddhadhavala), the son of Kōkkala I., took the country of Pālī from the lord of Kōsala. Pālī is probably the name of the country round the modern village Pālī, 11 miles north of Ratanpur, where there are ruins of exquisitely carved temples (See *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1922-23, p. 51). It seems that these descendants of Kōkkala I. had their capital at Tummāṇa. They seem to have lost the country in course of time. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva (1114 A. D.) says that Kaliṅgarāja selected Tummāṇa as his capital as the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors.

It must, however, be noted that the description of Kōkkala, given in the Amōdā plates of Prithvīdēva I. (1079 A. D.), if historically true, would apply only to Kōkkala II. as pointed out by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XXI, p. 161).

dēva (II.) the donor of the present plates. As the description of these princes is merely conventional, no new historical information can be gleaned from it. The next sixteen verses give the genealogy of the donee **Padmanābha.** His great-grandfather Mahasōṇa, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa-*gōtra* and five *pravaras*,[1] hailed from *Sāṇḍhadra* in the Madhyadēśa (Middle Country) of the Bhāratavarsha (India). He had mastered all the Vēdas, Āgamas as well as the six Śāstras. He observed a fast unto death for fifty days at the holy place (*tīrtha*) Jāmbavat.[2] His son was Sōmēśvara who had a son named Kulachandra. The latter's son was Padmanābha. Padmanābha was proficient in astronomy and knew two Siddhāntas.[3] In the presence of all astronomers in the assembly of Ratnadēva he asserted that there would be a total lunar eclipse when three quarters of the night had passed and the moon was in the asterism Rōhiṇī on Thursday, the Pauṛṇimā (fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half) of Kārtika in the year 880. When the eclipse occurred at the predicted time, the king became pleased and donated the village **Chiṁchātalāī** situated in the *maṇḍala* of **Anarghavallī** to Padmanābha. The record closes with the usual imprecatory verses. The last verse states that the plates were engraved by **Kīrtidhara,** the owner of the village **Jamḍōra** in the same (province of) Anarghavallī.

Only one other set of plates issued by Ratnadēva II. has been discovered so far, *viz*., the Seorinarayan plates[4] dated towards the close of the (Chēdi) year 878, recording the donation of the village **Tipēri** in the Anarghavallī-*vishaya* to a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa. The present plates increase his reign by more than a year. Neither of these records contains any reference to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōḍagaṅga, though it is frequently referred to with pride in the later records[5] of this dynasty. This Chōḍagaṅga must be identified with Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, the well-known king of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, who came to the throne in A.D. 1078 and had a long reign of 70 or 75 years.[6] We cannot, of course, necessarily infer from this that the victory was not gained before the Chēdi year 880 (A.D. 1128), for the records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are extremely meagre in references to historical events. The earliest reference to Ratnadēva II.'s victory over Chōḍagaṅga occurs in the Ratanpur stone inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdēva II.,[7] dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1207 (A. D. 1149-1150). Pṛithvīdēva's own Amōdā plates (two sets, dated A. D. 1149 and 1154 respectively) make no reference to this brilliant victory of his father. The absence of any reference to it, therefore, in the present plates does not necessarily prove that the victory was not attained before A. D. 1128.

The exact year of this victory cannot, however, be ascertained. The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla state that Ratnadēva defeated Chōḍagaṅga and Gōkarṇa. The date of this

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[1] These are mentioned as Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna and Aurva in the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II.; above Vol. XIX, p. 209.

[2] See below text p. 165, note 2.

[3] These were probably the Sūrya-Siddhānta and the Brahmagupta-Siddhānta.

[4] *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31 ff.

[5] See *e.g.*, The Ratanpur inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II. (above, Vol. I, 47 ff.); Seorinarayan inscription (A. D. 1165) (*P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1904, pp. 52-3); Kharōd inscription of Ratnadēva III. (1181-82 A. D.) (above, Vol. XXI, p. 159). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (A. D. 1213-14), facsimiles of which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. L. P. Pandeya, also contain a reference to this victory.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1018.

[7] Kielhorn first assumed this king to be Pṛithvīdēva III. but later on corrected himself by saying that he should be identified with Pṛithvīdēva II. (*Supplement to Northern List*, p. 17, f.n. 1). So Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's reading of the date (*viz.*, V. S. 1207=A. D. 1149-1150) will have to be accepted, for we know that Pṛithvīdēva II. was ruling till 1154 A. D. at least (*cf.* his Amōdā plates, second set, *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 412 ff.). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (dated Chēdi year 965=1213-14 A. D.) state that Ratnadēva III. was succeeded by Pratāpamalla.

event could be settled approximately if the latter king could be satisfactorily identified. But we have no means of doing so at present.[1] We also do not know the reason of this war. From the Korni plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga[2] dated Śaka 1034 (A. D. 1113) we learn that he reinstated the king of Utkala who had been deposed. The name of his enemy has not been mentioned, but it is likely that he was Jājalladēva I[3]., the ambitious father of Ratnadēva II., whose friendship was sought by the kings of Kanauj and Jējābhuktika and who had defeated Sōmēśvara and made the rulers of Kōsala, Āndhra, Khimiḍi, Vairāgara, etc., pay tribute.[4] Jājalladēva seems to have tried to extend his empire in the east by deposing the king of Utkala. The latter's cause was however espoused by Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga who succeeded in reinstating him before A. D. 1113. This event must have occurred during the reign of Jājalladēva; for his Ratanpur inscription was incised in the Chēdi year 866 (A. D. 1114). It is likely that this defeat of Chōḍagaṅga occurred towards the end of his career, when he was engaged in making conquests in the north, west and south, and bringing the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Gōdāvarī under his firm control as stated in an inscription dated A. D. 1135 at the Kūrmēśvara temple in the Ganjām District.[5] It seems that this whirlwind campaign of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga received a check in the west by the prowess of Ratnadēva II. The Malhār Stone inscription[6] of the time of his grandson Jājalladēva II. describes him as 'a fierce cloud putting out the continuously raging flames of the enormous spreading fire of the valour of king Chōḍagaṅga'. The hostilities continued in the next generation also, for the Kharōḍ inscription mentions that Ratnadēva's son Pṛithvīdēva II. defeated Chōḍagaṅga's son Jaṭēśvara *alias* Madhukāmārṇava.[7]

It is also interesting to note the occasion for making the grant. It seems that the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court were using older methods of astronomical calculations. Their predictions of eclipses were not accurate and did not, therefore, come true. Padmanābha, the grantee of the present plates, discovered the mistakes in the older methods and, making the neces-

[1] Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly drawn my attention to two records which mention a prince named Gōkarṇa. The first of these was incised at the temple of Madhukēśvara in Kaliṅganagara in Śaka 1013 (= 1091-92 A. D.) and apparently mentions a king named Gōkarṇa 'who was expert in the *līlā* of the extermination of the multitude of his foes'. It is, however, doubtful if this Gōkarṇa could be identified with the one mentioned in the plates of Padmanābha; for, Jājalladēva I., the father of Ratnadēva II., was reigning in 1114 A. D. (see his Ratanpur Inscription, above, Vol. I, pp. 32 f.). Even supposing that Ratnadēva came to the throne in the very next year and the battle with Chōḍagaṅga and Gōkarṇa was fought in the same year (both of which suppositions are unwarranted), there would be a difference of 24 years between the date of the above record and Ratnadēva's victory over the Gaṅga king and Gōkarṇa. The second inscription is at Godīvāḍa in the Bimlipatam *taluka* of the Vizagapatam district. It refers to a grant by a certain Gōkarṇarāja who was a subordinate of Anantavarman. Even if we suppose that this Anantavarman is identical with Chōḍagaṅga, it does not seem likely that a poet would refer to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōḍagaṅga and his feudatory in the same breath. Besides, the record is not useful for our purpose, as it is undated. The Kharōḍ inscription (l. 7) seems to mention Jaṭēśvara as associated with his father Chōḍagaṅga in this war. If so, Gōkarṇa may have been another name of Jaṭēśvara. This would also make it probable that the battle was fought in the latter part of Chōḍagaṅga's reign. [There is nothing against the victory over the overlord and his feudatory or feudatories being mentioned together, *cf.* for example, the Tirumukkūḍal Inscription of Vīrarājēndra (above, Vol. XXI, p. 241) where his victory over Āhavamalla and his feudatories is described.—Ed.]

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 106-124.

[3] The Kharōḍ inscription mentions Jājalladēva's victory over Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonpur), who was evidently a feudatory of the king of Orissa.

[4] Above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1335; cf. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 57.

[6] Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

[7] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 162.

sary *bīja-saṁskāras*, correctly calculated the time of the particular lunar eclipse.[1] The inscription **gives full details of this eclipse,** *viz.*, **that it occurred on Thursday at three-quarters of the night when the moon was in the asterism Rōhiṇī, on the Kārttika Paurṇimā in the year 880.** This date must evidently be referred to the **Chēdi** or **Kalachuri era** in which nearly all the inscriptions of the Ratanpur dynasty are dated. According to Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillay's *Indian Ephemeris* the Kārttika Paurṇimā in A. D. 1128 (corresponding to the Kalachuri year 880) ended at 50½ *ghaṭikās* (20 hours 10 minutes) after mean sunrise on 8th November. As stated in the present inscription, the week day was Thursday and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī which began at 13 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise. There was also a lunar eclipse on that day. According to Mr. K. L. Daftari of Nāgpur who has kindly calculated for me the time of the eclipse, the moon was *totally* eclipsed between 48 *ghaṭikās*, 42 *palas* and 52 *ghaṭikās* and 54 *palas* after mean sunrise at Ratanpur. Three quarters of the night were over at Ratanpur at 52 *ghaṭikās* and 34 *palas* when, as shown above, the moon was totally eclipsed. The date and the time of the eclipse can thus be completely verified.

It would not be out of place to say here a few words about the engraver Kīrtidhara. He is described in the present plates as the owner of Jaṁḍēra. From the two sets of plates of Pṛithvīdēva II. discovered at Amōdā and dated in the Chēdi years 900 (1149 A. D.) and 905 (1154 A. D.) respectively which were incised by Vatsarāja, son of Kīrtidhara, we learn that the latter belonged to the Vāstavya family. Several members of this family were patronised by the royal house of Ratanpur. Thus the engraver of the earlier Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I. (Chēdi year 866=1114 A. D.) whose name is lost, was born in the Vāstavya family. The Ghoṭiā plates[2] of Pṛithvīdēva II. were also incised by Kīrtidhara's son Vatsarāja. The latter's son Dharmarāja[3] engraved the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II. (dated in the Chēdi year 912=1161 A. D.). This family produced some good poets also. Thus Dēvagaṇa who composed the Ratanpur inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdēva II. and his father Ratnasiṁha who wrote the Malhār *praśasti* in the reign of Jājalladēva II. Chēdi year 919 (=1167-68 A. D.), were born in the same family and had considerable poetic talent.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in these plates **Chiñchātalāī**, the donated village, is probably Chichōlī (Long. 82-39, Lat. 22-10) on the left bank of the Hasdo in the Jāṅjgīr *tahsil* of Bilāspur. It is only about 8 miles N.E. of Sarkhō. The district of **Anarghavallī** in which both Chiñchātalāī and Jaṁḍēra were situated is roughly represented by the present Jāṅjgīr *tahsil*. **Sōṇabhadra** from which the donee hailed cannot be satisfactorily

[1] Mr. K. L. Daftari, a noted astronomer of Nāgpur, conjectures that Padmanābha may have used for his calculation the *Rājamṛigāṅka*, a *karaṇa* work ascribed to king Bhōja of Dhārā in which the *bīja-saṁskāras* seem to have been fixed after actual observation of planets. This work, though composed in Śaka 964 (= A. D. 1042), *i.e.*, 86 years before the date of the present plates, may not have been known to the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court. Padmanābha could, therefore, score an easy victory over them (*cf.* Sh. B. Dikshit's *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī), second ed., p. 228).

[2] Mr. L. P. Pandeya has kindly drawn my attention to this reference. R. B. Hiralal considered the plates to be spurious (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, p. 41). They seem to be an incorrect copy of the original plates made subsequently by an ignorant engraver. Hence the numerous lacunae in the text. Mr. L. P. Pandeya suggests that the date of the original, misread by the ignorant copyist as 1000, may have been 900 of the Chēdi era (=1148 A. D.). This falls in the reign of Pṛithvīdēva II. who, we know, was actually reigning till 1158 A. D. (*Ind. His. Quart.* Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.). If the plates had been spurious the details about the names of the engraver, his father and village would not have tallied. Even if it is a forgery, we need not reject all historical information in it (*cf. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 201).

[3] The name of the engraver was not Chitrabhānu as R. B. Hiralal supposed (above, Vol. XIX, p. 210). The word Chitrabhānu, which occurs twice in the last verse, is used only to describe Dharmarāja. He was the Chitrabhānu (sun) to the lotus-bed in the form of the Vāstavya family, and was also Chitrabhānu (fire) to the fuel in the form of the helpless warriors of the enemy.

identified. It was situated in the well-known Madhyadēśa or Middle Country. I know, however, no place named Sōṇabhadra in the above territory.[1] **Jāmbavat** where the great-grandfather of Padmanābha fasted himself to death was a *tīrtha*. It is perhaps identical with the Jambutīrtha mentioned in the *Padmapurāṇa*,[2] where there was a Śiva-*liṅga* called Jāmbavantēśvara which was said to have been established by the lord of bears Jāmbavant who helped Śrī-Rāmachandra. From the context it appears to be somewhere in the vicinity of the river Śvabhramatī (modern Sabarmati). **Jaṁṇḍēra** the village which was owned by the engraver Kīrtidhara is probably identical with Jandra (Lat. 82·21 and Long. 21·44) on the bank of the Sōnāth river just outside the south-west limit of the Jāñjgīr *tahsil*.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

[Metres: Vv. 1, 9, 12, 13, 18 and 22-30 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2 and 6 *Upajāti*; v. 3 *Sragdharā*; vv. 4, 10, 14, 17 and 19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 7, 8, 11 and 15 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 16 *Mālinī*; v. 20 *Śālinī*; v. 21 *Āryā*.]

First Plate.

1 सिद्धिरस्तु[3] ओं[4] नमो ब(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम् । भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै ब्रु(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥

2 यदेतदक्षरमव्य(व्य)क्तं ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । तथास्य पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद्भुवि कार्त्त-

3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ देवः स्तोकार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूपतं भूतधात्र्या हैहेयोत्थितादि- दि(वि)व्यतुङ्गनगिरिसुताङ्के(ङ्के)-

4 यस्तल्पोचितस(श)म् । दोर्दण्डाकाण्डसेतुप्रतिघमितमहावारिरेवाप्रवाहव्यावृत्तव्यग्रपुत्रा- गुरुजनितरसं रावणं यो

5 बबं(बन्ध)ध ॥३॥ तद्वंस(श)प्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविध्वस्ततापानलः । धर्मा-

6 ख्यानधनानुसंचितयशाः ब(ब)ब्र(ब्र)ह्मतां सौम्यत्वसौभाग्यसर्वगुणान्वितः समभवत्स्यो(च्छ्रो)मानसो कोकल्लः ॥४॥ अष्टादशारि-

7 करिकुंभविभंगसिंहाः पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपराश्च तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसी(सी)त्से(त्से)षांश्च मंडलपतीन्स

[1] The hill where the well-known river Son, a tributary of the Ganges, takes its rise is called Sōṇabhadra. *Cf.* "The Son rises near the Narbada at Amarkantak in the Maikal range, the hill on which its nominal source is located being called Sōṇabhadra or more commonly Sōnamuṇḍā", *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, p. 76. Mr. K. N. Dikshit kindly writes to me that Sōṇabhadra is probably the same as Śravaṇabhadra to which two Brāhmaṇa donees of the Narwhal plates of Vākpati Muñja (V. S. 1036) belonged. Like the donee of the present plates, both of them belonged to the Vatsa-*gōtra* and had five *pravaras*. He thinks that Sōṇabhadra might be somewhere in Bihār on the bank of the Sōn or Śōṇabhadra.

[2] *Cf. Padmapurāṇa* (Veṅkaṭēśvara Press ed., *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 150). [*Skandapurāṇa* (same ed., *Arbudakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 60), places Jambutīrtha in mount Arbuda.—Ed.]

[3] Expressed by a symbol (*cf.* above, Vol. XVII, p. 352).

[4] Expressed by the letter ग with a dot over it.

SARKHO PLATES OF RATNADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 880.

First Plate.

Second Plate.

N. P. Chakravarti.

SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3387 E'35 - 443.

8 चकार वं(बं)धून् ॥३॥ तेषामनु[1]जश्च कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निज्वलितारिराजः । जातोन्वये द्विडरिपुप्रवीरः[2] प्रियान-

9 नांभोजवनपार्व्वणेंदुः ॥६॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्म्मलकीर्त्तिकान्तो जातः सुतः कमल-राज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतर-

10 णावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकजवनानि विकासभांजि ॥७॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनो-ज्वनि रत्नराजो विस्वो(श्वो)पकारककृपार्ज्जि-

11 तपुण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(बा)हुयुगमर्ज्जितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य स(श)त्रून् ॥८॥ नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया त-

12 स्य गुरस्येव हि गूरता । तयोः सुतो नृपश्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो बभूव ह ॥९॥ पृथ्वीदेवनृपस्य समभवज्जाजल्लदेवो(वो)सुतः शू-

13 रः सज्जनवांछि(छि)तार्त्थफलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्व्वेषामुचितोचने सुमनस(तीव्रद्विषत्कंटकः पश्य(श्य)त्कां(का)न्तनरांगना[ग]-

14 मदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥१०॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः श्रीमात्समा-श्रितसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्व्वेचि[तो]-

15 स्वरसि(शि)तोविजितत्रिदिवः सेवावृतो निचिरतो भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥११॥ इलावर्त्तादिवर्षाणां मध्ये भारतमुत्तमम् । मध्यदेस(श)स्तु त-

16 त्रापि श्रीणभद्रोस्ति यत्र सः ॥१२॥ श्रीसोणभद्रनिर्यातः पंचार्षो वत्सगोत्रजः स[च]सोण इति ख्यातो बभूव द्विजवंस(श)जः ॥१३॥ यः प-

17 द्वकंकलाकलापकुस(श)लो निःसे(शे)षवेदागमज्ञाता व(ब्र)ह्मसमः समस्तजनताल[भ्या]दरः सर्व्वदा । यः पंचास(श)दहानि चान्तसमये त्य-

18 क्वास(श)नं यां(वां)व(ब)[3]वत्तीर्थे प्राणविमुक्तिमाप निपुणो वेदान्तसिद्धान्तगः ॥१४॥ प्रज्ञानिधिः सकलवेदविदां वरिष्ठो नानाविधाध्व-

Second Plate.

19 रविधानविस(श)रु(दु)षिः । तस्यात्मजो द्विजसमाजविभूषणश्रीः सोमेश्वरः समभ-वद्भुवनप्रसिद्धः ॥१५॥ श्रुतिसमुचित-

20 शीलस्सात्व(च)विद्यागमानां निरवधिगुणरासि(शि)र्व्वांसजन्यो(न्यो) ज[4]नेषु । इह हि जगति नापालुपवाभ्यां समवल्लादत् च कुल-

[1] The vowel of नु is lengthened for the sake of metre.

[2] Read द्विडरिपुवीरविनाशनामा° as in all other plates of the kings of Ratanpur.

[3] The second letter of this word appears more like *chi* than *va*; but *va* and *chi* appear almost like each other in this inscription (cf. *chhina*, l. 24 *infra*) and other records of the period (*cf.* above, Vol. XIX, p. 75, l. 23). Besides [illegible] makes no sense. I, therefore, propose to read वांववतीर्थे. [illegible] is substituted for श here as in काशीस in l. 22 *infra*.

[4] After *ja* a superfluous *daṇḍa* was engraved and scored out.

21 चंद्रस्तथा सुतुर्व्वभूव ॥१६॥ प्रधानमंत्रवेशमविभवयकराभ्यासः समस्तागमे पुण्यात्मा मधुकर्म्मकर्म्मनिपुणः प्राबोध्यवान्ध्री(न्धौ)-

22 तिथि । तस्याशेषगुणाकरस्य मतिमान्पुत्रः पवित्रात्मनो ब(ब्र)ह्माम्नायनिवेशपेश(श)-लमतिः श्रीपद्मनाभोभवत् ॥१७॥ यः पित्रा-

23 न्तरं वेत्ति शैवागमगरपारगः । संहितानां(नां)च तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञो ज्ञानाहमित्रियेपतः ॥१८॥ तेनाशी(शी)त्यधिकाष्टशतस्याब्दे जाते दिने गोःपते-

24 : कार्त्तिकमासस्य रोहिणीभसमये राकेन्दु ग्रामचये । श्रीमद्वनरेश्वरस्य सदसि ज्योति-र्व्विदामग्रतः सर्व्वेषामनुज्ञयोः प्रव-

25 दत्ता तीर्त्वा प्रतिष्ठानदी ॥१९॥ चंद्रोर्द्धमुक्तिं कुर्व्वताय महानी सर्व्वादायेषोड-शिनर्द्धवश्यां(श्याम्) [।*] गत्वा तुष्टेनाश्च चिंतामणावर्ग्रामस्तस्मै ता(सा)-

26 क्षीकृत्य दत्तः ॥२०॥ तपति न तपनः प्रखरो मरुदपि नो वाति शासने तीव्रः । ब(ब्र)ह्मस्वैकपातकमतिश(स)यमीतं समालोच्य ॥२१॥ चंद्रा-

27 र्कौ गगने यावत्तपतो लोकशासिनो । तावदध्यासितं श्रेयादानमेतत्क्षितीपतेः ॥२२॥ द्विजाय नायमस्मत्याक्षेलोक्यविनिट्टिनतः ।

28 देवगृहजनीयाय दानमानार्च्चनादिभिः ॥२३॥ यैः कृतः सर्व्वभक्तीभिरपीयत मर्चोदधिः । च्यवी चाप्यायितः सोमः को न नम्ये(म्ये)-

29 यतोथ तान् ॥२४॥ शं(शं)खं भद्रासनं च्छ(छ)त्रं गजाश्व(श्व)वरवाहनम् । भूमि-दानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदर ॥२५॥ ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-

30 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२६॥ यथाप्सु पतितं श(श)क्र तैलबि(बि)न्दुर्व्विसर्पति । एवं भूमिकृतं दानं स-

31 स्ये सस्ये प्ररोहति ॥२७॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥२८॥ पूर्व्व-

32 दत्ता(त्तां) द्विजातीनां यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरंदर । मही(हीं) महीमतां श्रे(श्रे)ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालनम् ॥२९॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधराम् ।

33 स विष्टायां[1] कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥३०॥ अस्व(श्व)मेधसहस्रे(स्रे)ण वाज(ज)पेयश(श)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शु(शु)-

34 ध्यति ॥३१॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानु-मन्ता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥३२॥ इष्टं दत्तं हुतं चैव य-

[1] Read विष्ठायां.

35 त्रिंशद्वर्षसंचितम् । यशोगुप्तेन कोशाद्या स्वर्णेन प्रशस्थ(स्त)ति ॥३३॥ भ
विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते । विषमेकाकिनं ह-
36 न्ति ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रिकम् ॥३४॥ तस्यामिवामयंवस्यां श्रीमत्कीर्तिवरः सुधीः ।
नंदिरयासनायोधं लिलिख्याचरमो(शो)भनम् ॥३५॥

No. 27.—TIRODI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

These plates were found some years ago at the Manganese mine of **Tirōḍi**, eight miles south-east of Katangi in the Bālāghāt District of the Central Provinces. Mr. T. A. Wellsted, Manager of the Manganese mines, Mansar, who is keenly interested in the history of the Vākāṭakas, came to know of their existence in April 1934 and secured them with great difficulty from a Manganese contractor of Tirōḍi. The plates have since been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum. I am obliged to Mr. Wellsted for permission to edit them.

They are **four copper-plates**, each measuring 7·7" by 3·8". The first and the fourth are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; still, the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation. The last plate bears in five places marks of indents from the blows of a pickaxe. About 2·1" from the proper right margin, the plates have a roundish hole ·4" in diameter for a circular ring to connect them. The ends of this ring, which is 3·3" in diameter, were flattened off so as to overlap and were joined with a pin. They were so secured when the plates were sent to the Nāgpur Museum for cleaning and taking ink impressions. On this ring slides a small circular band about ·7" broad and 3·8" in circumference, to which is secured with a rivet a flat circular copper **seal** 2·7" in diameter. The ring and the seal thus closely resemble those of the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The weight of the plates is 126 *tolas* and that of the ring, the band and the seal is 18¼ *tolas*.

The plates were slightly corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by Mr. M. A. Saboor, Coin Expert of the Nāgpur Museum. Each inscribed side of the first two plates contains six lines, that of the third five lines and that of the fourth only four lines. The seal contains the **legend** inscribed in four lines. The letters are deeply cut, but do not show through on the reverse. The size of the letters varies from ·25" to ·4".

As in the other plates of Pravarasēna II., the **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II. and of the Ṛiddhapur plates of his mother Prabhāvatiguptā. The boxes at the top of the letters are not scooped out hollow as in the Chammak plates, but appear in the form of small squares as in the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The letters *j*, *ḍ*, *y* and *l* and the subscript form of *m* appear without a box at the top; cf. *Vājapēya* and *Bṛihaspati* in l. 1 and *amala-jala* in l. 5. The box is not completely incised at the top of a few letters; see, for instance, *n* in *ayanta* l. 7; *chi* in *kīṁchi-* l. 23; *ya* in *yat-cha* l. 24. The *rēpha* at the top of letters is, in some cases, shown with, and in others without, a box (cf. *chāturvvaidya* l. 19, *Āptōryyāma* l. 1). The length of medial *ī* is denoted either by a ringlet in the curve representing short *i* as in *pramāṇī-* l. 29, or by another curve turned in the opposite direction as in *trayōviṁśa* l. 31. Medial *ē* is shown in three ways—

with the *e* sign (1) turned to the left, cf. *-ānugāmī* l. 23 ; (2) turned to the right, cf. *bhuñjatē* l. 23 and (3) shown by a hook to the right bending downwards, cf. *bhryyāṇa* l. 20. The *mātrās* for medial *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are generally added at the top, but occasionally at the middle or even the foot of a consonant ; cf. *Aśvamēdha* l. 2 and *m-aiśvaryya* l. 15. The medial *ō* is shown in two ways (1) with a *mātrā* on each side of a consonant as in *ahōjaiy-* l. 1, and (2) with a curve on the right side only, cf. *bhuñjatō* l. 23. The medial *au* is everywhere bipartite ; cf. *dauhitra* and *Gautami* l. 5, etc. *D* and *ḍ* are not clearly distinguished ; cf. *ahōjaiy-* l. 1 and *samuddēśasya* l. 8 ; so also *v* and *ch* ; cf. *Brihaspatisava* ll. 1-2 ; and *chatur-Aśva* l. 2 ; *t* appears with a loop in *-vastarya* l. 18 and *datta[m*]* l. 29 ; *th* is generally distinguished from *dh* by a ringlet on the base line , cf. *thi* in *Prithivishēṇa* l. 10 with *ṭhi* in *Yudhishṭhira* l. 9 ; but contrast *tha* in *Athirvaṅga* l. 18. Independent *b* which is distinguished from *v* appears in two forms : (1) the rectangular one as in *paribādhā-* l. 25 and (2) that derived from *p*, cf. *Brihaspati* l. 1 ; the subscript *b* is only in one place distinguished from *v*, *viz.*, in *Kōśambakhaṇḍa* l. 17 ; but cf. *āyur-bala-* l. 15 and *-udvahana-* l. 4. A vowel-less consonant is written in a smaller form below the line ; cf. *drishṭam* l. 1 and *samrāṭ* l. 2. The *visarga* is denoted by two dots or hook-shaped lines ; the former signify also a double mark of punctuation in ll. 13, 24, 26, etc. The completion of the record is indicated by a long horizontal stroke.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verse towards the close, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may note the absence of external *sandhis* and the use of short for long vowels in several places. Such orthographical mistakes as *bhaṭṭaivo* for *bhaktitvo* l. 8, *kēnachirvyāghāto* for *kēnachid-vyāghāta* l. 23 are evidently due to the carelessness of the engraver. The *visarga* is wrongly dropped in *gupai samuddēśasya* l. 8 and changed to *cha* in *bhaṭāch-chhātrāś-cha* l. 14. The *anusvāra* appears superfluous after its change to a nasal in *Vākāṭakānām=Mahārāja* l. 9, etc. The dental *n* is written for *ṇ* in *hiranya* l. 7. *Li* is used instead of the vowel *ḷi* in *aklipt-ōpakliptaḥ* ll. 22-23, and *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *drishṭam* l. 1 and *dushkritam* l. 30. On the other hand *ṛi* occurs for *ri* in *sarvakriyābhiḥ* l. 24. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in some cases, *e.g.*, *ūrjjaṃ* and *śauryya* l. 7, *abhivarddhamāna* l. 8, similarly *v* coming after *anusvāra* in *sa[m*]vvatsarē* l. 31. The consonant preceding *y* is reduplicated in *Bhāgīratthyāmala* l. 5 and *sarvv-āddhyaksha* l. 13. The *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll. 10, 16 and 20. The final consonant is wrongly dropped in *Narattaṅgavāri-sthānā* l. 1, *dvādasyā* l. 31, etc.

The plates were issued from the place **Narattaṅgavāri** by *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II.** of the **Vākāṭaka** dynasty. Their **date** is recorded in words as the **twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha in the twenty-third (regnal) year.** Like almost all other complete Vākāṭaka plates[1] they open with the word *drishṭam* which must be taken, as was subsequently done by Kielhorn, to mean 'seen' and was evidently intended to signify the genuineness of the inscription.[2] The genealogy of Pravarasēna II. is copied almost *verbatim* from his previous plates, his maternal grandfather **Chandragupta II.** being called **Dēvagupta** as in the other records. The plates record the grant of the village **Kōśambakhaṇḍa** to a Brāhmaṇa named **Varuṇāryya** of the Harkkari-*gōtra*[3] and the Atharvavēda, who was a resident of **Chā[m*]drapura**[4] and proficient in the three Vēdas. The donated village was bounded on the east by Jamali, on

[1] The only exception is the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatigupta. It does not appear in an odd Vākāṭaka plate which has recently come to my hands ; but I have reason to think that, like the Bālāghāṭ plates of Prithivishēṇa, the inscription was left incomplete.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 268-9.

[3] The *gōtra* is named Hārkari in the *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba* (Lakshmī-Veṅkaṭēśa Press, Bombay, 1917).

[4] See below, Text, p. 172, note 23.

the south by Vardhamānaka, on the west by Mrigasima and on the north by Mallakapēdhaka. As the order is addressed to the officers and soldiers in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of **Bēnnākaṭa,** it is evident that the donated village was situated in it. The grant was written by the chief minister (*Rājyādhikṛita*) **Chamidāsa**[1] himself.

We know that the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II. were issued on the tenth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season[2] in his twenty-third regnal year. If Kielhorn's view[3] that the date refers to the bright half of the month Bhādrapada is accepted, the present charter, though issued in the same regnal year, would be later than the Dudia plates by about four months and a half.[4] One other record of the Vākāṭakas (*viz.*, the incomplete Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa)[5] has been found in the Bālāghāt district. This is, however, the first inscription of Pravarasēna II. to be discovered so far to the east of his kingdom. As stated below, the donated village Kōśambakhaṇḍa is to be identified with Kōsambā about 6 miles to the south-west of Tirōḍi, the find-spot of the present plates in the same district. The present inscription shows, therefore, that the country under the direct rule of Pravarasēna II. extended to the east as far as South Kōsala (modern Chhattīsgarh) and comprised the modern districts of Bālāghāt, Bhandāra and Chānda of C. P. These districts were evidently included in ancient Vidarbha. In the Sanskrit play *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, who is now generally taken to be a contemporary of Pravarasēna II., the country of Vidarbha is shown to be divided by the river Varadā (modern Wardhā).[6] Bēnnākaṭa of the present plates seems to have been one of the districts of Eastern Vidarbha.

Almost all other charters[7] of Pravarasēna II. are issued from Pravarapura which was evidently his capital. The place Narattaṅgavāri from which the present plates were issued seems, therefore, to be a holy place(*tīrtha*)[8] where he had gone to bathe in the month of Māgha and where he granted the present charter. The month of Māgha is specially praised in the Purāṇas as very sacred and various legends are narrated in them to evince the great merit of bathing at a holy place during that month.[9] The eleventh day of the dark half of this month, when *pūrṇimānta*, which is called *Shaṭtilā ēkādaśī* and is observed as a fast-day, is highly glorified in the *Padma-purāṇa*.[10] Pravarasēna may, therefore, have gone to the Narattaṅgavāri *tīrtha* to bathe on the Shaṭtilā ēkādaśī day and have made the present grant on the following day before breaking his fast. We may note in this connection that a similar grant was made by his mother Prabhāvatiguptā[11] at the holy place of Rāmagiri (modern Rāmṭek near Nāgpur) on the twelfth day of the bright half of Kārttika, evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhinī ēkādaśī.[12]

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[1] [Or Naravamhāsa, see below p. 174, n. 10.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. III. p. 262.

[3] Above, Vol. III. p. 260.

[4] Kielhorn has evidently adopted the *pūrṇimānta* scheme in calculating that date. The same is followed above. The interval between the two dates would be 5½ months if the *amānta* system is adopted in both the cases.

[5] Above, Vol. IX. p. 267.

[6] Cf. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, *vl.* 13.

[7] The only exception is the Siwani Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasēna II. (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 243 ff.) in which, however, no place of issue is mentioned. The Patna Museum plate also, being the third plate of the set, does not naturally mention any place of issue.

[8] Narattaṅgavāri cannot be taken to be the site of his camp during a campaign; for there is no word like *vāsaka* added to it.

[9] [illegible] *Padmapurāṇa* (Vēṅkaṭēśvara Press ed.), *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 124, *vl.* 64-5.

[10] *Ibid.*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 43, *ślōkas* 3 ff.

[11] Her Poona plates also, though issued from the then capital Nandivardhana, were granted on a similar occasion.

[12] This day is referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mēghadūta* (*vl.* 115).

As the present grant was not made at the capital, the expression *vijaya-dharmasthānē* 'at the victorious office of justice' which regularly occurs in all other charters of Pravarasēna II issued from Pravarapura are omitted in the present plates.[1] This grant was made by Pravarasēna II. for increasing his *dharma* (religious merit), life, strength and prosperity, for securing his well-being in this world and the next, as well as for augmenting the religious merit of his mother (*mātuḥ puṇy-ōpachayārthaṁ*). This last expression occurs in none of the complete charters of Pravarasēna II.[2] As he mentions only his mother and not his father also, who was long since dead, it is likely that she was living at the time of the present grant and may have accompanied him to the holy place. From the description in her Riddhapur plates[3] she seems to have been an old lady at the time of that grant which was made only four years before the issue of the present plates.

As for the **geographical names** that occur in these plates, **Narattaṅgavāri** was probably a *tīrtha* as suggested above. I know, however, of no place in C. P. and Berār, which exactly corresponds to this name. It may, however, be taken to mean Vāri near Narattaṅga on the analogy of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana (Nandivardhana near Nāgpur) in the Deoli plates[4] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. In that case it can be identified with Wāri also called Bhairavgaḍh, now a deserted village on the river Bān or Wān in the extreme north-west of the Akot Taluk (Akola District, Berār). It is only 18 miles to the west of the old fort of Narnāḷā, which probably represents ancient Narattaṅga, and is still regarded as a holy place.[5] **Kōsambakhaṇḍa**, the donated village, is evidently Kōsambā (79·39 × 21·38) about 6 miles to the south-east of Tirōḍi where the plates were found. **Bēṇṇākaṭa** was evidently a district[6] comprising the territory round the modern village Beṇi, 35 miles to the east of Kōsambā in the Gondia Tahsil of the Bhaṇḍāra District, which may have been its headquarters. The district seems to have been divided

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[1] The expression *dharmādhikaraṇē* which occurs in another connection in l. 26 is evidently a mistake for *dharm-ādhyakshēṇa*. See below, Text, p. 172, n. 13.

[2] A similar expression *sva-puṇy-āpyāyan-ārthaṁ* is found in both the Poona and Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā.

[3] [illegible] l. 11, *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. XX, p. 58.

[4] Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. Even now there are several such place names current in Berār, e.g., Bāsim-Tākli (Tākli near Bāsim). As there are now, and were probably in ancient Vidarbha, several villages named Wāri (or Wārkhēḍ), Narattaṅga may have been prefixed to define the position of the place intended.

[5] See *Akola District Gazetteer* (1910), p. 305. At this place there are ruins of a fort called Bhairavgaḍh with an image of Kāl Bhairava. It may be noted in this connection that an ancestor of Pravarasēna II. (viz., Rudrasēna I.) was a devout worshipper of Svāmi-Mahābhairava. The writer in the Gazetteer identifies Wāri with ancient Varāhatīrtha (*Ibid.*, p. 282) but this identification does not seem to be correct. Varāhatīrtha was, no doubt, a very important *tīrtha* on the Payōshṇī. It is highly praised in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan*, *Adhyāya* 88, *ll.* 6-9, Bombay ed.) which describes the visit of the Pāṇḍavas to it in the course of their *tīrthayātrā* (*Adhyāyas* 120 and 121). But from the description given in the *Payōshṇī-māhātmya*, the *Varāhakshētra* [Nirṇayasāgar ed. (1903), p. 174] and other Sanskrit works it appears to be the source of the Payōshṇī (modern Pūrṇā) and must, therefore, be identified with Barhāpur about a mile to the north-east of Bhainsdehi (77°·58 × 21°·39) in the Betul District of C. P. where the Payōshṇī takes its rise. The present Wāri is far away from the source of the Payōshṇī. The *Payōshṇī-māhātmya* refers to the Bāṇa river (on which Wāri is situated) as a tributary of the Payōshṇī but makes no mention of a Varāhatīrtha on it.

[6] Bhōjakaṭa of the Chammak plate is another district name ending in *kaṭa*. The *Mahābhārata* (Bombay ed.), *Sabhāparvan*, *Adhyāya* 31, mentions both Bhōjakaṭa and Tālākaṭa as southern countries. In *ll.* 10-12 of that *Adhyāya* Sahadēva is said to have vanquished the lords of Bhōjakaṭa and Vēṇākaṭa. The latter is evidently a mistake for Vēṇṇākaṭa. In reply to my inquiry Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, General Editor of the Mahābhārata which is now being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, kindly informs me that most of the Grantha Mss. collated at the Institute show either the variant Vēṇṇākaṭa or Bēṇṇākaṭa in the 12th *śloka* of that *Adhyāya*.

into two parts by the river Wainganga, the ancient Bennā.[1] Kōsambā which now represents ancient Kōsambakhaṇḍa is only 20 miles from the Wainganga and was evidently included in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of Bennākaṭa. Of the villages that formed its boundary, only one can now be traced. **Jamalī** which bounded it on the east is probably modern Jāmunṭolā, 3 miles to the east of Kōsambā. **Chāndrapura**, where the donee was living is probably identical with Chāndpur which lies only twelve miles to the south-east of Kōsambā and contains an old fort.[2] The other villages cannot be identified.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.[3]

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 दृष्टम्[4] [।*] नरवतङ्क्वाभिनाना[म्*] । अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्य[ति]रात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिस-

2 वसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः[5] विष्णु(ष्णु)वृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[6] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री-

3 प्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः सूनोरत्यन्त[7]स्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ।[8] अंसभारसन्निवेशि-

4 तशिवलिङ्गो[9]द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागी-

5 रथ्य[म]लजलमूर्द्धा[10]भिषिक्तानामभारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमी-

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[1] The river is called Vēṇṇā in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya* 31), *Padma-purāṇa* (*Svarga Khaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 20, *ll.* 30-32; Bombay ed.), *Matsya-purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 114, *ll.* 27-28) and Vēṇyā in the *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 57, *ll.* 24). Vēṇvā in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*Ad.* 45, *śl.* 102) and Vanā in the *Kūrma* (*Ad.* 47, *śl.* 32) seem to be derived from Vēṇyā (See Pargiter's *Tr. of the Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa*, p. 300). Bennā in Bennākaṭa of the present plates and Bēṇṇā in Bēṇṇā-kārpara-bhāga of the Siwani plates are evidently corrupt forms of Sanskrit Vēṇyā and refer to the Wainganga. The Bēṇṇā-kārpara-bhāga of the Siwani plates seems to be a subdivision (*bhāga*) of Bennākaṭa. It cannot be located in modern Berār. Fleet's suggestion that Kōllapura in that quarter is 'possibly Kolāpour twenty-one miles south of Elichpur' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 244) is manifestly impossible. Khōlāpur (for, that is its correct name) was founded by Khōlēśvara, a well-known general of the Yādava king Siṁghaṇa. As stated in his Āmbē inscription, it is on the bank of the Payōshṇī (Pūrṇā); see G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), p. 64. I would identify Kōllapura (in the Bēṇṇākārpara-bhāga) of the Siwani plates with modern Koolpā about 35 miles to the east of the Wainganga in the Amgaon Zamindari. Karañjaviraka which was a village (and not a river as supposed by Fleet) in its vicinity is represented by modern Kāmnjā, a mile to the N.-E. of Koolpā. For viraka at the end of a village name see Vyāghraviraka in the Khairābād plates (above, p. 98).

[2] Kielhorn's suggestion about the identification of Chandrapura mentioned in the Dudia plates with the abovenamed Chāndpur cannot be accepted; for, as he has himself admitted, none of the other villages mentioned in those plates can be identified in its vicinity. That Chandrapura is probably identical with Chandur in the Amraoti district of Berār, as shown by R. B. Hiralal. (See his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed. p. 93.)

[3] The accompanying plates have been prepared from photographs kindly taken by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nagpur Museum.

[4] Read दृष्टम्.

[5] Here and in many places below, the rules of *Sandhi* have not been observed.

[6] Read सम्राजः.

[7] The loop at the top of त्य is not complete.

[8] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[9] Read शिवलिङ्गोद्वहन°. The loop of ङ्ग is not connected with the vertical stroke of the letter.

[10] Read मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानाम्. The other adjective दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां which occurs in all other plates is omitted here.

6 पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि[1]रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो:[2]

Second Plate; First Side.

7 अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्ज[3]वकारुण्य[4]शौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधिमत्व-[5]

8 प[6]त्रगतभक्ति[7]धर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्या[8]दिगुणै[:*] समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमा-

9 नकोशद[9]ण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण: युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानां[10]म्महा-

10 राजश्रीपृथिविषेनस्य[11] सूनो[:] भगवतश्चक्रपाणेᳵप्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

11 वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो: महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

12 सुतायां[12]प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य ।[13] वाकाटकानाम्महा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 राजश्रि[14]प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] । वेन्नाकटस्य अपरपट्टे ॥[15] अस्मत्सन्तकाः सर्व्वा-
ध्यक्षनियोग-

14 नियुक्ता आज्ञासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता: भटाच्छा[16]त्राश्च व्युषितपूर्व्वमयाज्ञया[17]ज्ञाप-
यितव्या: [।*]

15 विदितमस्तु व: यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्व्वलमैं[18]श्वर्य्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्रहि-

16 तार्थं मातुᳵपु[19]ण्योपचयार्थं जमत्वा अपरपार्श्वे वर्द्धमानकस्य उत्तरपार्श्वे

17 ब्रगसिमस्य पूर्व्वपार्श्वे मह्वयेवकस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे कोसम्बखण्डं नाम ग्राम:

18 चाव(? चाद्र[20])पुरवस्तव्यवर्य्यर्व्वाण[21]हर्कारि[22]समोत्रचरणार्च्याय विवेदाय दत्त:[23]

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[1] Read श्री°. [2] Read सूनोः. [3] The subscript ज is not complete.

[4] Read कारुण्य°.

[5] Read धीमत्त्व. None of the Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far gives this expression correctly.

[6] The engraver first incised ग्र and then corrected it into त्र. Read पात्रगतभक्तित्व as in the Siwani and Dudia plates.

[7] The engraver seems to have wrongly joined the right hand horizontal stroke of the dagger of य to the vertical stroke of त.

[8] Read नैर्मल्यादि°.

[9] The box-head of द is not completely incised. [10] The anusvāra is superfluous.

[11] Read पृथिवीषेणस्य.

[12] The anusvāra is superfluous.

[13] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[14] Read श्री°.

[15] It is difficult to say if this is a sign of *Visarga* or of double punctuation. It is superfluous in either case.

[16] Read भटच्छात्राश्च.

[17] Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञया° as in the Siwani and Chammak plates.

[18] Read °बलैश्वर्य°.

[19] The lower horizontal stroke of *p* is not engraved.

[20] For other cases of the wrong omission of an *anusvāra* see चन्द्र l. 29 and ... in l. 31 below.

[21] Read ब्राह्मण. Instead of affixing the stroke denoting the length to a, the engraver wrongly prefixed it to the following letter.

[22] The *gotra* is named Hārkari in the गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्ब (published by the Vêṅkaṭêśvara Press).

[23] This word is superfluous.

Tirodi Plates of Pravarasena II.

i.

iia.

iib.

iiia.

iiib.

iv.

Seal.



Actual size.

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 अपुव्वदत्या[1] उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः[2] [।*] उचितांश्चास्य पूर्व्वराजानुमतांश्चा(तांश्चा)तु-
र्व्वैद्यग्रामम-

20 र्य्यादापरिहा[3]रान्वितरामः[4] तद्यथा अकरदायि:[5] अभटच्छत्रपावेश्यः[6] अपारंपरगो-

21 बलिवर्द्द[:*] अपुष्पक्षीर[7]सन्दोहः अचासनचर्म्माङ्गारः अलवनक्लिण्ण[8]क्रे-

22 णिखनकः सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः सनिधि:[9] सोपनिधि[:*] सक्लि(क्लृ)प्तो-

23 पक्लि(क्लृ)प्तः आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जतो न केनचिव्याघात[10]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

24 कर्त्तव्यः सर्व्वक्र[11]याभिस्संरक्षितव्यः परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च ॥ य[12]श्चास्मच्छासनमग[ण]य-

25 मानस्स्वल्पामपि परिवाधा[13]ङ्कुर्य्यात्कारयित[14] वा तस्य ब्राह्म[15]णैर्व्वे[16]दितस्य सदण्डं निग-

26 हं कुर्य्याम ॥ अस्मि[17]श्च धर्म्माधि(धि)[18]करणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तां संचिन्तन[19]परि-

27 पालन[20]ङ्कु[21]तपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं क[22]र्त्तयामः संकथाभिद्योग[23]परा-

28 क्रमोपर्जिताम्व(न्व)तंस(सा)ननानाश्रायपयामः एष्य[24]तकालप्रभविष्णुगौरवा-

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[1] Read अपूर्व्वदत्त्या.

[2] The box-head of ष्ट is not complete.

[3] The Chammak plates read चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादान्(न्) and the Dudia plates चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादापरिहारान्(न्). The Poona plates have चातुर्व्विद्यग्रामपरिहारान्.

[4] Read वितरामस्तद्यथा. [5] Read अकरदायी.

[6] Read अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्यः. The reading in the present plates is however found in all the Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far.

[7] Read अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोहः.

[8] Read अलवणक्लिन्न° as in the Chammak and Dudia plates. Only the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā read *kleṇa* in place of *klinna*. The Siwani and Ṛiddhapur plates read *klinna*. An unpublished copper-plate found at Rāmṭek reads अलवणक्लिन्नी केणिखनक.

[9] The visarga is not complete.

[10] Read केनचिद्व्याघातः.

[11] Read सर्व्वक्रियाभि°. The engraver has not completed the subscript *ya*. Again, he first wrote *ka* and afterwards changed it into *kri*.

[12] The box-head of य is not completely engraved.

[13] Read परिबाधां कुर्य्यात्.

[14] Read कारयेत.

[15] The subscript ण is not completely engraved.

[16] The subscript *va* is not completely engraved.

[17] Read अस्मिंश्च.

[18] The Chammak, Ṛiddhapur and Dudia plates read धर्म्माधिकरणे. The Siwani plates read धर्म्माधिकरणे.

[19] Read अतीतानेकराजदत्तसंचिन्तन°.

[20] Read परिपालनं.

[21] The engraver first wrote *ku* and then thought of changing it into *kṛi*.

[22] Read कीर्त्तयाम.

[23] Read संकथाभिविनयपराक्रमोपार्जिताम्. The Ṛiddhapur plates read संकथाभिविनयपराक्रमोपार्जितान् and the Dudia plates संकथाभिविनयपराक्रमोपार्जितान्. Other Vākāṭaka plates have nothing corresponding to this.

[24] Read एष्यत्काल°. The Siwani plates have एष्यत्काल°. The Dudia plates read as in the present text.

Fourth Plate.

29 स्थ(ड्र)विषाब्धिभापयाव: [।*] व्यासगीतश्चात्र श्लोक⌄प्रमाणीकर्तव्या: [।*] स्वदत्तांपर-

30 दत्तांवा(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा:[1] [।*]गवाम्श[2]तसहस्रस्य ।[3] हन्तुर्पिबति दुष्कि[4]तं ।

31 सां वत्सरे[5] चतीवीसे[6] । माघबहुलपक्षे द्वादस्या[7] ।[8] आज्ञा

32 स्वयं[9] राजाधिकृतन[10] नमि(? नमि)दासेन लिखित[11]मिति ।

The Seal.

1 वाकाटकललामस्य

2 क्र(क्र)मप्राप्तनृपश्रियस्[12] [।*]

3 राज्ञ[:*] प्रवरसेनस्य ।[13]

4 शासनं रिपुशासनम्[14] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

The Plates.

(Lines 1-13.) Seen. From the place Narattanga-vāri. By the order of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna (II)** of the **Vākāṭakas** who was born of **Prabhāvatī-guptā**, the daughter of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* **Dēvagupta** and who is the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Rudrasēna(II)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, who[15] acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of the Divine (Lord) Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu) (*and*) who was the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Prithivishēṇa (I)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, who[16] was intensely devoted to (*the god*) Mahēśvara, who[17] was endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, political wisdom, modesty, high-mindedness, intelligence, devotion to (*worthy persons*), and with the state of being a righteous conqueror,[17] purity of mind and such other good qualities, who[16] had sons and grandsons and a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years, who[16] conducted himself like Yudhishṭhira and who[16] was the son of the illustrious *Mahā-*

[1] Read वसुन्धराम्.

[2] Read गवां शत॰.

[3] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] Read दुष्कृतम्.

[5] Read संवत्सरे.

[6] Read चतुर्विंशे.

[7] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[8] Read द्वादश्याम्.

[9] Read स्वयं.

[10] Read राजाधिकृतेन. [The reading may be *Rājyādhikṛita-Namidāsēna*. This official is apparently identical with *Sēnāpati* Namidāsa of the Dudia plates.—Ed.]

[11] Read लिखितमिति ।.

[12] Read नृपश्रियः.

[13] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[14] Metre—*Anushṭubh*.

[15] *I.e.*, Rudrasēna II.

[16] *I.e.*, Prithivishēṇa I.

[17] Cf. *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* (Second ed. by Shama Sastry), p. 382.

rāja **Rudrasēna** (I) of the **Vākāṭakas**, who was the son of Gautamīputra, who[1] was intensely devoted to (*the god*) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Bhavanāga** of the **Bhāraśivas** whose royal family was created by Śiva who was greatly pleased by (*their*) carrying the *liṅga* of Śiva like a load placed on (*their*) shoulder and who were besprinkled on their head with the pure water of the (*river*) Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) that had been acquired by their prowess, and who[1] was the son of the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna** (I) of the **Vākāṭakas**, the *Samrāṭ* (Emperor) who performed *Agnishṭōma*, *Aptōryāma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapēya*, *Bṛihaspatisava*, *Sādyaskra* and four *Aśvamēdhas* and who was of the Vishṇuvṛiddha-*gōtra*.

(Lines 13-14)—Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent[2] and who exercise their authority by (*our*) command[3], (*our*) soldiers and umbrella-bearers[4] in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of (*the district*) Bēnnākaṭa should be directed by the following command which is already well-known to them :—

(Lines 15-19)—Be it known to you that in order to increase our religious merit, life, power and prosperity, to secure our well-being in this world and the next and also to augment the religious merit of (*our*) mother, the village named **Kōśambakhaṇḍa** which lies to the west of Jamalī, to the north of Varddhamānaka, to the east of Mṛigasīma and to the south of Mallakapēḍhaka is bestowed here with (*a libation of*) water as a grant not previously made upon **Varuṇāryya** of the Atharvavēda and the Harikarṇi-*gōtra*, who has (*mastered*) the three Vēdas and is a resident of Chāddha(? Chāndra)pura.[5]

(Lines 19-26)—And we grant[6] the following exemptions from restrictions as (*are*) customary and (*are*) incident to a village belonging to Brahmins proficient in the four Vidyās, (*as*) approved by former kings, *viz.* (*it is*) not to pay taxes; (*it is*) not to be entered by soldiers and umbrella-bearers; (*it does*) not entitle (*the State*) to the customary cows and bulls;[7] (*it does*) not (*also entitle it*) to (*the requisites on*) flowers and milking, to pasturage, hides and charcoal, to the purchase and digging of salt and fermenting drugs; (*it is*) to be exempt from forced labour; (*it carries*) with it the right to hidden treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes (*klipta* and *upaklipta*):[8] (*it*

[1] *I.e.*, Rudrasēna I. This is how all previous editors and historians have taken these expressions. The construction in that case seems to be faulty; for *Gautamīputrasya* should have been placed after *Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ* and the word *pautrasya* following *Gautamīputrasya* should have been dropped. Again the epithet *atyanta-svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya* should have followed *dauhitrasya*. (See the position of *atyanta-svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya* below.) As the expressions stand, they seem to qualify Gautamīputrasya. But in that case the successor of Pravarasēna I would be his great-grandson as Gautamīputra did not evidently come to the throne. (Note the absence of the expression *Vākāṭakānāṁ mahārājasya* in his case.) Besides, there is no reason why the name of Pravarasēna's son should have been omitted.

[2] This *Sarvādhyaksha* seems to be the same as *Rājyādhikṛita* mentioned at the end of this record.

[3] Lit. who move about, etc.

[4] I have followed Fleet in the translation of *chhātras* but they seem to correspond to the *chāṭas* in later records and may be a class of irregular soldiers.

[5] See above, text, p. 172, note 20.

[6] Lit. confer.

[7] The right to demand the first calf of a cow is perhaps referred to here. The next three expressions exempt the grantee from certain taxes in kind which were paid to the State. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, *Adhyāya* VII, vv. 130-132. There is no reason why these rights should be reserved for the villagers against the grantee as supposed by Fleet (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 242, fn. note 1).

[8] *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) gives *klipta* in the sense of fixed assessment. The expressions *klipta* and *upaklipta* correspond to the terms *bhāga* and *bhōga* which occur in the almost contemporary records of the kings of Śarabhapura and *udraṅga* and *uparikara* in those of later kings (*cf.* Altekar—*The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 213-216). *Klipta* may therefore be taken to mean land tax and *upaklipta* to some petty taxes in kind.

is) to be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon *(will endure)*; *(it is)* to follow the succession of sons and son's sons. None should cause an obstruction while *(the donee or his successor)* is enjoying it. *(This grant)* should be protected and increased by all means. And whosoever, disregarding our command, shall himself cause or make others cause the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmaṇas, we will inflict punishment and fine.

(Lines 26-29)—In showing thus *(our)* regard for religion we, in order to avoid mention of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to our care and protection of the grants of many past kings; *(but)* we issue this order to *(the kings of)* the present who have been vanquished by our resolve, attack, (or) valour[1] and make this request to *(the kings of)* the future out of regard for such as will be in power in times to come.

(Lines 29-32)—And the following verse sung by Vyāsa is to be regarded as an authority on this point :—Whosoever shall confiscate land that has been given by himself or another, incurs the sin of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows.

On the **twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha**, this order is written by the Chief Minister **Chamidāsa**[2] himself.

The Seal

This is the enemy-chastising command of King **Pravarasēna**, the ornament of the **Vākāṭakas** who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.

No. 28.—TWO BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATES.

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The accompanying copper plates, which are being published here for the first time, are two of the exhibits in the State Museum at Bhor, capital of Bhor State in Poona district. Nothing definite is known about their find-spots. But since the village granted in both the charters can be identified with a village about six miles to the east of Bhor, it is very likely that they may have been found not far from that town. Mēhērbān Srimant Bābāsāheb Pantsachiv, Rajasaheb of Bhor, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

A

BHOR STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF DHARAVARSHA DHRUVARAJA : SAKA 702.

The **plates** are **three** in number. The size of each plate is 8·7" by 4·9", thickness being about ·12". The edges have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. At the centre of the left side of each plate, about ·3" from the edge, there is a circular ring hole, about ·7" in diameter, but the ring, which once held these plates together, has been lost along with the seal that had soldered its ends. The weight of the plates is 100 *tolas*.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. On the outer side of the first plate there are seven or eight letters scribbled as a

[1] Here three types of feudatories seem to have been referred to, viz., (1) those who submitted to Pravarasēna when they came to know of his resolve to vanquish them; (2) those who submitted on being attacked and finally (3) such as had been conquered by valour.

[2] [See p. 174, n. 10.—Ed.]

much later period, resembling Marāṭhī characters of the 15th century. These are divided into two lines, the first of these seems to contain the word *Maunapatram* and the second one *dhapayya*. It is clear that a subsequent owner of the plates has engraved these letters to enlighten his successors as to the contents of the document.

The mason has evenly distributed the contents of the record over the four sides at his disposal, each side having about 15 or 16 lines. The average number of letters per line is about 39.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation. The surface of the record is slightly damaged in a few places on the third plate, but the entire record is perfectly legible in the original. The engraving of individual letters is fairly good and rarely slipshod. The charter, however, was not revised and there are numerous examples of inadvertent omissions; cf. *tatā* for *tatāna* (l. 19), *-saṁkshōbhakshaṁ* for *-saṁkshōbha-dakshaṁ* (l. 20), *gad* for *jagad* and *vinda-rāja* for *Gōvinda-rāja* (l. 24), *Mālasādayaḥ* for *Mālavēśādayaḥ* (l. 29), etc. Even wrongly repeated letters or words are not crossed out; cf. *-karakaja* for *-karaja* (l. 7), *-parāchya-parāchya* for *-parāchya* (l. 31), etc.

The **characters** of the plates are Nāgarī and are similar to those found in the Talegāon plates of the donor's father[1] and the Paiṭhāṇ plates of his son.[2] The record contains no numerical figures; the stop *t* occurs a few times (*e.g.*, in lines 13, 56, 58, etc.), and is indicated by the normal form of the letter *ta* with a short horizontal line under it.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. There are, however, a number of *sandhi* mistakes like *bhūpatśuchi-* for *bhūpat-śuchi-* (l. 2), °*t-ariyō* for °*ch-chhāriyō* (l. 61). The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of it is in poetry with the exception of the opening letter *ōm*.

With respect to **orthography**, the following points may be noted. *V* is written throughout for *b*. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second member is usually, but not invariably, doubled. A nasal is preferably indicated by an *anusvāra* even when followed by a dental; even *m* at the end of the verse or half-verse is usually indicated by an *anusvāra*.

The genealogical verses in this charter are already known to us from other copper plates of the dynasty. The genealogy commences with **Gōvinda I**, his father Indra Prichchhakarāja and grandfather Dantivarman, who figure in some other records,[3] being passed over. As the charter was issued by **Dhruva**, a cousin of **Dantidurga**, within 25 years of the death of the latter, it naturally does not omit Dantidurga's name from the genealogy as is done in some other records.[4] Some of the later records of the dynasty[5] omit the name of Dantidurga and ascribe the overthrow of the Chālukyas to **Krishṇa I**. The present charter, which is issued by a son of Krishṇa I. himself, gives to Dantidurga alone the credit of overthrowing the Chālukyas. Probably neither of these statements is entirely correct. It is more probable that Krishṇa I. merely completed the work of his brilliant nephew Dantidurga. Documents like the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, which omitted the name of Dantidurga probably because he was a collateral, had no option but to ascribe the entire credit of the defeat of the Chālukyas to Krishṇa I. The real fact, however, was that the major portion of the work of annihilating the Chālukya prestige and power was done by Dantidurga; his uncle Krishṇa merely completed what his nephew had left unfinished.

The charter describes the specific exploits of Dantidurga in the usual way, but in the case of Krishṇa I. the description of his bravery is general, the overthrow of Rāhappa being the only

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.

[3] *E.g.* Daśāvatāra cave inscription, *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 87; Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha I, *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[4] *E.g.* Kāpaḍvanj grant of Krishṇa II, *ante*, Vol. I, pp. 52 ff.; Bagumrā plates of Indra III, *ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 24 ff.

[5] Wāṇī-Ḍiṇḍorī and Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157 ff., *ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 242 ff.; Kāpaḍvanj plates of Krishṇa II, etc.

specific feat mentioned. Rāhappa was apparently a powerful ruler, for we are told that Kṛishṇa could assume the imperial title only after defeating him. It is a great pity that we should still be unable to identify this potentate.[1]

Vv. 21 and 22 of this charter, describing the war between the grantor and his elder brother Gōvinda II, occur only in one other charter, viz., the Paiṭhāṇ plates of Gōvinda III.[2] Some important defects in the readings of v. 22 as given in that charter can be corrected with the help of the present grant. Dr. Kielhorn had restored with some hesitation the 2nd and 3rd *pādas* of this verse as follows:—

[bhrā]tar=ān[ita]-rasē vijitya ba[la]sā yatchātra-sāṁ bhūpa[te]ḥ (bhūpaṁ?)

prāchy-ōdīchya-(p)ratīchya-pūrga[3] *(parān=nṛpān=yān?) iha kara-Pāli-dhvaja[n=(bhā)]sitaṁ*

The last word in the second *pāda* of this verse in our charter is *bhūpatē* which has to be corrected into *bhūpatiṁ*.[4] Obviously *bhūpatiṁ* and neither *bhūpatēḥ* nor *bhūpaṁ* is the word intended by the poet. The line so read now shows that Dhruva first defeated his brother and then attacked his allies afterwards. Our charter further shows that the real reading of the third line is intended to be *prāchy-ōdīchya-parāchya-yāmya-vilasat-Pālidhvajair=bhāsitaṁ*. To judge from his emendation and translation, Kielhorn seems to have been inclined to construe the opening words of this line with the kings defeated by Dhruva. It is however clear from the above reading that the compound describes the Pālidhvaja. Dr. Pathak has pointed out on the authority of the *Ādi Purāṇa* of Jinasēna[5] that the Pālidhvaja consisted of four groups of 1,080 flags with particular signs arranged in the four quarters of the army. It can therefore be very fittingly described as glittering in the north and south and east and west as l. 3 of the present verse does in our charter.

When did the revolution take place which put Dhruva on the throne? This question cannot be answered very confidently as yet. So long the earliest reference to the war between the two brothers was found in the Daulatābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, issued in 793 A.D.[6] So we could only say that the war took place sometime before 793 A.D. and after 772 A.D., the latest known date for Kṛishṇa I.[7] The present charter, issued early in January 781 A.D., now contains the earliest reference to this war. So we can conclude that the war was over by the end of 780 A.D. when Dhruva had succeeded in establishing himself firmly on the throne.

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[1] For possible conjectures on this point see Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 42.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.

[3] Kielhorn's reading *pūrga* is not justified by his own facsimile, which shows clearly that the correct reading in that plate also is *yāmya*. The way in which the letters *rga* in *sā(r)ga* and *ryā* in *(v)īrya-...* are written in l. 6 of the Paiṭhāṇ plates will make it clear that we have to read *yāmya* and not *pūrga* there also.

[4] [This correction is not necessary. The correct reading of this *pāda* in the Paiṭhāṇ Plates is *chāturddhanta-* ..... *bhūpatēḥ* and the same reading is intended in the present grant also. The context shows that the term *chāturddhanta* which occurs also in the inscriptions of Vishṇukuṇḍin rulers and in the Khanāpur Plates of Pṛithvī-pāla (above, p. 90) has been used in the sense of *chaturaṅga-sēnā*. I cannot trace the word in this sense in Sanskrit lexicons but Mr. N. L. Rao draws my attention to its use in this sense in the Kanarese *Pampa-Bhārata*, a work of A.D. 941 by Pampa (Ch. XI, prose following verses 36 and 37), and *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa*, a Jaina work of about 1100 A.D. by Nāgachandra alias Abhinava Pampa (see Chs. IX, verse 12 and XIII, v. 90) and also in the following verse from an unpublished Kanarese inscription in the Bijapur Museum:— [illegible]. This verse may thus be translated as follows: 'When the Vallabha (i.e., Gōvinda II) did not make peace through conciliatory measures then, the great and mighty lord (*mahānā adhāaḥ*, i.e., Dhruva) forthwith defeated him in a battle in which the army consisted of the four divisions and, thereafter, obtained the entire sovereignty of the king, decorated with the emblems of *Pālidhvaja* glittering in the east, north, west and the south.' This interpretation would show that there is no reference to the defeat of the allies of Gōvinda II, in this verse as Prof. Altekar thinks.—Ed.]

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 104.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 193 ff.

[7] Supplied by the Bhāṇḍak plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

How much earlier he had ascended the throne is a question, the answer of which is beset with difficulties. The Piṁpari plates of Dhruva,[1] issued in 775 A.D., mention Dhruva as the reigning emperor, but in the Dhulia plates, issued in December 779 A.D.,[2] we find Gōvinda II described as the reigning emperor, and a son of Dhruva making a land grant apparently with the authority of Gōvinda II. Can we get over the resulting chronological discrepancy by holding that the Dhulia plates are spurious? Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently drawn attention to one very important circumstance tending to show almost conclusively that the Dhulia plates are spurious.[3] He points out that the composer of the Dhulia plates of Gōvinda II was well acquainted with the two verses beginning with *Tasy-ānujaḥ śrī-Dhruvarājanāmā* and *Jātē yatra cha Rāshṭrakūṭa-tilakē*, which describe Dhruva as the imperial ruler. He further points out that these verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when Dhruvarāja had become king. 'How could these verses', says he, 'which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone, find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor?'

Under normal circumstances, this argument would have been quite decisive to prove that the Dhulia plates are spurious. But there are certain special circumstances which materially affect its cogency. From the Dēōli and Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III we know that sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom and that entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.[4] It is clear from this that while Dhruva was ostensibly governing the kingdom as regent for his elder brother, he was secretly trying to strengthen his position as the *de facto* sovereign. One of the steps to be taken for this purpose would be to issue land grants in his own name as the reigning emperor, ignoring his elder brother altogether. The issue of the Piṁpari plates was a result of this policy of gradual and surreptitious usurpation. Since Dhruva was the *de facto* sovereign administering the kingdom for his brother, it is quite possible that not only the two verses beginning with *Tasy-ānujaḥ* and *Jātē yatra*, but all the verses in the Piṁpari plates describing the greatness of Dhruva as the emperor, could well have been composed by the court panegyrists of his faction as early as 775 A.D., when Gōvinda was only a sleeping emperor, facilitating the kingdom to slip into the hands of his brother, whom he had appointed regent.

Verse 11 of the Daulatābād plates states that Dhruva took over the administration entrusted to a stranger by his brother and assumed the royal authority in order that sovereignty may not deviate from the family. It would appear that Gōvinda soon saw through the game of Dhruva when *inter alia* he began to issue charters like the Piṁpari plates in his own name. He removed him from the headship of the administration and entrusted it to some one else, who did not belong to the Imperial family. For a time Gōvinda seems to have asserted himself, and v. 21 of our charter shows that Dhruva thought it prudent to follow a policy of conciliation for some time. Apparently he offered outward submission and he and his son were confirmed as local governors. The Dhulia plates were issued by a son of Dhruva in 779 A.D. at a time when he thought it prudent not to openly flout the authority of his brother. Hence they mention Gōvinda as the reigning emperor, but at the same time contain a verse in eulogy of Dhruva.

Though outwardly at peace, the brothers were heading to an inevitable war. From the Daulatābād plates (v. 11) we find that owing to his licentious habits Gōvinda's administration deteriorated and his feudatories rebelled against him. This offered a golden opportunity to Dhruva to rebel openly against his brother, ostensibly for the purpose, not of getting the throne for himself,

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, pp. 182 ff.

[3] Above, pp. 182 f. I am indebted to Prof. Bhandarkar for kindly placing at my disposal a copy of the first proof of his paper.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 192, v. 10; Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 11.

but of retaining the empire for the family. Gōvinda made an alliance with the kings of Mālava, Kāñchi, Vēṅgi and Gaṅgavāḍi. Dhruva was however a skilful general; l. 2 of v. 22 of our charter shows that he first defeated Gōvinda before the latter could get help from his allies and then attacked and drove them out. The decisive battles of this war were very probably fought in the year 780 A.D. In 779 A.D. Dhruva was still recognising the sovereignty of Gōvinda as the Dhulia plates show. Before the beginning of January 781 A.D. he had defeated both his brother and the latter's allies as the present charter shows.[1]

We have seen already how the occurrence of the verse *Tasy-ānujaḥ* in the Dhulia charter is not sufficient to pronounce it as spurious. It is no doubt carelessly written, but that circumstance alone is not sufficient to call it spurious, as pointed out by the late R. B. Venkayya, the then editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*.[2] It is further to be noted that *Makarasaṅkrānti* did take place on the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Paushа of Śaka Saṁvat 701 expired, as the Dhulia charter asserts.[3] Forged grants are rarely correct in the astronomical details of their dates. Further, if the donee of the Dhulia plates had set out to get a forged charter, investing him with the ownership of the village Rakkhula, he would naturally have seen to it that the donor mentioned was a well-known king like Dhruva or Gōvinda III rather than an obscure prince like Karkka Pratāpaśīla, who never ascended the throne. As it is, we do not know the name of this son of Dhruva from any other source.[4]

If we assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious and that Dhruva had ousted his brother as early as 775 A.D. (when the Pimpari plates were issued), the reign of Gōvinda will be of not more than three years. Nay, it may be even shorter, for his father Kṛishṇa I may well have ruled for some months after June 772 A.D., when the Bhāṇḍak plates were issued. Now during this short period of three years we shall have to assume that :—

1. Kṛishṇa I ruled for some weeks or months, and then died.
2. Gōvinda II ascended the throne peacefully and himself governed for some time, during which period he defeated a king named Pārijāta and relieved (or perhaps devastated) the city or province of Gōvardhana[5] (Daulatābād plates, v. 10).
3. He then appointed Dhruva as his regent who soon began to intrigue secretly against his brother (Karhāḍ plates, v. 10).
4. Gōvinda then detected his brother's ambition and removed him from the headship of the administration, entrusting it to a stranger (Daulatābād plates, v. 11).
5. Dhruva then submitted for some time to his brother, seeking to win him over by peaceful means (vv. 21-2 of this charter).
6. Gōvinda spurned aside these overtures and formed a confederacy with the kings of Vēṅgi, Kāñchi, Mālava, and Gaṅgavāḍi.

[1] [But see p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]

[2] *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 82, n. 1.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 183, n. 2.

[4] [The dates given in spurious records need not always be incorrect. But there are other considerations for declaring a record spurious (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 202 f.). In the case of the Dhulia plates, there is, first of all, the chronological difficulty; secondly, the name of the donor, *viz.*, Karka Pratāpaśīla referred to as the son of Dhruva has not yet been verified from any other source; thirdly, the characters of the plates are indifferently formed and at least a few of them have forms which we find in the records of a later period. For example, the letters *ja*, *tha*, *ṇa*, etc., do not resemble those found in the grants of Dhruva or even Gōvinda III while they are similar to those occurring in the records of Amōghavarsha (Sanjān plates, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.) or Krishṇa III (Deoli plates, above, Vol. V, pp. 192 ff.). All these points taken together with those already mentioned by Pathak and Bhandarkar, give rise to a suspicion about the genuineness of the Dhulia plates in spite of the arguments adduced by Prof. Altekar in favour of their genuineness.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 194 and note 1.

7. The two brothers then openly fought with each other, and Dhruva got the throne after defeating his brother (vv. 21-2 of the present charter).

I think that three years is too short a period for these events to take place.[1] And yet we shall have to suppose that they did take place during that short period if we are to assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious, and that Dhruva was already a full-fledged king, when the Pimpari plates were issued in 775 A.D. I have alredy shown how there is yet no satisfactory evidence to show that the Dhulia plates are spurious. We shall have therefore to conclude that (1) the Pimpari plates were issued by Dhruva when he was only a *de facto* and not a *de jure* emperor; (2) that he was later removed from the headship of administration when Gōvinda detected his treachery; (3) that he then tried to win over his brother by conciliation, Dhulia plates being issued at a time when he thought it impolitic to openly flout the authority of his brother; (4) that no amicable settlement could be arrived at between the two brothers; and Gōvinda formed a confederacy against his brother which the latter defeated completely during the year 780 A.D.; (5) that Dhruva became a *de jure* emperor only towards the close of 780 A.D., our present charter being the first one known so far, to be issued by him as a *de jure* emperor.

The donee of this charter is **Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa** who was the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, and was famous for his proficiency in the interpretation of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas (*sāṅg-ōpāṅga-vēd-ārtha-tattva-vidushē*). The present charter would show that Karhāḍa, which is the same as Karāḍ in Satārā district, was a centre of scholarship where Vedic exegesis was also given attention to. Karāḍ was undoubtedly a famous centre of education in the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, for we find many of the donees of Rāshṭrakūṭa grants hailing from that town. This, for instance, is the case with the donees of the Sāmangaḍ plates of Dantidurga,[2] the present grant of Dhruva and the Sanjān charter of Amōghavarsha I.[3]

The village granted to Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa by this charter was **Laghuviṅga**, bounded on the north, east, south and west by the **Nīrā river**, **Śrīmāla town**, **Layaṇa-giri** and **Bṛihad-Viṅga** respectively. Laghu-Viṅga is further stated to be situated in **Śrīmāla**-*vishaya*. **Śrīmāla** is obviously the same as Shirvaḷ, a large village in Bhor state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona-Satara road. **Laghu-Viṅga** village seems to be either the same or a portion of the village Viṅga, about 3 miles to the west of Shirvaḷ. From the information kindly supplied to me by the Bhor government, and by Mr. R. S. Phadnis of Bhor, I find that Viṅga is bounded on the north, east, south and west by the Nīrā river, Shirvaḷ village, Nēṇāḍī hill and Vaḍagaon respectively. The northern and eastern boundaries of Viṅga are identical with those of Laghu-Viṅga; Nēṇāḍī hill also is clearly the same as **Layaṇa-giri**, the present name being the vernacular form of Layaṇādri. The eastern slope of Nēṇāḍī hill has several caves of the Buddhist type, majority, however, being now in a dilapidated condition. One of them still possesses a stūpa, about 12 feet in height. The caves are obviously earlier than our charter and were clearly the cause of the name which the hill bore in the 8th century. To the west of modern Viṅga is the village Vaḍagaon. It is quite possible that this Vaḍagaon is **Bṛihad-Viṅga** of our charter. The derivation of the name Vaḍagaon, a popular village name in Mahārāshṭra, from the presence of a Vaṭa tree in the village, is due to popular etymology. It would appear that Bṛihad-Viṅga in course of time came to be known simply as Bṛihad-grāma in contradistinction to Laghu-Viṅga and was later changed into Vaḍagaon.

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[1] [The events occurring during this period have also been discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar where he has given a different explanation (see above, pp. 163 f.).—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 111 ff.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

TEXT.

[Metres: *Anushṭubh*, vv. 1, 26-7, 29, 31; *Vasantatilakā*, vv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 15; *Upajāti*, vv. 4, 19; *Gīti*, v. 7; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 10, 17, 20, 21, 22; *Āryā*, vv. 11-14, 23, 25; *Sragdharā*, vv. 16, 18; *Indravajrā*, 24, 28, 30; *Pushpitāgrā*, v. 32.]

First Plate.

1 ओं [।*] स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम य(यन्)नाभिकमलं कृतं(तम्) [।*] हरश्च यस्य का(कां)तेंदुकलया कमलंकृतं(तम्) ।[। १॥*] आसीद्वि(द्वि)ष-

2 त्ति(त्ति)मिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्व(ध्व)स्तिं नयंन(यन्न)भिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [।*] भूप-ष(पश्)चिर्व्विधुरिवास्त(स्त)दिगंतकीर्त्ति-

3 र्गोविंदराज इति राजसु राजसिंह(हः) [॥ २॥*] दृष्ट्वा चमून(म)भिमुखीं सुभटाट(टाट्ट)हासामुना(न्ना)मितं सपदि येन रणे-

4 षु नित्यं [।*] दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलंच हृदयंच निजंच स(स)त्वं(त्त्वम्) ।[। ३॥*] खड्गं करा(रा)ग्रमुखत-

5 श्च शोभा मानो मनसश्च(श्च)समं च यस्य [।*] महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ।[। ४॥*] स-

6 न्ता(न्त)न्यजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारि हरिविक्रम[धाम*]धारी [।*] भूपस्त्रि-विष्टपनृ(नृपा)नुकृति(तिः) कृत-

7 ज्ञः श्रीकर्क्कराज इति गोत्रमणि(र्ब)भूव ।[। ५॥*] तस्मो(स्मा) प्राभिन(प्रभिन्न)-करटं(करट)च्यु(च्यु)तदानि(न)दंतिदं(न्ति)तप्रहाररुचि-

8 रोल्लि(ल्लि)खितंस(तांस)पीठ[: ।*] क्ष्माप[:*] क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत(त्)नूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूट-कनकाद्रि(द्रि)रिंद्रराज[:॥ ६॥*]

9 तस्योपार्ज्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्या[: ।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीद(दं)-

10 तिदुर्ग्गराजोभूत् [॥ ७॥*] काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोल(ल)पा(पाण्ड्य)श्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेद-विधानदक्ष(क्षम्) [।*] कर्ण्णाटकं ब(ब)लमचिंत्यम-

11 जेयमंन्ये(मन्यै)र्भ(र्भृ)त्यै(त्यैः) कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय:(य) [॥ ८॥*] षा(आ)भ्रूविभंगमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रं(स्त्र)मश्रांतमप्रतिह-

12 ताज्ञमपेतयत्नं(त्नम्) [।*] यो वल्ल(ल्ल)भं स(स)पदि दण्ड[ब*]लेन जित्वा राजाधिराजप[र*]मेश्वरतामवाप ॥[९ ॥*] आ सेतोर्व्विपुलो-

[1] The anusvāra mark being shallow has not come out in the ink impression.

[2] There is a natural depression here on the plate surface which looks like an anusvāra mark.

[3] There is a natural depression after *la* which looks like a *va*.

[4] The anusvāra over ṛ is shifted to the right of the letter owing to its proper space being taken by the letter र्व above it.

BHOR MUSEUM COPPER PLATES OF DHRUVA DHARAVARSHA.

i.

iia.

iib.

iii.

13 पञ्चायवजितक्र[मो*]वोन्द्विमतावत्तादाष्मातिसकर्ल्लाकितामर्व्वरिणलाजालाजुपाराचक्रात् [।*] स्था पूर्व्वाय-

14 रवारिराशिपुलिना(न)न्तांतमविधा(धा)वर्यैर्नैव जगति(ती) स्व(स्व)विक्रमव(व)शेनैकात-पत्रीकृतं(ता) [॥ १०॥*] तस्मिंदि(स्मिन्दि)-

15 वं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजाबाधा(बा)धः [।*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृष्णरा-जोभूत् ॥[। ११*] यस्य

Second Plate ; First Side.

16 स्वभुजपराक्रमनिशे(शे)षोत्सा(त्सा)दितारिदिक्चक्रं¹ [।*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्री(श्री)कृष्णराजस्य ॥[१२॥*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्र-

17 वृद्धरेणु(णू)र्द्ध(र्द्ध्व)रुद्ध(द्ध)रविकिरणं(णम्) [।*] ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं प्रावृट्-कालायते स्पष्ट(ष्टम्) ॥[१३॥*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं स-

18 मीहितमजस्र(स्रम्) [।*] तत्क्षणमकालवर्षं(र्षं) वर्षति सर्व्वार्तिनिर्व्वापणं(णम्) [॥ १४॥*] राहप्पमात्मभुजजातब(ब)लावलेपमाजौ विजि-

19 त्य निशितासि(सि)लताप्रहा(हा)रैः [।*] पालिध्व(ध्व)जावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां तता[न ॥१५॥*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-

20 ड्गप्र(प्र)सृतरुचिचयैः(यैः)र्भासमानं समन्तादाजावु(बु)द्धृत(त्त)वैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षो-[भ*]दक्षं(क्षम्) [।*] शौर्य्यं त्यक्ता(क्त्वा)रिव-

21 र्गो भयचकित[व*]पु[:*] क्वापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्य(द्यो) दर्प्पाध्मातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दोर्द्दण्डरु(रू)पं(पम्) [॥१६॥*] पाता यश्चतु-

22 र[म्बु*]राशिरशनालङ्कारभाजो भुवस्त्रय(स्त्रय्या)श्चापि कृता(त)द्विजामरगुरु:(रु)प्रा-ज्याज्यपूजादरो(रः) [।*] दाता मानभृदग्रणीर्ग्गुणव-

23 तां योसौ श्रि(श्रि)यो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं जगामामरं-(रम्) [॥१७॥*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरवि-

24 करव्रातताप(पा)त्सलीलं [ज*]ग्मे नासी(सी)रधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः सदाजौ ॥(।) स श्री[गो*]विन्दराजो जितजग-

25 दहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतु:(तु)स्तस्यासी[त्*] सूनुरेक: क्षणरणदलितारातिम(म)त्तेभकुम्भः [॥ १८॥*] तस्यानुज[:*] श्रीध्रुव-

26 राजनामा महानुभावोप्रहतप्रताप[: ।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्र(क्रः) क्रमेण बा(बा)-लार्कवपु(पु)र्ब्ब(र्ब)भूव [॥ १९॥*] जा(जा)ते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटति-

27 लके सद्भूपचूडामणौ गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं(हम्) [।*] सत(त्)यं स(स)त्यमिति प्रशा(शा)सति स-

¹ The anusvāra mark being shallow has not come out in the ink impression.

28 ति क्षमामात्र(च)सुदांतिकामामोघ(व)र्षवर्षे गुणान्वितनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्टि(ष्ठि)ते [॥ २०॥*] श्रीवाग्वीपतिसांगवे(वे)गिकुला

29 ये मान[वे*]मादय: प्राप्यानानयति स्म तां(तान्) चितिभृतो य: प्रतिराज्यान्ति(पि)¹ [।*] माविक्याभरणानि हिमनिचयं

30 यस्य प्रपद्योपरि वं(र्व) येन प्रति तं तथापि न कृतं चेतोन्यथा भ्रान्त-वं(रम्) ॥[२१॥*] सामाद्यैरपि वल्लभो न हि यदा सं[धिं*] स्म-

31 यातं तदा(त्तं तदा) चा(भ्रा)तुदंत(न्त)रपि विजित्य तरसा प्रयात(न्त)तो भूप-तै²(तीन्) [।*] प्राचीदीच्यपराच्यपराच्य³याम्यविन्न(त्त)मत्याविच्छन्नी-

32 भूंपितं चिह्नैर्य: परमेश्वरत्वमखिलं तेने मद्रेन्द्रो⁴(न्द्रो) विभु: [॥२२॥*) प्रचयदक-करनिकरनिभं यस्य यश: सुरन-

Second Plate; Second Side.

33 गाययमानुखै[: ।*] परिगीयतेनुरक्तैर्विद्याधरसुं⁵दरो[नि*]वहै[: ॥२३॥*] श्रद्धोन्वयं वोर्विजनाय सर्व्वं सर्व्वस्वमानंदितव(व)-

34 न्धुवर्गं[: ।*] प्रादात्प्रकृष्टो वरति स्म वेग(गात्) प्राणा[न्*] यमस्याचि(पि) नितान्तविर्य-(वीर्य:) [॥ २४॥*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच(च्च)ञ्चलमव-

35 लोक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्) [।*] चितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्त्तितो व्र(व्र)ह्मदायोयं(यम्) [॥२५॥*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-

36 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीमद(द्)अकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक-

37 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीधारावर्षश्रीप्रभूतवर्षराजनाम[।*] श्रीनिरुपमदेव[:*] कुशली सर्व्वा-नेव य-

38 था[सं*]व(ब)ध्यमानकां(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तका(क)नियुक्तकाधिकारिक-महत्तरादी[न्*] समा-

39 दिशत्यस्तु व: संविदितं यथा श्रीनीरानदीसंगमसमावासितेन मया मातापित्रो-रात्मन⁶श्चैहिका-

40 मुष्मि(मि)कपुण्ययशोभिवृध(ब)ये करवाडवास्तव्यतचातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यगार्ग्यसगोत्रव(ब)-

¹ The reading in the Paithân plates of Gôvinda III is °मपि.

² The reading in the Paithân plates of Gôvinda III is नृपान्: ; The present reading is the better one. [But see above, p. 170, n. 4.—Ed.]

³ पराच्य is wrongly repeated.

⁴ The reading of this letter is doubtful. The conjunct letter looks like न्द्रो in the original. The Paithân plates reading is मयात्री. [The correct reading in both the grants seems to be मालवेन्द्रो.—Ed.]

⁵ Anusvâra mark has not come out here in the ink impression.

⁶ Subscript न is only partly visible. The hole of the ring has cut its lower portion.

41 श्रुह्च(श्रुच)सत्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणे दुम्म(र्म)भटपुत्राय सांगोपांगवेदार्थतत्वविदुषे वासुदेवभट्टा-

42 य चौमा[1]नविषयांतर्म्मतलसुवि(वि)गनामा ग्रामः तस्य चाघाट(ट)नानि [।*] पूर्व्वतः चौंमालयलन(तन) इ-

43 चिणत(तो) नदयाभिति[:*] पश्चिमतः ड(डु)इविंगकग्रामः उत्तरतः नीरा नाम नदी [।*] एवमयं चतुराघा-

44 टनोपलचितो ग्राम[:*] सोद्रंग[:*] स(सो)परी(रि)करस(स्स)दण्डदशापराधस(स्स)भू-तोपा(त्वा)तप्रत्यायसो(स्सो)त्पद्यमा-

45 नविष्टिक[:*] सधान्यहिर[2](र)ण्या(ण्या)देयो च(चो)चाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणी-

46 य आचंद्रार्क्काण्णवचितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन[:*] पु(पु)त्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य(ग्यः) पूर्व्वप्रत्तदे-

47 वब्रा(ब्र)ह्मदायरहितोभ्यंतरसिध्या(द्ध्या) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरश(श)-

48 तेषु सप्तसु षड्दशाधिकेषु सिद्धाय(र्थ)नाम्नि संवत्सरे माघसितदशमम्यां म-

Third Plate.

49 हापर्व्वणि ब(ब)लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपंचमहायज्ञक्रियो[3]त्सर्पणार्थ(र्थं) मात्पापो-दकातिसर्गेण

50 प्रतिपादितो(तः) [।*] यतोस्यो [4]चितया ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयत[:*] कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कै-

51 श्चिदल्पापि परिपंथना कार्या [।*] तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैर(र)न्यैर्व्वा सा(सा)-मान्यं भूमिदानफल-

52 मवेत्य विद्युलो(लो)लान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि [5]तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिं(बिं)दुचंचलंच जीवितमाकल-य(य्य) स्वदायनि-

53 र्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दा(द्दा)योनुमंतव्यः प्रतिपाल(लयि)तव्यश्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-वृ[6]तमतिराचि(च्छि)द्या-

54 दाच्छिद्यमानकं[7] वानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैश्चो(श्चो)पपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्या[द्*] इत्युक्तं च[8] भगव-

[1] A natural depression on the plate surface here looks like an anusvāra.

[2] Anusvāra, though clear on the plate has not come out in the impression.

[3] Read [illegible]-.

[4] This ह is superfluous after the preceding sandhi.

[5] This letter looks like [illegible], but it is due to the slipping of the instrument to the right of [illegible].

[6] The letter [illegible] is damaged.

[7] क is damaged.

[8] Read [illegible].

55 ता वेदव्यासेन [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद[ः ।*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्ये(न्ये)व नर-

56 [1]रके वसेत् [॥२६॥*] विंध्याटवीष्व(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन[ः ।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदानं ह-

57 रंति ये [॥२७॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [।*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवे-

58 द्धि(द्धि) दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महि(ही)च दद्यात् [॥२८॥*] ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभि[ः ।*] यस्य य-

59 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥२९॥*] यानीह दता(त्ता)नि पुरा नरे(रें)द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्मा-

60 ल्यवांतिप्रति[मानि*] तानि को नाम साधु[ः*] पुनराददीत [॥३०॥*] स्वदतां(त्तां) परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [।*] [महीं*] मही-

61 भता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे(च्छ्रे)योनुपा(पा)लनं(नम्) ॥[३१॥*] इति कमलदलांबु(म्बु)-बिं(बिं)दुलोलां श्रि(श्रि)यमनुचिं(चिं)त्य मनुष्यजीवि-

62 तं च [।*] अतिविमल[म*]नोभिरात्मनीनैर्न्न(र्न) हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः [॥३२॥*] श्रीमाग-

63 [ध]राणकट्टलकं लिखितं जोगीडसुतेन श्रीसावं(म)तेन ॥

B

THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF KHAMBHA II ; SAKA 1001.

The plates are three in number. The serial number of each plate in the set is engraved near the ring hole, a little away from the lines of the main record. The size of the plates, which is fairly uniform, is 7·6" × 4·2" and the thickness about $\frac{1}{16}$". The edges have not been raised into rims. The plates were originally strung together by means of a ring passing through holes, about ·5" in diameter, perforated at the centre of the left side, about ·5" from the edge. The ends of the ring are soldered together by means of a seal which is bell-shaped, being 1" in height and 1·2" in diameter. On the seal is superimposed the figure of a lion in the round crudely executed. The seal bears no inscription. At a subsequent unknown date the ring had been cut, but the seal and soldering are still intact. The weight of the plates along with the seal and the ring is 123 *tolas*; the weight of the plates alone is 100 *tolas*.

The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first and the last plates and on both the sides of the second. The engraving is throughout by the same hand. Each side has 11 lines of writing with the exception of the first side of the second plate, which has only 10. The last lines of the second side of the second plate and of the third plate are only about half of the normal length. The first line of the record has 33 letters including the four numerals; probably, discovering by computation that the space at his disposal permitted a greater spacing of letters, the mason went on gradually reducing the number of letters per line; from l. 9 onwards we have on an average

[1] This is superfluous.

only 22 letters per line. The last full line has however 31 letters; this was obviously done with a view to avoid the use of the outer side of the third plate.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation and the engraving of individual letters is fairly good. Only in a few cases can we detect carelessness, as for instance, in the case of *dhā* in *pancha-pradhāna*, l. 15; *t* in *bel-dali*, l. 17 and the omission of two letters in v. 4.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī. Only a few letters like *i*, *ś*, *pa*, *da*, *dha*, and *śrī*, differ from modern characters. The following **palæographical** points deserve notice: (1) *Pṛishṭhamātrās* occur in the case of medial *e* and *ai*; cf. *pauruṣeṇa* l. 2, *sairi* l. 6, *Tailappa* ll. 19, 20, etc. In the case of medial *ō*, the *pṛishṭhamātrā* occurs only in a few cases; cf. *rōō* l. 9, *yōno* l. 21, *Khambhējan* l. 27; in the majority of cases a slanting line to the left going upwards is used to denote it. (2) The form of *s* in *Sasrasaha* l. 11 is obviously due to the slipping of the instrument. (3) The medial *ā* is denoted by a loop open to the right, which is very much similar to the loop used to denote the medial *ṛi*; cf. *sūnuḥ* l. 29, *pūrvam* l. 26, with *śrīya* l. 1 and *vṛiddhi* l. 6. (4) The plates show two forms of *ka*, the unusual cursive one is to be seen certainly in *siddha* l. 15, and possibly in *siddha* (?) l. 8. The **numerical figures** for 1 and 0 occur in the record itself and those of 1, 2, and 3 on its margin.

The following points deserve mention in connection with the **orthography**: (1) *V* is written throughout for *b*. (2) *Sa* is throughout written for *ś*. This is the case even in conjunct letters like *śva* (ll. 3, 5, etc.), the only exceptions among the conjuncts being the letters *śri* (ll. 14, 16) and *ścha* (l. 4). (3) In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second letter is doubled only in a few cases; cf. *pūrvva* l. 2, *-samyyuḥ* l. 21, *sarvvān* l. 31. A nasal is preferably denoted by an *anusvāra* including even *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse; the cases where it is denoted by the nasal of the class of the following letter, as in *maṇḍamaṇḍita* and *yaṇḍanā* l. 4, *Vinga* ll. 6 and 7, are few. (5) There are no punctuation marks at the end of prose sentences except in one case where we have two vertical strokes (l. 15). (6) Verses are not numbered and their punctuation is very irregular. All such irregularities have been noticed in footnotes, added to the text.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. Prākrit terms are however used in ll. 8 and 9 where taxes are enumerated. Case-endings of the names of ministers and their epithets are also in Prākrit, cf. *mahantu*, *purohita*, *pradhāna*, l. 13 and *amātya*, l. 14. The rules of *sandhi* have often been ignored especially in the portion having Prākrit endings. In the metrical portion the language is fairly correct, but not a single line of the prose portion is without syntactical anomalies. It is clear that the draftsman did not at all know how to write correct Sanskrit. The opening clause giving the date is awkward in construction and ungrammatical. In the sentence following, the writer intended apparently to have at the beginning a clause in the locative absolute like *Khambha-dēva-rājyē abhivardhamānē*, but he wrongly put all the adjectives of Khambha-dēva in the accusative case, perhaps under the wrong notion that these were meant to qualify *rājyam* in l. 6. The next sentence (ll. 7-10) is indeed unique in having neither the subject nor the predicate. Then follows a long sentence (ll. 11-15) giving the names of the five ministers of the donor. Here we have such a plethora of epithets used in connection with these dignitaries that it becomes very difficult to discover the real names of the five ministers. In the concluding portion of the charter the word governed by *dattam* has no case-ending at all. Most of these mistakes are apparently the mistakes of the draftsman and not of the engraver.

The form of this charter is rather unique and calls for notice. Usually the copper-plates first give the genealogy of the donor, then mention his name along with the names of his officers, then describe the donee and the object granted, and end by quoting the imprecatory verses. In this charter after the mention of the date, we have the description of the donor followed by the

description of the grant. Then come the names of the five ministers of the donor followed by his own genealogy. Then come imprecatory verses, and at the fag-end of the charter we have the donees' names added like an after-thought.

The **date** of the charter is given at the beginning both in words and numerals. It was issued in **the Śaka year 1001** (elapsed), **named Siddhārtha, on the full-moon day of the month of Jyēshṭha which fell on a Saturday.** The corresponding date according to the Christian era is Saturday the 18th of May 1079.

The **donor** of the present charter is so far unknown to us from any other record or reference. He belonged to a **feudatory Chālukya family**, ruling at **Śrīvalaya** or modern Shirvaḷ, a large village in Bhor state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona-Satara road. The name of this ruler was **Khambha**, that of his father **Tailappa**, and of his grandfather **Khambha** again. It is clear that the family was ruling at Shirvaḷ for three generations only. No specific exploit is attributed to any of the members of this family in the genealogical description, which, as usual, speaks of their defeating the enemies, breaking the temples of elephants in the enemy phalanx, and winning fame pervading the three worlds. These rulers do not seem to have been of any consequence in the politics of the age. They were probably relatives of the Imperial Chālukya family ruling at Kalyāṇī and were allowed to hold the territory round Shirvaḷ in the feudatory capacity. The name of the donor's father Tailappa and his surname Chālukya would support this conjecture.

Ll. 11-15 give the names of the **five ministers** who were holding office when the grant was given in 1079 A.D. The plethora of epithets here renders the task of giving their personal names rather difficult; but probably they were *Kumāra* **Jēsiṅgha**, the prime minister, **Chāchu** the *Sāmanta* or the revenue minister, **Kōntali** *Ṭhākura* the *Amātya* or the counsellor, **Sōmanāthaiyā**, the minister to the Queen **Siriyādēvī** (*i.e.*, Śrīdēvī), daughter of King Muñja, and **Lalādaranāyaka**, the minister to Queen **Mahalādēvī**.[1] It would appear that the Queens Śrīdēvī and Mahalādēvī were taking active part in the administration of the little kingdom of Shirvaḷ. It may be pointed out that this was quite in consonance with the tradition of the Chālukya family to which the donor belonged. We have several other instances of Chālukya kings entrusting important administrative offices to their queens. Thus Akkādēvī, the elder sister of Jayasiṁha III was the governor of Kisukāḍ seventy at least from 1022 to 1053 A.D.[2] Mailaladēvī, one of the queens of Sōmēśvara I, was holding the important post of the governor of Banavāsi twelve-thousand in 1054 A.D. Lakshmādēvī,[3] the favourite queen of Vikramāditya VI, held several important posts in the administration including the governorship of the capital.[4]

Queen Siriyādēvī is described as Muñjēya-mahārāṇī. The expression Muñjēya would suggest that she belonged to Muñja town or country, or was the daughter of king Muñja. The latter seems to have been the case. The Tiḍguṇḍi inscription of Vikramāditya VI,[5] dated 1082 A.D., refers to a Sinda feudatory of his, named Muñja, ruling in the vicinity of Bijāpur. He was thus a

[1] [*Pañcha-pradhāna* here, I think, should not be taken in the literal sense of the term. Probably it has been used in the context in the general sense of a 'royal council.' In this case the names and offices of the members constituting the council may have been as follows: (1) Jēsiṅgha or Jayasiṁha, the chief minister, (2) *Jōkhambha* or Jayastambha, a *sāhaṇi*, (3) Chāchu, also a *sāhaṇi*, (4) Kōtali or Kōntali, the *sāmanta*, (5) Māmala, a *ṭhākura*, (6) Āmaiya, the *gavuṇḍa* (commander of the army), (7) Siddhanna, the minister, (8) Muñjēya, the *pradhāna*, (9) Sōmanāthaiyā, the minister of the chief queen Siriyādēvī or Śrīdēvī and (10) Valaiyā (?), the chief *daṇḍanāyaka* and attached to the queen Mahalādēvī.—Ed.]

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 435.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 445.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

contemporary of Khambha II, the grantor of this charter. The latter could therefore well have married a daughter of the former.[1]

The village granted in this charter is **Viṅga** which is described as a *mahā-sthāna* or holy place. This is clearly the same village which was given 300 years before by Dhruva Dhārāvarsha to Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Karāḍ, as we know from the charter **A** above. Line 27 shows that king Khambha only renewed the grant. Verse 5 naively observes that the village Viṅga had been given to Brāhmaṇas as early as the time of Rāma. We may presume from this that since the time of Dhruva the village was not resumed by any of the succeeding rulers and figured as a *brahmadēya* village on the revenue records of successive governments.

Though the village continued to be a *brahmadēya* village, its ownership did not remain in the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, the original donee. Curiously enough the names of the donees do not occur at all in that portion of the grant which describes the donation. The mistake is rectified by adding a postscript to the inscription which comes at the end of the imprecatory verses. The syntax of this important sentence is not free from doubt. It reads as follows: *Śrī-Kumbhadēva-bhaṭṭa-Gaṅgala-dēvēna(dēva)-pramukha-Viṅga-mahāsthāna-sarvanamasya-bhūmayaṁ Khambha-rājēna dattam.* It is clear that we have to emend *pramukha* into *pramukhēbhyaḥ* and that Kumbhadēva and Gaṅgaladēva received the charter as the leading personages among the donees. In other words, they did not receive the grant for themselves, but as representatives obviously of the Brāhmaṇa community of Viṅga. Viṅga is described in the record as a *mahā-sthāna* or holy place and seems to have been the seat of a learned Brāhmaṇa settlement. King Khambha therefore might have granted the charter to the whole Brāhmaṇa settlement of the place. What then about the rights of the descendants of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa? The village Viṅga is situated about 70 miles from Karāḍ and one has to pass through the difficult Khaṇḍāḷā pass before one can reach it from the Karāḍ side. In the old days when communications were rather difficult, Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa and his descendants must have found it difficult to manage their Viṅga property from Karāḍ. They may have, therefore, sold it to the Brāhmaṇa community of Viṅga, who in turn may have induced the government of the day to make it tax-free.[2]

The present charter transfers to the donees the village revenues along with the right to receive some customary perquisites probably from the village artisans. The precise nature of the latter cannot be made out owing to the difficulty of interpreting the terms used for the purpose in ll. 9 and 9.

TEXT[3].

[Metres :—*Indravajrā*, vv. 5, 6; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v. 4; *Anushṭubh*, vv. 9, 10; *Śālinī*, v. 12; *Upajāti*, vv. 1, 2, 3, 11; *Rathōddhatā*, vv. 7, 8.]

First Plate.

1 ओं[4] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीम(श)[5]क एकोत्तरसहस्र संवतोपि १००१ नृपकालातीतसि-
द्धार्थसंवत्स-

[1] [If my interpretation (see p. 188 n. 1) is correct, Mahājya would only be the name of the pradhāna and would have no connection with the queen Sryādēvī and consequently with the Sinda chief Muñja of Sūjapur.—Ed.]

[2] [As the inscription does not give any particulars of the donees it is difficult to come to any such conclusion definitely. It may not be impossible that they belonged to the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, the original donee, and there being a change in the ruling dynasty Khambha renewed the charter to them. Or this may be a fresh charter issued by the king to people not connected with the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa for reasons not known.—Ed.]

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] The construction of the sentence should have been शकनृपकालातीत एकोत्तरसहस्रे.

2 रां तमेतस्यैतपौत्त्रंमास्या म(ग)मिदिमि भवो(द्वो)तस्मिन्नाले समधिगतप(पं)-
3 चमहास(श)ब्द(ब्द)महामण्डलेश्व(श्व)रं[1] [2]किरिवजयपुरवराधीश्व(श्व)रं चालु-
4 क्यकुलकमलमार्त्तण्डं वैरिदमगण्डं धर्मावतारं पु(प्र)चिंड्रग-
5 णावतारं समस्तराजावलीविराजमानमहामण्डलेश्व(श्व)रपौत्रं-
6 मदेवराजविजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्द्धमाने कि-
7 ड्डमहाख्यानं वल्लोदकपु(पू)र्व्वकं समस्तदण्डदोष-
8 वर्जितं धर्माविवंत्र(व)धे(र्थ) सर्व्वबाधापरिहृतपे-
9 परिलपुरजातेन(ना)[3]दिमाड्रलो(नि)कबालबदेवे पच-
10 मादिसमस्त[4] आचंद्रार्कप्रतिपालनीय[5] [।*] अगुंचितपुर्वि[6] ग-
11 त्रदर्म(र्ग)मे [।*] एतस्मिन् काले कुमारविजिय[7] अमात्यकेसरि-

Second Plate; First Side.

12 भाष्ठबोविवंसमारायणीचामुडामंत्र(त्र)कोन[8] किठाकुरमा-
13 मनुपरव(व)नुपालैयबमात्यसिवसुप्रधानुमुंडैयमताग-
14 वो(वो)वीसिरियादित्य(त्या) अमात्य सोमनाथैया रागीमाडलादेव्य(व्या)
15 लैयादरनायकसिंह[9] एते पंचप्रधा[10]ना: ॥ चालुक्यवंशि(शी) वि-
16 तते पृथिव्यां कल्या(ता)कुवीर्य्योर्जितराजम(श)ब्द:(ब्द:) ।[।] देसे(शे) पुरा यो-
17 वनगाभिधाने खंगाभिधानो नृपति: किलासीत्(त्) [॥ १॥*]
18 अरिंदम: पालयिता प्रजानां धर्म्मेण साक्षादिव ध-
19 र्म्मराज: । गुणै: प्रजारंजनतत्परोभूत्तैलप-
20 राज: किल तस्य पुत्र: ।[। २॥*] तैलपसूनु: पुनरेव खंभ:
21 प्रतापसंतापितस(श)त्रुवर्ग्ग: [।*] अनेकसो(शो) येन रणे रिपु(पू)-

Second Plate; Second Side.

22 नामानर्तितानीव कव(ब)न्धकानि ।[। ३॥*] मु(मू)र्त्तोपास्तसमस्तनीतनम-

[1] For the syntax of this sentence see the introduction.

[2] There is a depression on the plate surface here which looks like an anusvāra.

[3] The constituent words in this big compound are difficult to separate or interpret.

[4] There is a sudden break here. The expression should have been [illegible].

[5] Here should have come a verb like ददाति.

[6] Read [illegible].

[7] In this sentence, sandhi rules have been disregarded.

[8] What looks here like an anusvāra over ग is really a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

[9] [The reading is daṇḍanāyaka-siṁha. The preceding portion should probably be corrected as [illegible]; see p. 185 n. 1.—Ed.]

[10] There is a superfluous vertical line after the letter dhā.

23 न: कांदर्पदर्पमथुरत्नेश:पुंजमियोजित[1]जगद्दीपप्रमामण्ड-
24 ल: । खड्गाग्र(ग्र)भिन्नवैरिवारणघटाकुंभस्थमुक्ताफल: श्री-
25 र्व्याक्रांतजगच(च)यो विजयते खंभ: चितीशश्चिय:[2] ।[१४॥*] रामादि-
26 दत्तं किल पूर्व्वमासीर्चि(द्वि)ज महास्थानमिदं द्विजानां(नाम्) ॥(।)
27 खंभेन राज्ञा तु पुनर्नवम्बं दत्तं कृतं शा(शा)सनमेव-
28 मुक्ता ।[। १५॥*] यश्मात्कुले यो भविता नरेन्द्र: पृथ्वीरसूलय-
29 चितै: स दृष्ट: । मत्का(त्वा)मनादित्यमिदं भवद्भिर्वाच्य(च्यः) स्वध-
30 र्म प्रतिपालयेति ।[। १६॥*] यन्नाद्दत्तमथवा स्वयं कृतं ब(ब्र)ह्मदा[3]-
31 यमिह यत्तु पालयेत् । पालवंस(श)मखिलं समुद्धरे(त्रि)लो(लो)क्यमानि-
32 न परत्र पार्थिव: ।[। १७॥*]

Third Plate.

33 धर्म्मं यश स्तुवति: सनातनी यत्प्रमाद्य: स्वतु वैविलक्षणं(णम्) [।*] पा-
34 लयन्त्वखिलमात्ममण्डलं ब(ब्र)ह्मदायमचिनं नरेश्व(श्व)र: ।[। १८॥*] स्वद-
35 त्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंध(ध)रां(राम्) [।*] षष्टिं(ष्टिं) वर्षसहस्राणि
36 विष्ठायां जायते कृमि: [१९।*] ब(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: सगरा-
37 दिभि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि:[4] तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[।२०॥*]
निम-
38 र्ग[5] दीर्घ चरणे महान्तं[6] पुष्पं च भूमेरनुपालनि[7] तु ।
39 दत्तं नरेन्द्रै: प्रतिपालनीयं श्रे(श्रे)यो हि दानादनुपालनं तु [।२१॥*] सा-
40 मान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्न(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि: [।*]
41 सर्व्वानेतान्भाग्नि(वि)नो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
42 द्र: ।[।२२॥*]श्रीकृ[ष्ण*]देवभट्टांगजदुर्वेयसुत[8]विक्रमेश्वरव्यानसर्वसस्तशा(शा)स-
43 नं खंभराजेन दत्तं(त्तम्) [।*] मङ्गलं महाश्री: [॥*]

[1] Read °जिताखिल°.

[2] Read खंभ: क्षितीशश्रिय:. [Reading is correctly *Khambhah kshitisa śrīvibhuh*.—Ed.]

[3] There is a superfluous vertical line after *da*.

[4] Read भूमिस्°.

[5] Read निसर्ग.

[6] Read महान्तं.

[7] The medial *i* stroke is engraved in the wrong direction.

[8] Read दुर्(?)वसुतेन.

No. 29.—MALA PLATES OF VIRASIMHADEVA : V. S. 1343.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

These **two copper-plates**, briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1914-15 (p. 2, item 11), and now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, were found at a place called **Māla** about three miles from the village **Baroḍā** in the Dungarpur State in Rājputāna.

Each plate is engraved on one side only and has two ring holes. The first plate measuring 10⅞"×10¼" contains twenty-one lines of writing, while the second measuring 10¾"×9⅞" has eighteen.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A.D. The peculiar form of *tta* in *svadattāṁ*, l. 20, and *-pradatta*, l. 24, may be noticed. The letters *saṁ* in *saṁsārē* (l. 18) and *rva* in *sarvva* (l. 20) are not fully engraved.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 13-23, the whole composition is in prose. The names of the witnesses are in vernacular (ll. 28-36). Some *dēśī* words are to be found in the record ; for instance, *pachhē vāḍalu* (l. 11) meaning the back portion of a house ; *arahaṭṭa*, l. 27 (Skt. *araghaṭṭa*) ; *nāḍu*, l. 27 (a small pond), *bhāṭhi*, l. 28 (a kiln), *phaḷīhaka*, l. 37, also called *phalā*, *phalsā*, *phalīā* meaning an entrance or gate and *guyāḍa*, l. 38, (a compound or courtyard).

As regards **orthography**, consonants following a superscript *r* are sometimes doubled as in *-karttā* (l. 17), *sarvvadā* (l. 25) ; etc., *v* and *b* are not distinguished except perhaps in *chībā* (l. 34) ; *ś* is used for *s* in *sahasrēṇa* (l. 16) and *-sahasrāṇi* (l. 21) and *vice versā* in *sudhyati* (l. 17), *niśchalaḥ* (l. 18) ; *sh* occurs in place of *kh* in *Vaiśākha* (l. 1), *Māshala* (l. 28), *likhitaṁ* (l. 39), etc., apparently due to the influence of the vernacular ; *anusvāra* is used for nasals in *Gaṁgō-* (l. 6), *chhāṁsamaṁtā* (l. 15), etc., and also at the end of *pādas* ; *visarga* is omitted in lines 11, 17, 21, 26, 37, etc., while *sandhi* is not observed in lines 6, 13, 14, etc. Other mistakes are pointed out in the transcript and the footnotes.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājakula* (Mahārāval) *Śrī-***Vīrasiṁhadēva** of Vaṭapadraka in Vāgaḍa. The charter is dated **Sunday, the 15th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Samvat**[1] **year 1343** corresponding to the 13th April, 1287 A.D. It records (ll. 2-12) that *Mahārājakula* **Vīrasiṁhadēva** granted one and a half *halas*[2] of land and a house with enclosures of land in its front and back at the village **Māla** in the district **Katīja** (mod. Katiyor) to a Brāhmaṇa named **Tālhā** son of Vayajā of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* for the spiritual welfare of *Mahā-rājakula* **Dēvapāladēva.** The description of the gift is given in lines 26-28, after which the names of the witnesses are recorded (ll. 29-36). The name of the *Sūtradhāra* is given as **Bhisana** in l. 35. Lines 36-38 mention the boundaries of the house. The last two lines record the name of the *Dūtaka* as **Sūnaladēvī** and that of the writer as **Vikama** (Vikrama) who is said to have acted under the verbal orders of the *Pañchakula* Vāvaṇa. **Visala** is spoken of as one, on whose authority the names of the witnesses were recorded.

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, **Vīrasiṁhadēva** evidently belonged to the **Guhila** family of Dungarpur. He was fifth in succession from Sāmantasiṁha, the founder

[1] This samvat is 'चैत्रादि'.

[2] In some parts of Mewār, one *hala* of land was reckoned to be equivalent to several *bighās* of land. The practice of granting lands to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of *Śrāddha* (death anniversary) ceremony of forefathers was not uncommon among the rulers in old days. See the Paramāra Yaśōvarman's grant dated Samvat 1192 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348.

of the State and his earliest and latest known dates are Samvat 1343[1] and Samvat 1359[2] (A.D. 1286 and 1302). He was thus a contemporary of Râval Samarasimha of Mewâr, whose known dates range between Samvat 1330 and 1358 (A.D. 1273-1301).[3] *Mahârâval* **Dêvapâladêva** (also known as Dêdâ or Dêdu) was the immediate predecessor[4] of Vîrasiṁhadêva.

As to the places mentioned, **Vâgaḍa** was the old name of the modern Dungarpur State. **Vaṭapadraka** (now called Baṛôdâ) remained the capital of Vâgaḍa up to the period of Dungarasiṁha (the grandson of Vîrasiṁhadêva) in whose time the capital was transferred to Dungarpur so called after his name.

The date of the inscription weakens the contention of Colonel Tod[5], Major Erskine[6] and other writers holding that the foundation of the Dungarpur State was laid by Mâhapa or Râhapa of Sisôdâ.

According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription[7], dated Samvat 1517, Lakshmaṇasiṁha, a ruler of Sisôdâ, fought in the battle of Chitor in 1303 A.D., and was thus the contemporary of Râval Ratnasiṁha of Mewâr and probably of his father Samarasiṁha also as Ratnasiṁha ruled only for a year. Vîrasiṁhadêva of this record, we know, was a contemporary of Samarasiṁha. He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇasiṁha also. Now, Vîrasiṁhadêva was fifth in succession from Sâmantasiṁha (the real founder of the State), while Lakshmaṇasiṁha was eleventh[8] from Mâhapa or Râhapa. It is, therefore, highly improbable that Mâhapa, who goes as far back as eleven generations from Lakshmaṇasiṁha, should have founded the State. That it was Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâr who laid the foundation of the present Dungarpur State is supported not only by the Mount Âbû[9] and the Kumbhalgarh Inscriptions but also by the account of Muhṇôt Naiṇsî[10], the well-known historian of Mârwâr.

TEXT.[11]

First Plate.

1 ॥ ॐ[12] संवत् १३४३ वर्षे ।[13] वैशाष(ख) व[14] १५ रवावद्येह वागडवटपद्रके महा[रा]-

2 जकुलश्रीवि(वी)रसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नियुक्तपंचश्रीमा-

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[1] His earliest inscription is the present record, dated V.S. 1343.

[2] This date is found in an unpublished inscription from Baroda; *cf.*

संवत् १३५९ वर्षे भाद्रवदि १५ वागडवटपद्रके महाराजकुलश्रीवीरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये - - - - - - महाराजकुलश्रीविजयसिंह(ह)दे(दे)व(वा)ना(ण) संवत्सरार्थं सुखेन गृह्य ।

[3] His first and last inscriptions are dated V.S. 1330 and V.S. 1358 respectively. *Vide*, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, p. 143 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 11, note 1.

[4] *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State* by Major K. D. Erskine, Statistical table No. XXI.

[5] Tod's *Râjasthân* (ed. W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 304.

[6] *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State*, pp. 131-32.

[7] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 279.

[8] Tod's *Râjasthân* (ed. W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 304, note 3.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 349.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 102. *Cf.* also Muhṇôt Naiṇsî's *Khyâta*, p. 19.

[11] From impressions. [12] Expressed by a symbol. [13] The stroke is redundant.

[14] व stands for वदि 'the dark fortnight of a lunar month' so that व १५ is the 15th day of the dark half of the month, *i.e.*, *amâvasyâ*. On Sunday the *tithi* was fourteenth, but it lasted only for fifteen *ghaṭis* after which the *tithi* fifteenth, *i.e.*, *amâvasyâ* fell, during which period the grant was made and the ceremony performed by Mahârâval Vîrasiṁhadêva. Among the Hindus it is generally the practice to perform *Śrâddha* ceremony after 12 noon.

3 नगरा वितस्थप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ ।[1] शासनपत्रमभिलिख्य-
4 ते यथा ॥ इहैव पुण्येऽहनि [स्ना]त्वा नलिनीदलगतजललवतरल-
5 तरं जीवितमाकलय्य महाराजकुल[श्री]वि(वी)रसिंहदेवेन धौतधौत-
6 वाससी(सौ) परिधाय भगवंतं भवानीपतिं शं[क]रं परमया भक्त्या गंगाद्भिनो-
7 दकेन संस्नाप्य श्रीखंडागुरुकर्पूरकस्तूरिकादिभिर्वि(वि)लिप्य जातीव-
8 कुलराजचंपकशतपत्रिकादि(दि)भिर्विलेप्य यथाकालपूजया परमधार्मि-
9 केण भूत्वा महारा[ज*]कुलश्रीवीरसिंहदेवेन भारद्वाजगोत्राय
10 [दोडी[2]]श्री(श्री)श्यामपुत्राय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणशर्मणे जलौजपथके माल-
11 ग्रामे भूमिहल १॥ सार्द्धहलैकस्य भूमि(मिः ।) यत्र(त्रं) १ पंचेवाटक पद्दे
घाडक-
12 खलसहित एतत्[3] शासनोदकपूर्वं धर्मेण संप्रदत्तं ॥ यतो व्यासाद्य-[4]
13 हारसंव[धि] महर्षिप्रणीतानि स्मृतिवाक्यानि संति ॥ ब(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुं-
14 क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी[5] तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१
15 षष्टि(ष्टिं) वं(व)र्षं(र्ष)सहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे(र्गे) तिष्ट(ष्ठ)ति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता
च तान्ये-
16 व नरकं व्रजेत् ॥२ तडागानां सहस्रे(स्रे)ण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां को-
17 टिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शु(शु)द्ध्यति ॥३ चला लक्ष्मी[6] चला प्राणा[7] चलं जी-
18 वितयौवनं । चलाचले हि संसारे धर्म एको हि निश्च(श्च)लः ॥४ भूमिं यः
19 प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ हा ।[1] वेतौ
20 स्व[र्ग]गामिनौ ॥५ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत(त) वसुं-
21 [ध]रां । षष्टि(ष्टिं) वं(व)र्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां जायते कृमि(मिः)॥[६]

Second Plate.

22 मम वंशक्षये क्षीणे[8] योऽन्यो राजा भविष्य(ष्य)ति [।]
23 तस्याहं करलग्नोऽस्मि न लोप्यं मम शासन(नम्) ॥७ इमानि महर्षि-
24 प्रणीतानि स्मृतिवाक्यानि श्रुत्वा अस्मद[त्त]शासनमिदमस्मदीयैरपि

[1] The stroke is redundant.
[2] Read सार्द्धहलस्य.
[3] Read एतच्छासनं or 'खलैः'.
[4] Read 'पुरा महर्षि'.
[5] Read भूमिस्तस्य.
[6] Read लक्ष्मीश्चला.
[7] Read प्राणाश्चलं.
[8] Better read वंशे परिक्षीणे.

25 माथिमांकि(तृ)भिर्मूपालैः मर्य्यादा पालनीयं किंतु केनापि कदाचि-

26 त् न लोपनीयं ॥ भूमिर्य्यांकि: । कलाग्रामाद्(मं) वाटिकाया[:*] पालीयमवि-

27 त(तं) चतुःसीमापर्यंतु[1] धरवंट[2] । सबा वौकलचेष[3] । सं वटौयामलनाडुं

28 माठिमवित्तु(तं) चतुःसीमापर्यंतं[1] । [4]अत्र साक्षिः । पुरो°[5] सोमल ॥ व्रा°[6]

29 केसवादित्य । व्रा°(व्रा°) सोमादौत । राजगु°[7] सूदा । बड°[8] लष(ख)मादौत । बड°

30 सौकमा । [ना]गपुरौ° व्रा°मधु[9] । मह°[10] छमण । मह° सौमडा । मह° धवण । राउत°[11]

31 धारड । राउ° धर्मदेव । राउ° रमण । राउ° लाष(ख)ण । [12]श्रेष्ठि° पारस । श्रे° मद-

32 न । श्रेष्ठि° सौमा । [13]सा° हरपाल ॥ मालमा°[14] दोडौ° मह° केदा । मह° तात्हा [।*]

33 मह° जौता । मह° रात्हण । मह° सो[मल] । मह° भौमा । मह° साढा । मह° ।[15]

34 [चौवा] । मह° ल[ष]मड । डौवलौ°[16] बीजा [।] ओवि°[17] वावण । [18]पंडि° वाल्हा । राउ°

35 वौल्हण । राउ° रतन । [19]ठक्क° सोमन । [20]भिल° [ना]डल । भि° रामहुया । भिष°[21] सौ-

36 मडा । भिष° वेल्हा ॥ अत्र आघाट । सकलस्य दक्षिणस्यां दिशि वा°(व्रा°) आमाल-

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[1] Read चतुःसीमापर्यंत°.

[2] Read धरवट.

[3] Read चैत्र.

[4] From here up to the middle of the line 36 the inscription is in vernacular.

[5] Stands for पुरोहित, a priest.

[6] Stands for बाजी, a performer of यज्ञ, from Skt. याज्ञिक.

[7] Stands for राजगुरु.

[8] Stands for बहुआ, a record keeper.

[9] Read ब्रा which stands for ब्राह्मण.

[10] Stands for महत्तम.

[11] An epithet generally applied to persons of royal family or Brāhmaṇas of high class.

[12] A term applied to merchants.

[13] Stands for साधु.

[14] This term is not clear to me.

[15] The stroke is redundant.

[16] Stands for डौड्लौयार, a person who receives a land from a king for his maintenance.

[17] Stands for ओविन्.

[18] Stands for पण्डित.

[19] Stands for ठक्कुर.

[20] Stands for भील, a tribe.

[21] Stands for भिषक्.

37 णं । उत्तरस्यां दिशि ग्रामसत्कफलिघक । पूर्वस्यां दिशि राजमार्गो[:*] । पश्चिमा-

38 यां दिशि गुवाड ॥ हूं[1] देव्या[2]चौहुननदेवि(वी) [।*] पंचत्रों[3]वाचषमब्देन ।[4]

39 शासनमिदं पंच[5]चौकमैन लिपि(खि)तं ॥ [5]कडू[5]चीमत्तमब्देन साक्षिण: [।*]

No. 30.—ROPI PLATES OF PARAMARA DEVARAJA; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1059.

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

This grant of **Dêvarâja** is in the possession of Audichya Brâhmaṇas of **Ropsi** or **Ropi**, a village 6 miles south-west of Bhinmâl in the Jaswantpura District of Mârwâr. While touring in that District in 1920, I came across the grant and got it photographed for the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. It has already been noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.[6]

The grant contains **two copper-plates** inscribed on one side only. The plates, as far as I remember, measure about 9"×8" and have two holes through which are passed two plain rings. The first plate contains 11 and the second 12 lines of writing.

The **characters** of the grant are Nâgarî similar to those used in northern India in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The **language** is Saṁskṛit and the clerical errors are remarkably few. The text is in prose throughout with the exception of one verse in ll. 21-23. At the end is found the signature of the donor. The **orthography** presents no special features.

The **object** of the plates is to record the grant of a field situated to the south of the city-wall (*kôṭṭa*) of **Srimâla**, the modern Bhinmâl by the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* the illustrious **Dêvarâja** residing at Srimâla to one **Aurakâchârya**, the son of Chaṇḍaśivâchârya and the head of the temple of Siddhêśvaramahâdêva at Kahamêmâthuna (Kahatmamâthuka ?) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The boundaries of the land granted were as follows : to the east the land of the Brâhmaṇa Gôvinda, to the south the land of Vâmana, the son of Durlabha, to the west the village belonging to the *Mahâsâmanta* Pûrṇachaṇḍa and to the north the land of the Brâhmaṇa Śrîdhara. The **date** of the record is the **15th day of the bright half of Mâgha (Vikrama) Samvat 1059** (=1002 A.D.).[7]

The witnesses were **Matvâka** the preceptor of Dêvarâja and **Pûrṇachaṇḍa**. The grant was written by **Sûryaravi**, the son of Nyâsa.

Though no mention of the clan of donor **Dêvarâja** is found in the grant, yet on the basis of the year and the place given in it, we may assume that he was a **Paramâra**[8] **ruler of Abû** whose

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[1] Stands for हुकम, ।

[2] Omit देव्या. [Or read हूंडी. Probably she was a lady of the royal family, if not one of the queens.—Ed.]

[3] Stands for पंचौली.

[4] The stroke is redundant.

[5] Stands for कछूवा, one of the two sects of the कुकडी tribe.

[6] *See* his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 103, where he reads the *year* as Samvat 1063.

[7] [The date is irregular. The full moon of Mâgha fell on Thursday the 21st January when there was no lunar eclipse. The nearest lunar eclipse occurred on the full moon of Phâlguna corresponding to Friday the 19th February. It is also not verifiable for Samvat 1050 current or Samvat 1060.—Ed.]

[8] For the history of Paramâra rulers please refer to my *Bhârata kê Prâchîna Râjavaṁśa*, Vol. I, and *Râjâ Bhoja* (both in Hindî).

second name was **Mahipâla** and who succeeded his father Dharaṇîvarâha, a ruler famous in the chronicle of Râjasthân. We give here a *chhappaya* often recited by bards in honour of Dharaṇîvarâha :

मंडोवर सामंत हुवो अजमेर सिंधसुव ।
गढ पूंगल गजमल्ल हुवो लोद्रवै भांण भुव ॥
अल्हपाल्ह अरबद्द भोजराजा जालंधर ।
जोगराज धरधाट हुवो हांसू पारक्कर ॥
नवकोटि किराडू संजुगत थिर पंवारहर थपिया ।
धरणीवराह धर भाइयां कोट बांट जू जू किया ॥

According to this, Dharaṇîvarâha distributed the nine provinces of Mandôr, Ajmêr, Pûngal, Lôdravâ, Âbû, Jâlôr, Dhâṭ, Pârkar and Kirâḍû among his nine brothers. It is also said that owing to these nine chiefships Mârwâr has come to be known as "Navakôṭi Mârwâr." But there is very little truth in the above *chhappaya*[1].

Dêvarâja's (Mahîpâla's) son and successor was Dhandhuka who was obliged to accept the allegiance of Sôlaṅkî (Châlukya) Kumârapâla I, the ruler of Gujarât.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 सिद्धम्[2] [॥*] ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ संवत् १[०]५९ मा-
2 घ वदि १५ चस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षदि-
3 वसपूर्व्वायां श्री२[3]मालावस्थितमहाराजा-
4 धिराजश्रीदेवराजः स्वभुज्यमानविषये
5 धर्म्मदायेन देवग्रासन(नं) प्रयच्छति ॥ यदिहै-
6 व श्री२[3]मालीयकोष्टादुत्तरदिग्भागे क्षेत्रं
7 यम्बावाटनाम्नि । पूर्व्वतो गोविन्दबा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
8 सत्का भूसीमा । दक्षिणतो वामनदुर्गमसु-
9 तसत्का भूसीमा । पश्चिमतो महासामन्तश्री-
10 पूर्णपक्षसत्क[पा]र्श्व सत्र भूसीमा ।
11 उत्तरतः श्रीधरबा(ब्रा)ह्मणक्षे[त्रे*]त्र भूसीमा [।*]

Second Plate.

12 एवमेतच्चतुराघ(घा)टनाभ्यंतरक्षेत्रं ।[4]
13 षष्ठाभिः सोमपर्व्वणि स्नात्वा त्रिलोकीगुरुं शंकर-

[1] *See also Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 238 f.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] The figure 2 is used to denote the repetition of *śrî*.
[4] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

14 मम्बर्त्यं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धय(ये)

15 शालमंतो(ती)रकपूर्व्वमार्धद्राङ्कशालीमतया प्रति-

16 पादितं [।*] [आ]चन्द्रार्कतारकाय ।[1] चक्रभिवाचार्यपुत्रा-

17 य . . . .[2] श्रीसिद्धेश्वरदेवस्थानाद्यामाय

18 प्रदत्तं न केनापि परिपंथनीयं ॥ अत्रार्थे साक्षिणो-

19 ऽत्र भाविमीतृभिः । अत्र साक्षी श्रीदेवराजगुरुधर्म्मला-

20 कः । अत्र साक्षी श्रीपूर्णचन्द्रः । लिखितं सूर्येण वि-

21 चा न्यासकृतेन । यो यः पृथिव्यां राजा हि समा

22 तोर्द्धं[3] भविष्यति । तस्याहं करलग्नस्तु शासनं मा(मा)

23 व्यतिक्रमे(मे)त् ॥ स्वहस्त[:*] श्रीदेवराजस्य ॥

No. 31.—HATHI-BADA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION AT NAGARI.

By Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta.

During the cold season of 1934-35, Dr. Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, was on tour in North India. In the course of that tour he visited **Nagari**, eight miles north of Chitōrgaṛh in the Udaipur State, and discovered a Brāhmī inscription engraved on a massive slab of **Hāthi-bāḍā** containing the same text as the celebrated inscription from the Ghōsūṇḍī well. This is one of the big slabs, says Dr. Chakravarti, in the inner side of the northern wall towards the right hand corner. The slab has a big crack in the middle, and parts of it have badly peeled off. The surface is very rough, and the letters have now become quite faint. Before the stone was cleaned, practically nothing but the letter *p*(*a*) in the first line was visible. "No traces", he adds, "of a third line, if there was any, can be found now."

It is impossible to congratulate sufficiently the Government Epigraphist upon this brilliant discovery. From the middle of November 1915 to the end of January 1916 I was myself at Nagarī. During that period I carried on excavations at two places, one of which was Hāthi-bāḍā, about half a mile east of the village.[4] Hāthi-bāḍā is an open rectangular enclosure 296′ 10″ long and 151′ broad. Its walls were crowned with a coping stone, and were originally 9′ 6″ high. When the Mughal emperor, Akbar, came there to reduce Chitōrgaṛh, he was encamped at Nagarī and used this enclosure as his elephant-stable, on account of which it has since then been called Hāthi-bāḍā. But surely it could not have been a structure of the Muhammadan period. The high massive dressed blocks of stone piled one upon another into this structure pointed to a period very much anterior to the Muhammadan. In this connection I was revolving in my mind an inscription, referred to above, which was originally stuck up in a well at Ghōsūṇḍī, about 6 miles from Nagarī, but which is now deposited in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. It is well known that most of the stones used in the Ghōsūṇḍī well, as in the archæological monuments at Chitōrgaṛh, were taken from Nagarī, and looking to the massive nature of the block and the peculiar lamina-

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[1] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[2] The reading seems to be *Kshamāndhikāyāṁ* but its meaning is not clear. [To me the reading appears to be *Kshamamānthikā?* and may mean 'at Kshamamānthikā' where the temple of the Mahādeva Siddhēśvara seems to have been situated.—Ed.]

[3] Read *mad-ārdhaṁ cha* or *mama gōtrē*.

[4] For a full description of these excavations, see *Memoir A. S. I.*, No. 4, pp. 117 ff; *PRAS. WC.*, 1915-16, pp. 55-54.

tions of the stone on which the inscription is engraved, little doubt was left in my mind as to its having originally pertained to this structure, whose stones exactly resembled it in these respects. The contents of the inscription pointed to the same inference. It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra*, or enclosure for worship stone, of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva. This description no doubt answered to the stone enclosure represented by Hāthī-bāḍā. But some more proof was wanted to show that the place enclosed by the Hāthī-bāḍā was, as a matter of fact, dedicated to Vaishṇava worship. And after a careful inspection I lighted upon a stone in one wall of the enclosure containing some characters of the seventh century A.D., which, though highly weather-worn, could be distinctly read as *Śrī-Vishṇu-pādābhyāṁ*. This clearly showed that this Hāthī-bāḍā was once a place for the worship of Vishṇu. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that even then it was not quite certain, though highly probable, that the Ghōsuṇḍī inscription originally belonged to the Hāthī-bāḍā and that this structure was really the *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva mentioned in that record. But this matter has now been placed beyond all doubt by the find of this new inscription by Dr. Chakravarti, which, as we shall shortly see, is but another copy of the text preserved in the Ghōsuṇḍī epigraph but which to this day forms part of the Hāthī-bāḍā itself. The service thus rendered by the Government Epigraphist to the cause of history and archæology can scarcely be overrated.

Before we treat of this record epigraphically, it is necessary to point out that there was also a third copy of this text which was for the first time recognised as such by the Government Epigraphist himself in his letter to me. During the touring season of 1915-16 when I was excavating at Nagarī, I discovered a stray fragment of an inscription along with two others in the heart of the village which had been found on the boundary stone of Ghōsuṇḍī and Bassi and which contained the words :—[ye]na *Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdha-*. This has been briefly described in a monograph of mine, entitled "*The Archæological Remains and Excavations at Nagari*" and published in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 120, where I have also made the remark that "the form of its letters corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsuṇḍī epigraph." This happened in 1915-16. Eleven years thereafter the *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1926-27 (p. 205) announces the discovery of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha that during the year under report he recovered two of the missing portions of the well-known Ghōsuṇḍī inscription. One of these, according to this Report "supplies the words '*Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdha*,' which evidently form the end of the first line of the record and enable the initial letter of its second line to be restored as *ya*, and the whole expression as '*Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdhayājinā*.'" The other fragment, continues the same Report, "containing the word *sarvēśvarābhyāṁ*, Mr. Ojha says, is preserved in the Udayapur Museum, and supplies the missing portion of the second line of the same inscription." It thus seems that up till 1926-27 the first of these fragments continued to remain at Nagarī, possibly just where I found it in 1915-16. Rai Bahadur Ojha evidently did not remember that the discovery of this fragment was first announced in the Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India referred to above. But what is strange is that he considered the two fragments as the missing portions of the well-known Ghōsuṇḍī inscription. As remarked by me in the Memoir, as just stated, the form of the letters on these fragments no doubt corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsuṇḍī epigraph. But close observation will enable one to perceive not only that the draft of the fragments is written in an entirely different hand but also that their letters are of a slightly different size from those of the Ghōsuṇḍī record. This blunder was repeated by Mr. R. R. Halder in his paper on the Ghōsuṇḍī inscription, which is published in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203, and, the text of which he tried to restore with the help of these fragments. It must, however, be said to the credit of both these scholars that they restored in the original text the words *ya Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdha°* to their proper place, though they failed in regard to *sarvēśvarābhyāṁ*

as was expected. As remarked above, there was one text of the record which was engraved in three different places in the Hāthi-bāḍā. When this structure began to fall into disrepair, one stone block containing the greater portion of one inscription was carried to and stuck up into the Ghōsuṇḍī well; two small fragments of another inscription taken as far as the boundary stone between Ghōsuṇḍī and Bassi; but the larger part of the third is *in situ*, that is, still forms part of the Hāthi-bāḍā itself, this last being now brought to light by the Government Epigraphist, as stated above.

Let us now turn to the epigraphic details of each. We have observed that here we have one common text running through three different inscriptions—all, however, originally incised on the block slabs of the Hāthi-bāḍā. The best preserved of these is that found in the Ghōsuṇḍī well and now removed to the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. Here not only is the greater portion of the record preserved, but its letters also remain in good condition. It was originally in three lines. The next best preserved record is that found by Dr. Chakravarti, and, though preserved in fragment, it yet remains part and parcel of the original building. It is in two lines, each containing naturally more words than those of the first record. Of this inscription practically as much has been preserved as of the first, though its letters are faint and weatherworn. Of the third record only two small fragments are so far known, as pointed out above. The first of these, which we shall call **A**, was first brought to the notice of the scholars by Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās and transcribed in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI, Pt. I, pp. 77 ff., No. 1 and Pl. V. It was afterwards edited by me in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 119, and by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 25 ff. with the help of the estampages provided by me. The second of the three copies, which we shall call **C**, is being edited by me here for the first time according to the ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Of the third copy, which we shall call **B**, only two fragments have been recovered. One of these was first noticed by me in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 120. Both together were afterwards transcribed but erroneously considered to be part of the first copy, that is, of **A** by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1926-27, p. 205 and thereafter by Mr. R. R. Halder in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203. All the three copies are now being edited here with a view to see whether and how far we can restore the original text.

The **characters** of these texts according to Bühler[1] belong to an alphabet which "probably prevailed at least in the latter half of the 4th and in the 3rd century B.C." Mr. Jayaswal, however, seems to be right in observing that "the only thing that can be said with certainty is that the script is later than Aśōka's time."[2] The letters *g*, *p*, and *s* of our inscriptions are a clear proof of this. The top of *g* is not angular, and *p* and *s* have not a round base as in the Aśōkan script. The only records with which the Hāthi-bāḍā epigraphs can be profitably compared are the inscription of Heliodorus found at Besnagar[3] and those of Bahasatimitra at Pābhōsā.[4] And a comparison will convince us that the Hāthi-bāḍā records are perhaps slightly later than that of Besnagar, but decidedly earlier than those of Pābhōsā. The top of *g* in the Besnagar inscription is as angular as that of Aśōka's, but is almost round in the Hāthi-bāḍā inscriptions. This shows that perhaps the Besnagar record is slightly prior to those of Hāthi-bāḍā. On the other hand, the *p*, *b*, *h*, and *l* of the Pābhōsā have cornered and flat bases, showing that these inscriptions are decidedly later than those of Hāthi-bāḍā. All things considered, our epigraphs may be assigned to the **beginning of the first century B.C.**

[1] *Indian Palaeography* (trans. by Fleet), p. 32.

[2] Above, Vol. XVI, p. 27.

[3] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, pp. 128-29, Pl. XLVI.

[4] Above, Vol. II, pp. 242 ff and Pls.

Some other paleographic peculiarities of the Hāthi-bāḍā inscriptions may also be noticed. In the case of the ligatures, the consonants are invariably placed below each other in their natural order somewhat unlike those of the Aśōka edicts. Next, the cork-screw-like *r* is worthy of note, as in Aśōka inscriptions. And further the superscript and subscript *ra* also have been clearly distinguished one from the other. Thus the superscript *r* in *Saṁkarshaṇa-* has been distinguished from the subscript *r* in *-pūjā-śilā-* and *-prākārō*. This is a noteworthy fact, for it is conspicuous by its absence even in Aśōka's inscriptions, though the words in which both the kinds of *ra* occur are by no means few.

The **language** of our inscriptions is undoubtedly Sanskrit, and it is somewhat inexplicable why Prof. Lüders called it "a mixed dialect."[1] Probably he based his conclusion on the transcript of Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās, which is far from being scrupulously correct and which is not supported by the photo-litho that accompanies his article. The only word, that is not quite Sanskrit, is *bhagavabhyām*, which, however, is a mistake of the engraver or the scribe for *bhagavadbhyām*. Besides, *bhagavabhyām*, even as it stands, is a dual which is never found in a Prākrit. It must therefore be looked upon as an inaccuracy of the scribe. Such inaccuracies are not infrequent in inscriptions, about the Sanskrit language of which there can be no doubt. The Hāthi-bāḍā record is thus one of the two earliest which are couched in Sanskrit. The other epigraph in Sanskrit of this early period has been found at Ayōdhyā pertaining to Dhanadēva, son of Phalgudēva, a ruler of Kōsala.[2] When J. F. Fleet was living, the earliest Sanskrit inscription then known was that of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman engraved on the celebrated rock at Junāgaḍh. It is dated (Śaka) 72=150 A.D. And further, as the inscriptions ranging between 300 B.C. and 100 A.D. were all up till then in a sort of Pāli closely allied to, and based upon, the vernacular, he and the late Prof. Rhys Davids maintained[3] that the spoken language current up to 100 A.D. was practically Pāli, and that the Sanskrit, or the *bhāshā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote, could not have been a vernacular during that time. On the other hand, Patañjali distinctly informs us that the language for which Pāṇini wrote was the language of those *śishṭas* or disciplined Brāhmaṇas who spoke it naturally and without any study of grammar.[4] This points to the unmistakable conclusion that up till *circa* 150 B.C., the time of Patañjali, the *bhāshā* or language for which *Ashṭādhyāyī* was the grammar continued to be the actual speech of the disciplined Brāhmaṇas of Āryāvarta, which was no doubt the *saṁskṛita* or polished form of the vernacular. All that was now required to leave no ground at all for scepticism was the actual find of inscriptions of this period which were couched in Sanskrit. This desideratum is now furnished by our record and also that of Ayōdhyā just adverted to. No sceptic can possibly contend that they are not in Sanskrit, that is, in the *bhāshā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote or that they are not earlier than 150 A.D., the date of the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman.

Our record is also important from the **religious point of view.** It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* by Gājāyana **Sarvatāta,** son of a lady of the Parāśara-*gōtra*, for the gods Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva. But what does a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* mean? It may mean "a stone enclosure round an object of worship" to distinguish it from enclosures surrounding, *e.g.*, residential buildings. What are called railings round Buddhist *Stūpas* are really *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* though they are round and that of the Hāthi-bāḍā rectangular. A similar expression is not unknown to us from an Aśōka inscription. We refer here to *silāvigaḍabhīchā* occurring in the Paḍariyā or Rummindei pillar inscription.

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[1] *List of Brahmi Inscrs.* (above Vol. X, App.), No. 6.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1924, p. 203; above, Vol. XX, p. 57.

[3] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 151.

[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 344 ff.; R. G. Bhandarkar's *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 295-96.

Silāvigaḍabhīchā obviously corresponds to the Sanskrit *śilā-vikaṭa-bhittiḥ*, 'a huge stone enclosure wall'.[1] What Aśōka here wants to tell us is that he constructed this wall round the spot of Buddha's birth, which was already an object of worship and where he actually worshipped. The word *vigaḍa=vikaṭa* in this phrase, which signifies 'stupendous' is noteworthy, and is no doubt significant of the huge massive blocks of which it must have been composed exactly as in the case of the Hāthi-bāḍā. Hāthi-bāḍā as a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* is therefore not of an unknown character. The Hāthi-bāḍā enclosure and the railings of the *Stūpas* thus are all *pūjā-śilā-prākāra*, though they are of different shapes and are devoted to different worships. If any other instance of the *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* round a Vaishṇava object of worship is required, it is furnished by the railing which I unearthed round the representation of Vāsudēva in front of the Khām Bābā during my excavations at Besnagar.[2] Recently, however, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has suggested a new interpretation. He takes it to mean "a rampart (*prākāra*) for the stone object of worship (*pūjā-śilā*)". This *pūjā-śilā* according to him is a *Śālagrāma* or a black stone from the river Gaṇḍakī which is believed to be pervaded by the presence of Vishṇu and is thus a sacred stone worshipped by the Vaishṇavas. "Mention of it" says he "is found in the *Mahābhārata*, III, 8102. Amongst the varieties of them mentioned in the Purāṇas, we find that one variety is called Saṁkarshaṇa and another Vāsudēva (*Agni-Purāṇa*, XLVI)".[3] Now, it is perfectly true that there is one variety of Śālagrāma which is known as Saṁkarshaṇa and another as Vāsudēva. But the real question is: to what early period is the worship of Śālagrāma traceable? It is, again, true that the *Mahābhārata* makes mention of this worship. But what is unfortunate here is that as the *Mahābhārata* was put together in its final shape about the 6th century A.D., no statement contained in that epic can be taken with certitude as belonging to a period much prior to it. Worship of a Śālagrāma cannot thus be supposed to be prevalent much anterior to the 6th century A.D. and hardly ever in the 1st century B.C. to which period the Hāthi-bāḍā inscriptions have to be assigned. The phrase *pūjā-śilā-prākāraḥ* may be dissolved either as *pūjā-śilāyāḥ prākāraḥ*, as Mr. Ghosh has done, or, as *pūjāyāḥ śilā-prākāraḥ* as others have done before him. But as there is no clear evidence as to the Śālagrāma worship being in vogue as early as the 1st century B.C., it is perhaps safer to dissolve the compound word as others have done it. This agrees, as stated above, with the expression *silā-vigaḍa-bhīchā*, which occurs in an Aśōka inscription. Of these last *silā-bhīchā* regularly corresponds to *śilā-prākāra* of the Hāthi-bāḍā record, as also remarked above. Just as Aśōka speaks of having constructed a stone enclosure wall round the place where Buddha was born, one Jātaka mentions the erection of an enclosing wall (*prākāra*) round Sambōdhi, the place where Buddha attained to enlightenment.[4] It is, therefore, no wonder if Sarvatāta similarly built an enclosure wall round the place where Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva were worshipped. But the question arises how were Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva worshipped here? In the western half of the Hāthi-bāḍā I found, during my excavations there, the remains of a brick platform, which originally ran from east to west.[5] If there was any shrine upon it, it may have been a wooden structure which has now completely disappeared. Not far from it in the western part of the wall was found by me the words *śrī-Vishṇu-pādābhyāṁ*, in characters of the 7th century A.D.[6] It is true that at that time Vishṇu alone was worshipped. But it is worthy of note that what of him was worshipped was not an image but the footprints. And as there is absolutely no evidence of the construction of a shrine on the brick platform, it seems that even in the 1st century B.C. Saṁkarshaṇa and

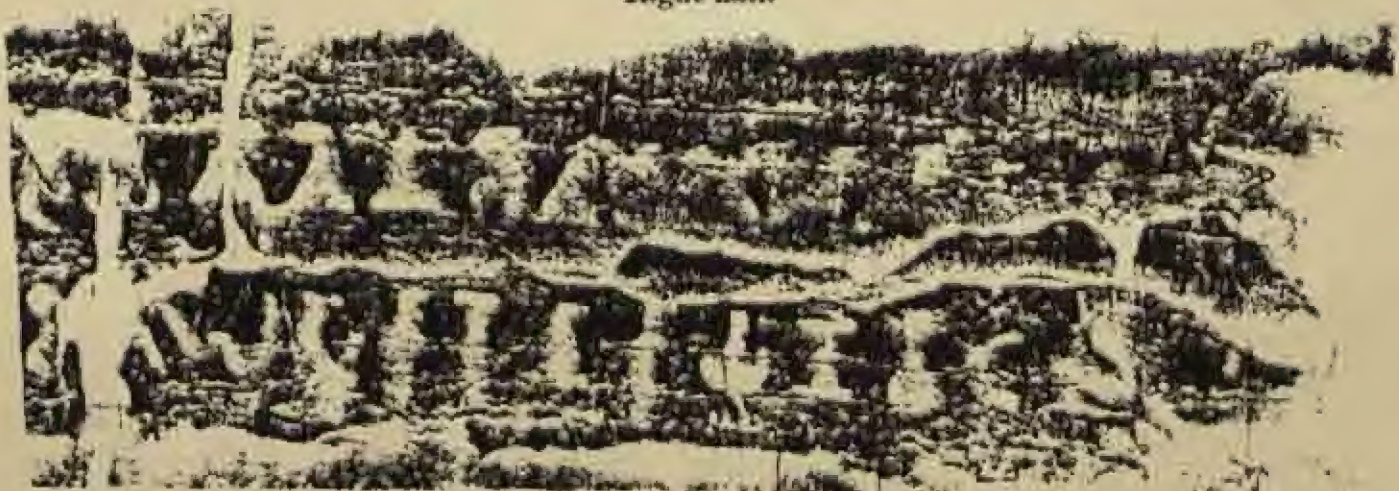
[1] D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśoka*, pp. 275-76.
[2] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1913-14, pp. 189-90, Pls. LVI (*a*) and LVII.
[3] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 796.
[4] *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, p. 236; D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśoka*, pp. 276-77.
[5] *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 130.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

Hathibada Brahmi Inscription at Nagari.

Left half.



Right half.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE : ONE-FIFTH. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3400 E'35-425.

Vāsudēva were worshipped through their footprints. If this inference is correct, we may with Mr. Ghosh take the phrase *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* to mean "an enclosure wall round the stone object of worship." But the *pūjā-śilā* does not here represent Śālagrāma stones as he takes it, but rather the footprints of the two brother gods carved in stone. In course of time, however, Saṁkarshaṇa lost hold of the popular imagination, and Vāsudēva alone remained the object of worship. This change of worship is noticeable even in that early period. Just as in the time of the Hāthi-bāḍā record Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva were both worshipped, the celebrated Nānāghāṭ inscription of Sātakarṇi opens with obeisance to both these divinities.[1] On the other hand, the Besnagar pillar epigraph speaks of Vāsudēva alone and styles him *dēva-dēva*, 'god of gods'.[2] The three inscriptions belong to a period ranging between 135 and 35 B.C. And yet at this early period we find Vāsudēva eclipsing and outliving his elder brother Saṁkarshaṇa in popular worship. At Besnagar, too, Vāsudēva was being worshipped when the Greek envoy Heliodorus came and erected the column. In front of the pillar the retaining walls of a high platform were unearthed, surrounded by a solid railing. On this platform, no doubt, Vāsudēva must have been worshipped. But here too not a trace of shrine could be found.[3] It is not at all unlikely that here also what of Vāsudēva was worshipped was, not his image, but his footprints.

Let us now place the three copies of the record side by side with a view to see what new facts are revealed to us and also to find out how far we can restore the original text. Of these the Ghōsuṇḍī well text runs as follows :[4]

A.

1 ....tēna Gājāyanēna P(ā)rāśariputrēṇa Sa

2 ....[j](i)[nā] bhagavabhyāṁ Saṁkarshaṇa-V(ā)sudēvābhyā(ṁ)

3 ....bhyāṁ pūjāśilā-prākārō Nārāyaṇa-vāṭ(i)kā.

The two fragments found near the boundary between Ghōsuṇḍī and Bassi may be transcribed as follows :[5]—

B.

1 ....[ta](ē)(na) Sarvatātēna Aś[v]amēdha..........

2 ....sarvēśvarābh(y)ā(ṁ).

The inscription engraved in the Hāthi-bāḍā which was recently found by the Government Epigraphist reads as follows :—

C.

1 ....vat(ēna) [Gā](jā)yan[ē]na P(ā)r(āśari)pu(t)r(ē)ṇa [Sa](r)[vatā]tēna Aś(vamē)(dha)(yā)-[j](inā)-

2 .... (ṇa)-V(ā)sudēvābh(y)ā(ṁ) anihatā(bh)yāṁ sa(r)v(ē)(ś)va(r)[ā]bh(yāṁ) p(ū)[j](ā)-(śi)l(ā)-p(r)ā[k]ārō Nā(rā)yaṇa-vā(ṭ)(i)(k)(ā).

[1] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60, l. 1.

[2] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, p. 128, (Text A), l. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 204-05.

[4] For plate see above, Vol. XVI, facing p. 24 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, facing p. 203.

[5] For plate see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, facing p. 204.

If we now carefully study Inscriptions **A** and **C**, we notice that they are fragments only in so far as their initial portions are gone, that, in other words, no letter seems to have been lost at the end of any one of the lines. This is clear particularly in the case of **A**. There is enough or even more than enough space left after the termination of every one of its lines to show that no letters have been lost after the last letter read of these lines. Secondly, it is worthy of note that whereas **A** consists of three lines, **C** contains only two, and that as both **A** and **C** end exactly with the word *Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā*, we must take it that the original text ended with that word. Thirdly, if we compare **A** with **C**, it is by no means difficult to fill up the lacunae at the beginning of lines 2 and 3 of the former inscription, especially with the help of **B**. Thus line 2 of **A** must have commenced with (*rvatātēna Aśvamēdha-yā*)*jinā*, etc. Similarly line 3 of **A** must have begun with (*anihatābhyām sarvēśvarā*)*bhyām*, etc. It will be seen that lines 2 and 3 of **A** have each lost nine letters. The inference is irresistible that the same number of letters, *viz.*, nine, has been destroyed, preceding °*tēna*, with which line 1 commences. Now, it deserves to be noticed that whereas line 1 of **A** begins with *tēna*, line 1 of **C** does with *na*(*sna*). And it is not at all difficult to restore the word to (*Bhāgava*)*tēna*. Six initial letters only thus remain to be accounted for. And perhaps we shall not be far wide of the mark if we tentatively fill up the lacuna with *Kārita-yaṁ rājñā*. We may thus restore Inscription **A** and thereby also the **original text** as follows :—

1 (Kārtō-yam rājñā Bhāgava)tēna Gājāyanēna Pārāśarīputrēṇa Sa-

2 (rvatātēna Aśvamēdha-yā)jinā bhagava[d*]bhyām Saṁkarshaṇa-Vāsudēvābhyām

3 (anihatābhyām sarvēśvarā)bhyāṁ pūjāśilā-prākārō Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) enclosing wall round the stone (*object*) of worship, called Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā (Compound) for the divinities Saṁkarshaṇa-Vāsudēva who are unconquered and are lords of all (has been caused to be made) by (the king) **Sarvatāta**, a Gājāyana and son of (a lady) of the Parāśara-*gōtra*, who is a devotee of Bhagavat[1] (Vishṇu) and has performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice.

Between *Pārāśarīputrēṇa* and *Sarvatātēna* of the Text given above Mr. Halder[2] reads *sa* . . . . *ṇa*. But this is a mistake, because **C** clearly shows that *Pārāśarīputrēṇa* was followed immediately by *Sarvatātēna*. The mistake has arisen, because the two fragments comprising **B** have been taken by him to be the integral parts of **A**. That this is a misconception, pure and simple, has been pointed out above. The fragment *ṇa Sarvatātēna* of **B** should thus be restored, not to *sa* . . . . *ṇa Sarvatātēna* as he has done, but to (*pārāśarīputrē*)*ṇa Sarvatātēna*. That this restoration is the correct one may be seen from the estampage of the fragment supplied by the Government Epigraphist which has a clear trace of *tr*(*ē*) immediately preceding *ṇa*, showing that this *ṇa* is the ending syllable of *Pārāśarīputrēṇa*. This *sa*. . . .*ṇa* of Mr. Halder has been conjecturally restored by Mr. Ghosh[3] to *Suśarmaṇā*, denoting a Kāṇva prince of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas. But this superstructure based on a bubble crashes with the bursting of the bubble.

The **king** who constructed the *pūjāśilā-prākāra* for Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva was thus *Gājāyana Pārāśarīputra* **Sarvatāta**. The mere matronymic Pārāśarīputra cannot show to which caste Sarvatāta belonged. But the patronymic Gājāyana by its very formation indicates, as has been pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal, that he was a Brāhmaṇa. It is true, as remarked by Mr. K. H.

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1 It is very difficult to say how the term *Bhāgavata* is to be understood here. It may mean "a devotee of Bhagavat (Vishṇu)" as has been translated above or "a devotee of Bhagavats (*viz.*, of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva)."

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203.

3 *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 798.

Johnston[1] that Gājāyana as a patronymic is unknown. But Mr. Ghosh has correctly observed that a name similar to Gājāyana is Gādāyana (with its variant Gōdāyana) occurring in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as the name of an individual *gōtra*. And it is not at all improbable to say that Gādāyana is a slip of the scribe for Gājāyana. Whether Sarvatāta, again, is the proper name or an epithet of the king is somewhat doubtful. It bears, however, the plausibility of being an epithet.

But kings even in ancient times were sometimes better known by their epithets than by their individual names. Thus the Maurya emperor, Aśōka, has styled himself Priyadarśin, which is an epithet, in all his inscriptions, except one; in this last alone he is known by his proper name, Aśōka. And even though Sarvatāta is taken as an epithet as seems very likely, it need cause us no surprise. The question now arises, who could this Gājāyana Sarvatāta be? His records show that he lived in the first century B.C. His patronymic Gājāyana also shows that he was a Brāhmaṇ. And further we have to note, as Mr. Ghosh has told us, that Gādāyana which obviously is a mistake for Gājāyana is mentioned in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as an individual *gōtra* falling under the Kāṇva division of the Āṅgirasa Gaṇa. It thus appears that Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva. And we know from the Purāṇas that after the Śuṅgas the Kāṇvas became the rulers of North India. The Kāṇvas thus exercised supremacy in the first century B.C. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that **Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva ruler.** It is true that Sarvatāta is not found in the list of names, given by the Purāṇas, of the Kāṇva rulers. But as we have seen above, Sarvatāta is not a proper name, but rather an epithet. And it is not at all impossible that it was an epithet borne by one of the princes of this Brāhmaṇ dynasty.

No. 32.—A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR.

BY PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

The inscription edited below[2] has been noticed briefly in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1923, Part II, paragraph 28. It is engraved on a stone slab built into the south wall of the Hanumān shrine in front of the Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple,[3] **Uttiramērūr.** The inscription which fully covers the face of the slab occupies an area 13" × 37", and the average height of the letters is 1", the ligatures sometimes measuring up to 2" and more. Only eight lines of the inscription at the beginning are preserved, but it seems unlikely that the missing part extended over more than two or three lines. In any case, what is left of the inscription enables us to form an adequate idea of its purport and significance. I edit it from two impressions, one in my possession, the other supplied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is dated in the **153th day of the ninth year of king Rājarājakēsari-varman,**[4] *i.e.* Rājarāja I, and thus belongs to **A.D. 993–4,** the reign of that king having commenced on some day in the month following the 25th June, 985 A.D.[5] **Palaeographically,** the inscription bears a very close resemblance to the other stone inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign, the **alphabet** being Tamiḻ with the usual admixture of Grantha for Sanskrit words.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamil. The grammatical construction of the main sentence of the *vyavasthā* is faulty; it seems to follow local colloquial usage, but the meaning is clear. Note

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 204.

[2] No. 195 of 1923.

[3] Marked *Perumāḷ Koil* in the plan of Uttiramērūr in my *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*.

[4] Cf. Nos. 176 of 1906 and 228 of 1908 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 217.

particularly the changes from *-ōṉum* to *-oṉṟal* in l. 4 and to *oṉṟum* in l. 6. The form *javasthai* for *vyavasthai*, and the use of the verb *pūṇḍupōdal* in the sense of ' answer for ' are noteworthy.

The object of the inscription is to record a decision (*vyavasthā*) of the *Mahāsabhā* of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the best known of the village *sabhās* of the Chōḷa period on account of the celebrated inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I, regulating its constitutional arrangements. The decision of the *sabhā* relates to the responsibility for the payment of fines (*daṇḍam*) imposed on the members of different groups by different agencies. The groups liable to fines are enumerated thus : Brāhmaṇas, Śivabrāhmaṇas, Accountants, Merchants, Veḷḷāḷar and any other castes (*jātigaḷ*) (ll. 4-6). The agencies that could levy fines were : the King's court (*rājadvāram*), the court of justice (*dharmāsanam*), the revenue department (*vari*), and others (*maṟṟuḷḷāṉum*). The decision is that for all fines levied only the particular caste or group to which the individual or individuals fined belonged should be held accountable for their proper payment.

The occasion for this decision is not explicitly stated. But it seems proper to assume that the *Mahāsabhā* was responsible for securing the timely payments of fines by the villagers, that somehow the sanctions required to secure this began to fail them, and that consequently, they reached a method that made a powerful appeal to group-loyalty and enlisted the co-operation of the groups with the *Mahāsabhā* in the discharge of its responsibility. It will be noticed that the enumeration of the authorities levying the fine (*daṇḍam*) and of the classes of persons liable to it, is illustrative and not exhaustive ; so that even fines, if any, levied by the *Mahāsabhā* itself would fall under the operation of this new *vyavasthā*.

The mention of accountants, merchants and Veḷḷāḷar among the groups raises an interesting issue. Were these classes members of the *Mahāsabhā* and did they take part in its deliberations ? I think the answer to this question must be in the affirmative for two reasons. First, the meeting of the general assembly of the village is described as comprising everybody, young and old (*ābālavṛiddhammaiya eppēṛppaṭṭaḷum*)[1], and there is no indication that it was an exclusively Brāhmaṇ assembly. Secondly, the various Chōḷa inscriptions which lay down special qualifications of property and education relate to the executive of the assembly indicated by such words as *Vāriyam*, *Sabhāmāṟṟuchcheluttudal*, *Kūṭṭam*,[2] etc. The *vyavasthā* recorded in our inscription must thus have had the approval of all the classes affected by it.

The Māṉūr inscription of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ[3] (A. D. 800), it must be noted, lays down a high qualification in property and education not only for the *vāriyam* but for a person taking part in the general assembly, *maṉṟāḍuval*, as well. And the Tiruchchendūr inscription of Varaguṇa II[4] shows that the system of village government that prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country in the ninth century was much the same as we find it in the Chōḷa kingdom of the tenth century and later. We may assume either that the Māṉūr rule was an exception, or what seems more probable, that in course of time the exclusiveness of the *sabhās* broke down in part.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō-Irājarājakēsaripaṉmaṟkku yāṇḍu 9 nāḷ[5] 158 Utti-

2 ramēru-chchaturvvēdi[6]maṅgalattu Mahāsabhaiyōm Tuḷāvāra-śrīkōyil

3 mukamaṇḍapattē peruṅ-kuṟiyiruṇḍu Mahāsabhaiyōm śeyda javasthaiy[7]-āvadu r[ā]-

4 jadvārattōṉum dammāsanattōṉal Variyilē-oṉṟal maṟṟuḷḷāṉum nammil brā-

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[1] *E.g.*, 62 of 1898.

[2] *Studies in Chōḷa History and Administration*, pp. 82-84.

[3] Above, p. 5.

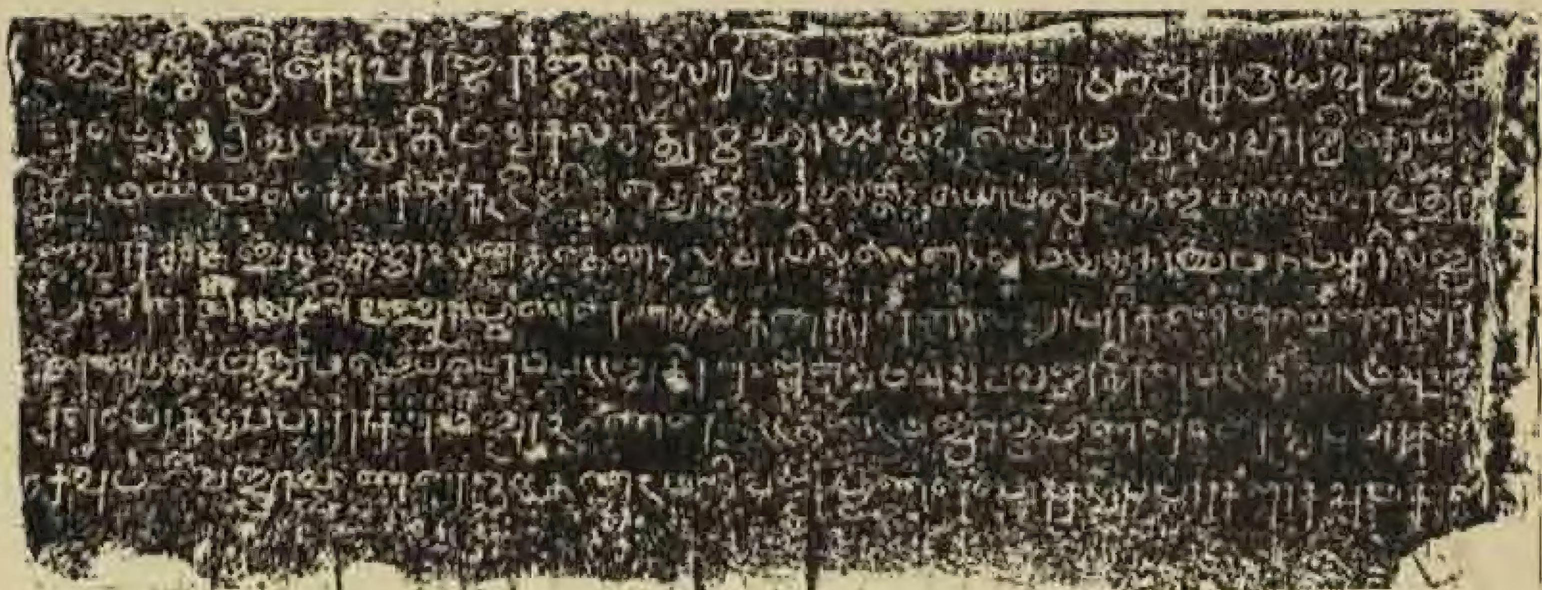
[4] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 101.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read *-chaturvēdi*.

[7] A *tadbhava* of *vyavasthā*.

A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3802 E'35-425.

SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

5 hmaṇar-[eṇṇa]l śivabrāhmaṇar-eṇṇal Kaṇakkar[1]-eṇṇal vyāpārigaḷ-eṇ[ṇal*] Veḷḷāḷa-
6 [r]eṇṇal maṟṟumum-eppērppaṭṭa jātigaḷ-eṉṟum avvava-jātigaḷ paṭṭa daṇḍam avva[v]-
7 arē pōkkaruppār-[r]āgavum brāhmaṇarai iṭṭa daṇḍam brāhmaṇarē pōkkaruppārgaḷ-[ā]-
8 gavum śivabrāhmaṇarai iṭṭa daṇḍam śivab[rā]hmaṇarē pōkkaruppārgaḷ-āgavum kā[ṇa]. . . .

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3). Hail! Prosperity! On the **158th day in the ninth year of** (*the reign of*) king **Rājarājakēsaripanmar**, we, the *Mahāsabhā* of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam**, assembled by day in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the sacred temple of the *tiruvāhāra*[2], and made the following resolution:—

(Ll. 4-8). Whether at the gate of the royal palace, or at the court of justice or in the (*department of*) revenue, or elsewhere, the Brāhmaṇas, Śivabrāhmaṇas, accountants, merchants, Veḷḷāḷas and any other castes of our village, shall be themselves answerable for the fines laid on the respective castes, the Brāhmaṇas being answerable for the fines laid on Brāhmaṇas, the Śivabrāhmaṇas being answerable for the fines laid on Śivabrāhmaṇas,——

No. 33.—AN UNFINISHED VAKATAKA PLATE FROM DRUG.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This plate was discovered some years ago at **Mōhallā**, the headquarters of the Pānabāras Zamindari in the Drug District of C. P. An impression taken at the time by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nāgpur Museum was sent to the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal. As it was only a single plate, not containing the complete genealogy or even the name of the donor, Rai Bahadur Hiralal did not naturally consider it of sufficient importance and it is not, therefore, included in his list of inscriptions of C. P. and Berar published in 1932. I came to know of its existence in January 1934, from a casual reference in his letter. I requested him to give me more details, but he could not recollect any except that it was in the possession of a Zamindar in the Drug district. Later on while turning up old papers, he found an old impression of it which he kindly sent me. As Rai Bahadur Hiralal had fortunately jotted down at the time the name of its owner, I requested Mr. B. A. Bambawale, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Drug, to procure the plate for me. He traced it to one Akbar Khan, a petition-writer of Drug, who held it on behalf of Nagshah of Sārōlā. In the course of inquiries made by Mr. Bambawale it was elicited that the plate was originally found at Mōhallā by one Bisambhar Raut who sent it to Nagshah. But for Mr. Bambawale's keen interest and active help this unique plate would not have again come to light. It is now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.

This **plate** was intended to be the first of a set of three or four plates recording the charter of a Vākāṭaka king. It is inscribed only on one side. It measures 8" by 3·75" and weighs 19½ *tolas*. It is only 1/16" in thickness and is thus the thinnest of all Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far. About 1·9" from the middle of the proper right margin there is a hole, ·35" in diameter, for a ring intended to connect it with other plates of the set. But no such ring has been discovered so far. The size of the plate and the position of its hole show that it does not belong to the same set as the Patna Museum third plate[3] of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II edited by Prof. A. S. Altekar.[4]

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[1] Read *Kaṇakkar*.
[2] No doubt the Sundaravarada Perumāḷ Kōyil.
[3] The Patna Museum plate is 7·25" by 4·2". About 1" from the centre there is a hole about ·35" in diameter.
[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 465 ff.

The plate contains five lines only. The letters are very neatly cut and do not show through on the reverse, though the plate is very thin. The ends of the plate are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

As stated above, the plate records the charter of a **Vākāṭaka king** and is, like most other plates of the Vākāṭakas, inscribed in the box-headed **characters** which were current in C. P. and Berār from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The boxes at the top of letters are not scooped out hollow, but appear like small squares as in many inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The engraver has not engraved boxes at the top of the letters *ja* and *la* and, in some cases, *ka*, *dha*, and *ya*. The characters resemble, in a general way, those of the Riddhapur plates[1] of Prabhāvatiguptā and the Ṛithpur plates of Bhavattavarman[2] and call for few remarks. The medial *ā*, *e* and *ai* are generally denoted by horizontal *mātrās*, bent downwards at the end, added generally at the top (cf. *Padmapurāt*, l. 1) and in some cases, particularly in that of *ma*, at the middle of letters (cf. *mādhe* and *samrājaḥ*, l. 2). One of the two *mātrās* for *ai* is on the top (cf. *Bhairava*, l. 3). The medial *au* is bipartite as in the cognate records of the Vākāṭakas. The medial *i* is denoted by a curve turned to the left on the top of a letter often forming a loop (cf. *Śiva*, l. 3), while its length is expressed by adding to it another and smaller curve turned in the opposite direction (cf. *Śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, l. 2). The medial *u* is shown either by lengthening the vertical to end in a serif (cf. *supari-*, l. 3) or by a curve turned to the right (cf. *chatur-*, l. 1). The letters *ā*, *ka* and *ra* have ornamental curves at the lower ends of their verticals as in the Southern alphabet; *ḍa* has a round back and is not clearly distinguished from *da* (cf. *daśāśvamēdha*, l. 5 and *Shōḍaśy-*, l. 1); *va* is distinguished from *ba* which latter has a notch on its left; *ma* appears in a transitional cursive form with the lower box added to its left arm. Its other form with the box attached to the right vertical which is generally seen in the charters of Pravarasēna II does not appear in this record. The two forms appear side by side in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and Ṛithpur plates of Bhavattavarman. The form of *ma* used in the present plate develops ultimately into that found in the charters of the kings of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tīvaradēva. The final *t* and *n* appear in a much reduced size and the latter has a looped base. The loop on the left side of *ya* has almost disappeared in two places (cf. *Vājapēya*, l. 1 and *Yājinaḥ*, l. 2). The right arm of *la* is longer than the left except in the case of *li*. The **language** is Sanskrit. As for **orthography** we have to note the reduplication of the consonant following *r*, e.g., in *Āptōryyāma*, l. 1; *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Ukthya* (l. 1) and *Bhāgīrathya* (l. 4), the reduplicated letter being made unaspirate.

With the exception of the place of issue the record is identical, so far as it goes, with the initial portion of the charters of the Vākāṭaka kings Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivīshēṇa II. It mentions by name only one prince of the dynasty, *viz.*, **Pravarasēna I**, who assumed the Imperial title of Samrāṭ and performed several Vēdic sacrifices. It then refers to his grandson who was a great devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava and who was the daughter's son of **Bhavanāga** the *Mahārāja* (of the family) of the **Bhāraśivas**. The description of the Bhāraśivas—their coronation with the water of the Ganges which they had obtained by their valour, and their performance of ten Aśvamēdhas—is given as in the other plates of the Vākāṭakas. The record on the plate breaks off just before the mention of this grandson of Pravarasēna I, *viz.*, Rudrasēna I. The plate purports to have been issued from **Padmapura**.

Here two questions present themselves :—(1) Was the inscription commenced on this plate finished or was the plate rejected for some reason or other ? (2) Who was the king who intended to issue this charter ? As for the first question, I am inclined to think that the inscription was

[1] *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 55 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

never completed or, in any case, the present plate was rejected for some unknown reason. Nearly all the charters of the Vākāṭakas contain the word *drishṭam*, with[1] or without[2] some word like *siddham* or *svasti*, at the beginning or in the margin.[3] The only exceptions so far known are the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II[4] and the Ṛiddhapura plates of Prabhāvatiguptā. Of these, the former is known to be an incomplete charter. In the case of the latter the word was probably not inserted for want of space. As in the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II there is in the present plate sufficient space for three letters in the beginning of the first line. If the record on the plate had been completed, the word *drishṭam* would have been prefixed to it as in so many other records of the Vākāṭakas. The following remarks of Prof. Kielhorn about the Bālāghāṭ plates would equally apply to our plate—" I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prakrit *diṭṭham* of the Mayidavōlu and Hirahaḍagalli plates) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of ' seen ' and that it is similar to the modern ' true copy ' or ' examined ' of official letters or Government orders. Such a remark could, of course, have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished and it is missing here, because our grant was not completed."[5] Another point to be noted in the case of the present plate is that it leaves space sufficient for five letters at the end of the last line. The word Gautamīputrasya which follows Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya in other Vākāṭaka records, could very well have been written in that space. In fact the engraver seems to have begun to incise the word; for faint traces of the top portion of the first syllable of that word can be noticed on the plate. That the engraver left so much space at the end seems to show that he received an order to stop before he could complete that line. Whether the record was inscribed on another set of plates cannot be determined at present.

Let us next try to answer the second question—' Who was the king that intended to issue this charter ? ' The general resemblance between the characters of the present plate and those of the Dudia and Ṛiddhapur plates seem to indicate that it might be Pravarasēna II. But almost all the known complete charters[6] of Pravarasēna II were issued from Pravarapura, a city which he himself seems to have founded and made his capital. It seems that Nandivardhana was the capital of the Vākāṭakas before the time of Pravarasēna II ; for the earliest grant of the dynasty discovered so far, *viz.*, the Poona plates of the queen mother Prabhāvatiguptā, was issued from Nandivardhana.[7] So it was Pravarasēna II who shifted the capital from Nandivardhana to the newly founded city of Pravarapura.[8] If he had intended to grant the present plate, Pravarapura and not Padmapura, should have, in all probability, been the place of issue. Besides, the palaeographical evidence detailed above seems to show that the present plate may be assigned to a slightly later date. Padmapura is not known to have been a holy place (*tīrtha*) ; nor is a

[1] *Cf.* the Chammak and Siwanī plates of Pravarasēna II ; Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 55 and 56.

[2] *Cf.* the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. III, p. 258.

[3] *Cf.* the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 39.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 267 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 268-269.

[6] The only exceptions are (1) the Siwanī plates which, however, do not mention any place of issue and (2) the recently discovered Tirōḍi plates (above, pp. 171 ff.) which, as I have shown in my article on them, were probably issued from a holy place. In the case of the Patna Museum plate (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 465) and the Rāmṭek plate (*List of C. P. Inscriptions*, Second Edition, p. 4), the first plates of their sets being missing, the place of issue is not known.

[7] Rai Bahadur Hiralal has identified this place with Nagardhan 4 miles from Rāmṭek, but it is more likely to be Nāndpur about 15 miles to the north of Rāmṭek where extensive ruins can still be seen and where two seals inscribed in characters of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. have been found. (See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 159 ff.)

[8] Mr. K. N. Dikshit has conjecturally identified this with Pavnār in Wardhā district where there is a high strong fort overlooking a river and considerable ruins (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 160).

word like *vāsaka* added to it, showing that it was the site of the donor's camp. It seems, therefore, that Padmapura was the capital of a successor of Pravarasēna II who intended to issue this charter.

Let us next consider why the capital was shifted from Pravarapura. The Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II describe that king as one 'who had raised his sunken family'.[1] This expression has not been satisfactorily explained.[2] It evidently refers to some foreign invasion in the reign of Pṛithivishēṇa's father and Pravarasēna II's son, Narēndrasēna, when he was reduced to great straits. Who was this powerful enemy of the Vākāṭakas? We should note in this connection that the Riṭhpur plates[3] of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to a period falling between the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century were issued from Nandivardhana, which, as shown above, was formerly a capital of the Vākāṭakas. So Bhavattavarman must have occupied the western portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. The Vākāṭakas in this emergency seem to have shifted their capital to Padmapura in the East where they had the support of their loyal feudatories, the kings of Kōsala (Chhattisgarh) and Mēkalā (the region round the source of the Narmadā).[4] An inscription of Bhavattavarman's successor has been discovered at Pōḍāgaḍh in the Jaypur Agency of the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency, from which it appears that the Nalas suffered a great reverse after their initial success and their capital Pushkarī was made desolate.[5] It seems, therefore, likely that Pṛithivishēṇa II carried the war into the enemy's territory and regained his ancestral kingdom evidently with the help of his maternal grandfather the king of Kuntala and his feudatories of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava. His Bālāghāṭ plates were intended to be issued when he was encamped at Vēmbāra.[6] No other plates of either Pṛithivishēṇa II or his successors have been discovered; so we do not know the name of their capital. It seems likely that our present plate was intended to be issued either by Narēndrasēna or his son Pṛithivishēṇa II from the then capital Padmapura. If so, Padmapura is the last known capital of the Vākāṭakas.

The mention of Padmapura in the present plate is also important from another point of view. The well-known Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti, who ranks in Sanskrit literature next only to Kālidāsa and flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.D., mentions Padmapura as his ancestral home. In one of his plays, the *Mahāvīracharita*, Padmapura is stated to be in the Dakshiṇāpatha, while in another, *viz.*, the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, it is mentioned as situated in Vidarbha. As no place named Padmapura was known till now from any epigraphic record as

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[1] [illegible] (above, Vol. IX, p. 271).

[2] There is no ground for Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's conjecture that Narēndrasēna allied himself with the Pushyamitras and the Paṭumitras who rose in revolt against Skandagupta and was subsequently defeated by the latter (*The Vākāṭakas in the History of India*, p. 50). Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that the Vākāṭaka family must have sunk along with the Guptas owing to Hūṇa invasions (*History of India, 150 A.D.—350 A.D.*, p. 102). But there are no traces of Hūṇa occupation in the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, whereas we have clear evidence of the occupation of Nandivardhana by Bhavattavarman of the Nala family who rose about that time.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

[4] [illegible]

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 153. Pushkarī has not been identified. It may be identical with modern Barsur in the State of Bastar, C. P., which abounds in ancient ruins. (See *Gazetteer of the Chattisgarh Feudatory States*, p. 30.)

[6] This place has not yet been identified. It is likely to be Bēmbāl about 28 miles to the east of Chānda and 2 miles to the west of the Waingangā. This identification would further indicate that Pṛithivishēṇa II was on his way to the territory of the Nalas which lay further to the south-east, probably in the State of Bastar.

situated in Berār, some scholars[1] were inclined to take it as identical with Padmāvatī, the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava*, which is now clearly shown to be Pawāyā 25 miles north-east of Narwār in Gwalior State.[2] The discovery of the present plate has settled this disputed point and proved incontrovertibly that Bhavabhūti was born in ancient Vidarbha. The Vākāṭaka kings were patrons of Vēdic learning and performed many important Vēdic sacrifices. It is no wonder, therefore, that we find such learned Mīmāṃsakas as the ancestors of Bhavabhūti,[3] who themselves performed such sacrifices as the Vājapēya, settled in Padmapura, where they must have received the patronage of the Vākāṭakas. After the decline of the Vākāṭakas there were no great royal dynasties ruling in C. P. and Berār in the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Bhavabhūti seems, therefore, to have gone to the north where he found a patron in Yaśōvarman, the mighty king of Kanauj, as stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

We have seen above that Padmapura was situated in Vidarbha. From the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa[4] we learn that the river Wardhā divided Vidarbha into two parts. Ancient Vidarbha, therefore, comprised not only modern Berār but also the Marāṭhī districts of the Central Provinces, which, as I have shown elsewhere,[5] were under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas. As a matter of fact there is no village named Padmapura in modern Berār proper, while there are at least six villages of that name in the Chāndā and Bhaṇḍārā districts of C. P. Of these Padampur, 2 miles from Āmgaon, a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, is probably the Padmapura of the present plate. As I have shown elsewhere[6] the villages mentioned in the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II can be identified in its vicinity. The village contains many ancient relics. When I visited the place during the Christmas of 1934, I found four finely carved but broken images of the Tīrthaṅkaras Pārśvanātha and Ṛishabhadēva, some others of Hindu gods like Vishṇu[7] and remains of two Mediaeval Hindu temples, such as fragments of massive stone pillars, a large lintel measuring 8' × 1'-7" × 1'-6" and bases of door-jambs, in the adjoining fields. No other Padampur in C. P. is reported to have such ancient relics. There are at present no Brahmin families in Padampur itself which is now a small village of 112 souls, but there are many Brahmins in the neighbourhood of Padampur. It is noteworthy that they follow the Taittirīya branch of the Black Yajurvēda to which Bhavabhūti's family belonged.[8] I, therefore, feel no hesitation in concluding that Padampur in the Āmgaon Zamindari of the Bhaṇḍārā district, C. P., was the last Vākāṭaka capital and the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti.

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[1] Cf. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's Introduction to the *Uttara-Rāmacharita* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XXI), p. xxxvi.

[2] *A. S. R.*, for 1915-16, pp. 1-10.

[3] अस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मपुरं नाम नगरम् । तत्र केचित्तैत्तिरीयाः काश्यपाश्चरणगुरवः पङ्क्तिपावनाः पञ्चाग्नयो धृतव्रताः सोमपीथिन उदुम्बरनामानो ब्रह्मवादिनः प्रतिवसन्ति । तदामुष्यायणस्य तत्रभवतो वाजपेययाजिनो महाकवेः पञ्चमः....श्रीकण्ठपदलाञ्छनो भवभूतिर्नाम जातुकर्णीपुत्रः.... । (*Mahāvīracharita* pp. 2-3, ed. Oxford University Press).

[4] Act V, st. 13.

[5] Above, p. 169.

[6] Above, p. 171, footnote 1.

[7] An old farmer of Padampur told me that one more image was taken to the Nagpur Museum about forty years ago. It cannot however be definitely identified there, as no accurate record of the findspots of images has been kept in the Museum and the provenance of many is not known. But from the dimensions of its stone prabhāvali, which is still in situ at Padampur, the image seems to be identical with that of Śiva (A.-22 in the Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Nagpur Museum) which 'is said to have come from Bhaṇḍārā' (district ?).

[8] It may be noted in this connection that the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II which record the gift of the village Brahmapūraka in the neighbourhood of Padampur, were granted to a Brahmin of the Taittirīya-śākhā.

TEXT.[1]

1 प्रवरपुरात्[2] [।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्य-स्कचतुरश्व-
2 मेधयाजिनः[3] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राजः वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः सूनोः
3 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरि-
4 तुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागिर[4]थ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्त[5]नाम्
5 दशाश्वमेधावभृत[6]स्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य[7]

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[1] From the original plate.
[2] There is a space of ·7" sufficient for incising three letters before this word.
[3] Here and in some places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed.
[4] Read भागीरथ्य.
[5] Read मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानाम्.
[6] Read वभृथ.
[7] There is a space of 1·2" left after this word. Faint traces of the top portion of a letter can be seen on the plate.

THE SEAL OF THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I.



ACTUAL SIZE.

ANCIENT TOWER AT NEGAPATAM. (FROM IND. ANT. VOL. VII).



THE TOWER AS IT EXISTED IN 1846.

BRONZE IMAGE PRESENTED TO LORD NAPIER IN 1868.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. From photographs. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 34.—THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES (OF RAJARAJA I).

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., Coimbatore.

The Leiden University Museum in Holland preserves two sets of copper-plate charters of the Chōḷas of which the larger contains 21 leaves or plates and the smaller 3 leaves. These are popularly known as the Large and Small Leiden Grants. They were edited nearly half a century ago, i.e., in 1886 by Pandit Natesa Sastri and Burgess in Volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*.[1] The provenance of the plates is not noticed by the authors; but regarding the larger set they say that it is engraved in Chōḷa-Grantha characters on 21 plates each measuring 14" by 5". They also note:—" The plates are held together by a massive ring bearing a seal about 4½" in diameter with 16 knobs at about equal distances from each other round the margin. The central field contains, on the left, two fishes—the scales, fins, gills, eyes and mouth, of which are all clearly expressed; and on the right, an animal, seated dog-fashion, with its tail brought forward to touch the nearer of the fishes:—from the large tusk in its mouth, it is probably intended for a tiger—the Chōḷa symbol. Over it is a *chhatra*, with a *chāmara* on each side, the handles resting on the heads of two small pillars resembling lamp-stands,—each stand having a cloth knotted round the middle of it. The tops of these resemble lamp flames. A well-raised circle, double below, surrounds all this; and outside it, in raised characters of the Chōḷa-Grantha type, is the legend beginning at the bottom:—

Iti Rājēndra-Chōḷasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ rājarājanyamakuṭaśrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam ||"

The following additional information is found in the note recently received from Leiden, by Dr. Chakravarti, and kindly forwarded to me by him[2]:—" The plates are ⅛" in thickness. On the left side there is a hole (diameter 1") by means of which the plates are fastened to a massive copper-ring having an outward diameter of 13". The ring has a circular section with diameter of ⅞" and has been soldered into a cylindrical tube with raised rims. This tube, measuring 3¼" in length and 1½" in section, contains a short inscription which contains the name Āṇaimaṅgalam in Tamiḷ. On the top of the tube there is a massive conical projection in the form of a lotus flower, with eight pointed leaves turned downward and sixteen pointed leaves turned upward. On the upper surface of this lotus is the seal" described above. The note further informs that " the writing has not been engraved; was written first on wax tablets and from these the copper-plates have been cast *à cire perdue*".

To the careful observations of Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri I would only add that the inner one of the double line at the bottom of the raised circle is intended to denote the bow emblem of the Chēras whom the Chōḷas had subdued, and that the legend requires slight emendation. Rājēndra-Chōḷa's legend is given in two stone inscriptions published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume V,[3] and also in the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.[4] With the help of their readings the legend on the seal of the Leiden plates given by Burgess and Natesa Sastri may be corrected into—

Śrīmad-Rājēndra-Chōḷasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ [|*]

rājad-rājanya-makuṭa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam [||*]

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[1] Pp. 204 ff.

[2] [At my request Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, kindly sent, through the good offices of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, excellent ink-impressions of the grant from which the facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared.—Ed.]

[3] General Nos. 578 and 579.

[4] *A. S. R.*, for 1903-04, p. 234.

That this must be the reading is clear from the authors' own remarks that the symbol "used for the first syllable of *Rājēndra* and for the third syllable of *rājarājanya* is quite different from that employed for *ra* elsewhere in the legend, being more like what one might expect to find for *dra* or *pra*." The photograph of the seal kindly sent by Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp was examined by me in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India and found to agree with the reading given above. I may remark that there is no punctuation mark in the legend.

At the time the large Leiden plates were published, the account furnished in them formed the only authentic source for Chōḷa history and served to remove some of the misconceptions and wrong conjectures regarding a few of the members of the Chōḷa family. The editors had correctly estimated the worth of the record when they said that it was 'the first Chōḷa inscription yet translated containing much definite information respecting the dynasty, and must be regarded as of the greatest importance'. The genealogy it furnished superseded those published by Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*[1] and formed an important basis for future investigations. Since the editing of these plates, a number of valuable Chōḷa records have been edited critically. Of these, the most important is the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant discovered by me in 1906 and edited in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume III.[2] No less useful is the stone inscription of Vīrarājēndra found at Kanyākumāri by the late Gopinatha Rao and edited by me in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume III.[3] The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōḷa, the former edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*[4] and the latter in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*,[5] are other important ones. Besides these epigraphical sources, there are a few Tamil historical texts which also aid the student in his study of the Chōḷa history. These are the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the *Kulōttuṅgaśōḻan-ulā*, first noticed by the late Kanakasabhai Pillai in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā*, *Rājarājaśōḻan-ulā* and others, the texts of which had since been edited with care.

Considering the time of publication, it must be said that the inscription on the Leiden plates has been fairly well made out. But there are a few mistakes of the authors as well as of the printer which mar the text and distort the sense. They could be easily corrected without having recourse to the original, mainly with the help of the reading of other allied records. I noted down the mistakes when I took up its study seriously while editing the Kanyākumāri inscription in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* nearly 15 years ago. On that occasion, I also revised the text of the Leiden plates, which on comparison with the impressions now kindly secured by the Government Epigraphist is found to agree. One of the serious defects in the previous edition of this inscription is the wrong arrangement of some of the plates. The plate marked there as "Fifteenth plate; second side" is really the fourteenth plate, second side. Similarly the plate marked "Fourteenth plate; second side" is in fact the fifteenth plate, second side. The inscription then reads through without any interruption; the regular order of the lines 284 to 316 given in the volume should be 284, 305 to 315, 295 to 304, 285 to 294 and 316.

While the published Sanskrit text is almost free from errors of transcription, the Tamil portion contains too many mistakes to be noticed here. The best way will be to give a correct version of the whole with proper division of words adding foot-notes wherever serious changes are effected. Most of the mistakes are simple ones due to taking *ra* for the length stroke from which it is hardly distinguishable or due to taking the basic consonant as the first combined consonant and vice

[1] Vol. II, pp. 154-156.

[2] See pages 383 to 439.

[3] Pages 87 to 158.

[4] Vol. XV, pp. 44-72.

[5] Vol. III, pp. 264 ff.

cered. In effect, the significance of some of the words has been altered or distorted and rendered meaningless. For instance *Iaraipattiy* has been read as *Idaipattiy* (l. 258)[1], *Pākkaṟu* has been read as *Pākkāṟ* (l. 276), *Perumpura* as *Parampura* (l. 156), *nigam* as *alikam* (l. 285), *virpaliyum* as *virupiliyum* (l. 285), *pāya-kkāliya* as *pāykkalin* (l. 232), *Śiṟṟiyāṉ Kaḍamban* as *Śiriyāṉa kaḍamban* (l. 244), etc. The formation of *ṉa* and *ṉa* being almost similar, one has been mistaken for the other. For instance, the proper name *Aṉaiyāṉ* has been read as *aṉaiyāṉ* (l. 159). As *ṟu* is shaped almost like *ṉa*, the latter letter has been mistaken for the former, *e.g.*, *nāṟṟuḷḷa* and *nāṟṟāṉ* (ll. 173 and 174), for *nāṟṟamukka* and *nāṟṟamuṉ*. The Grantha letter *bha* being similar to the conjunct *ṉa*, the former has been mistaken for the latter, *e.g.*, *Tammaḍiṉattaṉ* (l. 155) which must be *Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭan*. Wrong division of words has sometimes resulted in distorting words and obscuring their sense. For instance, what has been read as *brahmadēyamum Kiḻakkuḍi* (l. 265) ought to be *brahmadēya-Mēṉgiḻkuḍi*, what has been read as *perunttōrapperugaiṉa* (ll. 159-60) ought to be *pēr-ūrantṉ-tōṟṟaiṉam* (*pēr-ūrandāṉtōṟṟaiṉam*) and what has been taken as *pāl tōrumkai* (l. 287) should be *pāṭal-erumpu*. It is unnecessary to cite more instances as the mistakes are corrected in the revised text given below.

The impressions now obtained show that the inscription has been very neatly executed from beginning to end. It is in **two sections.** The **first section** is in the **Sanskrit** language and written in the **Grantha** alphabet. It contains 111 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of **five plates.**[2] Except the first plate, the rest are marked with the numerals 2 to 5 on the obverse sides, near the top of the ring hole, either to its left or right. These numerals are in smaller characters than the letters of the inscription.

The following **orthographical peculiarities** may be noted. The vowel *a* is represented by two separate symbols which could be easily mistaken for *tava*. The finals of consonants are indicated by a slight vertical stroke marked on the right top corner (for instances see *pūrat* in l. 4 and *pratāpavān* in l. 31), except in the case of *m* where it is marked on the top of the left side. The superscribed *rēpha* is denoted by a dot placed over the consonant (*e.g.*, see *Kārtyavān* in l. 3 and *Ravir-ava* in l. 71. The length symbol is invariably separated from the letter to which it belongs. While *kri* (see *Krishṇa* in l. 43, *kṛita* in l. 60f., *kṛitya* in l. 67), is represented by a hook turned to the right crossing *ka*, *kri* is shaped by bending, at the bottom, the vertical stroke of *ka* to the left (see *chakra* in l. 52). There are many instances of the use of final *m* for *anusvāra*; for example see *sampatsōbhā-* in l. 44, *Śambhu* in l. 69, *dakshiṇ-āmbhō* in l. 69, *sambhūtēna* in l. 90, *samparam* in l. 101, and *sambhavō* in l. 103. While the medial short *i* is denoted by a concave curve marked over the letter, long *ī* is denoted in two ways by having a closed loop at the beginning or end of the *i* curve. The *u* symbol is formed in three different ways:—(1) In the case of most letters (*n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, etc.), it is indicated by the addition of a tube to the bottom of the letter: the long *ū* in these letters is denoted by the further addition of a convex curve passing from the right of the letter to the left covering its lower portion. (2) In the case of letters like *k* and *r*, which have a tube-bottom, the *u* symbol is represented by the addition of a curve passing at the bottom of the letter with a slight bend on the right side: the long *ū* in these letters is shown by a wavy line added to the letter at the middle of the right side. (3) In the case of *t* and *ś*, the *u* symbol is indicated by the addition of a hook at the bottom turned to the right. *Tū* and *śū* are not represented.

[1] The lines quoted in this paragraph refer to the edition of the text by Burgess and Naṭēsa Sastri.

[2] On each side, the first plate contains 10 lines, the second 11 lines, and the third and the fourth 12 lines. While the obverse of the fifth plate has only 9 lines, the reverse of it contains 12 lines.

The **language** and **alphabet** of the **second section** is **Tamil**, though Grantha letters are used in some words of Sanskrit origin. It contains 332 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of **sixteen plates**.[1] These plates are marked with the numerals 1 to 16 as in the Sanskrit portion. The omission of *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, and the shaping of *na* and *ṇa* alike are the only points worthy of note.

Omission of letters are noticeable in *grāma* (l. 49) for *grāmam*, *vija* (l. 67) for *vijaya*, *samādhana* (l. 97) for *samādhanaḥ*, *Jayaṅgoṇḍa* (l. 108) for *Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa*, in the Sanskrit portion; *pūjyam* (l. 56) for *pūjyāmal*, *°yāḍaiti* (l. 120) for *°yāḍaṟutta*, *Kshatriśikhā* (l. 240) for *Kshatriyaśikhā*, *brahmadēa-* (l. 212) for *brahmadēyam-*, *Nāṅgimaṅla* (l. 247) for *Nāṅgimaṅgala*, *piḍiśeḍu* (ll. 232, 253, 262) for *piḍiśūḻndu*, and *ejudi* (l. 234) for *eḻudiṉa* in the Tamiḻ portion.

Both the Sanskrit and the Tamiḻ portions are in the **script of the 11th century A.D.** The writing of the Sanskrit section and the writing from the latter half of line 323 up to line 332 are alike; and seem to be somewhat in a different hand from the main Tamiḻ section from lines 1 to 323 of the 16 Tamiḻ plates.

We shall now notice the **contents** of the inscription. In the Sanskrit portion, the first verse is in praise of Vishṇu[2] while the second is an invocation to the gods for the continuance of the Chōḷa family. Verses 3 and 4 introduce certain mythical ancestors of the solar family to which the Chōḷas belonged. They are Manu[3] the son of Ahimakara (*i.e.*, Sūrya); his son Ikshvāku; the virtuous Māndhātṛi[4] born in his family; his son Muchukunda[5]; his son Vaḷabha; and Śibi[6] born in his family. Of the last, the poet exclaims "who, excepting Vyāsa, could extol the qualities of this king who protected his life only for the benefit of others!" (v. 5). The eponymous **Chōḷa**[7] is

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[1] There are generally 10 lines on each face except on IIb, VIIIb, IXa and b, XIVb and XVa, which contain 11 lines each, and XVb, and XVIa, which have 12 lines each.

[2] Verse 9 of Canto VIII of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* starts the mythical ancestry of the Chōḷas from Vishṇu and carries it in regular succession through Brahman, Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Sūrya.

[3] Verse 10 of Canto VIII of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* states that Ikshvāku was the son of Manu who was the son of Sūrya. It refers to the rendering of justice by Manu, to the astonishment of all, by holding the life of his own son as being no better than that of the calf overrun by the wheels of his car. The verse reads :—

Aṟṟ-Arukkaṉ magaṉ-āgi Maṉu mādiṉi puraṉd-aṟiya-kkūḍalaṉaiy āvipaḍa kaṉṟu-nigar-eṉ-
ṟ-oruvarukkumum viyappa magaṉ-aiya kaḍaiyum Ikkuvāguv-ivaṉ-maindaṉ-eṉa vandu pariṟum [I*].

It is interesting to note that the account of the *Periyapurāṇa* of Manu rendering justice to a cow whose calf was run over by the car of his son, by running his own car over the latter, finds mention in an inscription of Vikrama-Chōḷa found at Tiruvārūr (No. 456 of S. I. I.—Texts, Vol. V, pp. 174ff.). This gives some more details than are not found in the hagiology. Here it is stated that a cow having rung the bell put up at the gate (of the palace) of Manu, the king sent his minister (*mantrin*) Uḷḷaiyaṉāliṉaṉ of Pālaiyūr in Iṅga-nāḍu to know the cause of the ringing. On his reporting that a cow rang the bell, Manu came out, saw the cow and her calf that lay dead, enquired and learnt, that the calf was run over by the car in which his son drove and considering his son's life as being equal to that of the calf, he ordered his minister to run a car over his son. The minister set out with a heavy heart and piercing his ears died. The *dvārapālas* (*i.e.*, gate-keepers) informing the king of the happening, he felt sorry and himself ran the car over his son. At this juncture, the God showed His Grace by restoring to life the calf, the minister and the son of Manu. The king presented the calf to the mother cow and set out for *tapas* with the minister, installing the revived son in his place and appointing to the office of his minister, the minister's son named Sūrya.

[4] Before Māndhātā, the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* introduces Purandara as being the son of Ikshvāku (VIII, v. 11).

[5] Māndhātā and Muchukunda are described in verse 12. The former is described as making the fierce tiger and the deer drink together at the same *ghāṭ*.

[6] In verse 13, Śibi is referred to only by his act of cutting his flesh from his body without the least agitation and entering the scales to equal the weight of the dove; and before him is mentioned one (*i.e.*, Pṛithulākshan) who carried the nectar arising from the churning of the ocean to the gods.

[7] Speaking of Chōḷa, the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* (verse 14) states that he formed the Chōḷamaṇḍala and that Surādhirāja, *i.e.*, Suraguru and others came in his line. The same verse also speaks of Rājakēsarin and Parakēsarin.

then introduced as being born in his family (v. 6). It was after his name that the kings born in the family were called Chōḷas. This is of importance in indicating that the name Chōḷa was first applied to a person, and then to the family, to the people and to the country. In this family was **Rājakēsarin** and in the latter's family was **Parakēsarin** (v. 7). It is stated that the names, or rather the titles, Rājakēsarin and Parakēsarin were borne alternately by kings born in the Chōḷa family (v. 8). Thus it is made clear that only ruling members of the line assumed the said titles and not the others. The next person mentioned as belonging to the family is Suraguru who acquired the name Mṛityujit by conquering the god of death[1] (v. 9). In his family was Vyāghra-kētu whose descendant was Pañchapa[2] (v. 10). From here, the information furnished in the plates relates to historical persons. King **Karikāla** who is described as the god of death to his enemies, is said to have been born in his family. The fact noted about him is that he constructed embankments to the river Kāvērī (v. 11). He seems to have won lasting fame by this deed. The composer of the Kanyākumāri inscription draws special attention to the damage caused annually to the country by the river when it was in floods. The building of embankments to it not only alleviated the frequent sufferings of his subjects but turned the very source of evil into good and made the country grow in wealth and prosperity. And posterity never failed to mention with gratitude this noble act of the king.[3] His renovation of the city of Kāñchī, which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from very early times, is recorded in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.[4] In these ways Karikāla seems to have used the riches which he must have obtained by his successful fight with Trilōchana-Pallava and the influence which he must have gained thereby. In the first of these works, Karikāla was helped by several of the subjugated kings including Trilōchana-Pallava.[5] The date of Karikāla has been taken to be the 5th century A.D.[6] In Karikāla's family was king **Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṉ**. He is described as the bee at the lotus feet of Śambhu (v. 12). While the story of Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṉ's previous birth as spider weaving cobwebs over the *liṅga* at Jambukēśvaram is detailed in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates,[7] his building activities and devotion are referred to in the *Dēvāram*. His victory in the battle of Kalumalam is fully described in the *Kaḷavaḻi*.[8] After him came **kō-kKiḷḷi**. A descendant of Kiḷḷi was **Vijayālaya** (v. 13). While

[1] Mṛityujit is described in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* (Canto VIII, v. 15) as " one who showed to Kāla (i.e., the god of death) his way of conduct ". In *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 417, n. 2, it has been pointed out that the poem evidently refers to Suraguru and Mṛityujit as two different kings.

[2] After Mṛityujit, Vyāghrakētu and Pañchapa are the only two kings mentioned in the Leiden plates. The former is referred to in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates by his other name Chitraratha and it is stated that his banner-cloth bore the emblem of the tiger. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* evidently speaks of him when it refers to ' one who put in his flag Indra as the tiger '. Pañchapa is described in the Tamil poem as ' he who offered his blood to be drunk forcibly '. The Kanyākumāri inscription speaking of Pañchapa states that he cut open five arteries of his body and fed with blood five Yakshas.

[3] *Ñaṭṭa-lāḷi Kaṭikāla-vaḷar Kāvērī-tīra-kriya-ariyaḥ* (above, Vol. VII, p. 153). *Yasmin kali samabhavat Karikāla-Chōḷō vīraḥ Kāvēra-tanayā-tanuta-setu* (*ibid*, p. 150). *Toḷuta maṇṇavar karai-koḷ Ponni* (*Kaliṅgattup-paraṇi*, VIII, v. 20).

[4] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 417f., v. 42.

[5] *Charaṇa-saroruha-vihita-vilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukha-akhila-pṛithvīśvara-kārita-Kāvērī-tīra* (above, Vol. XI, p. 340, n. 2). *Kāvēra-tanayā-(vi)-[?]-ghaṭita-prākāra-pramukha-bhū-bṛit-kṛitaga-kāriṇaḥ*.......... *Karikālaḥ* (Puṅgalūr plates, above, Vol. XI, p. 345).

[6] Above, Vol. XI, p. 340.

[7] See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, verse 43 and note 4. See v. 5 of Tirunāvukkaraśu's *Dēvāram* on Tiruchchāykkāḍu and his hymn on Tirunaṉaippaḷḷi, verse 2; also Sundaramūrtināyaṉār's hymn on Tiruvārūr-aḍuturai, verse 2. The Māḍakkōyil at Tiruvaigal is said to have been constructed by Śeṅgaṇāṉ; see Jñānasambandar's hymn on that place.

[8] K. V. S. Aiyar's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 157 and 158, and also above, Vol. XI, p. 156, n. 8.

the Kanyākumāri inscription states that he constructed the town of Tañchāpurī[1] in the Chōḷa country, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say that he captured that city and built the temple of Nisumbhasūdanī in it.[2] Since we know from the Sendalai pillar inscriptions that Tañchāpurī was one of the principal cities[3] of Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyan, who flourished immediately before the time of Vijayālaya, the conclusion is irresistible that the latter must have conquered the Muttaraiyan chief and wrested the town from his possession and made it his capital.[4] As such the information furnished in the Kanyākumāri inscription is not quite correct. And since we know from Vēḷūrpāḷayam plates that Nandivarman III, who was not far removed from Vijayālaya, had a certain Chōḷamahārāja *alias* Kumārāṅkuśa as his *ājñapti*,[5] it is not impossible that this Vijayālaya succeeded him and eventually made himself independent or paved the way for his son to raise the canopy of a dominion in Southern India. Of **Āditya**, the son of Vijayālaya (v. 14), much information is not given in the Leiden plates. But we know from other sources that he was a Rājakēsarivarman[6] and had the name Kōdaṇḍarāma,[7] that he was a great conqueror and knew no defeat,[8] that he was on friendly terms with the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi[9] and the Western Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati II,[10] that he extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nāḍu[8] and killed or defeated the Pallava king Aparājita,[8] that he acquired Koṅgu,[11] that he built large temples to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvērī and that he reigned from A.D. 870 to 907.[10] Āditya's son was **Parāntaka (I.)** (v. 15). He is said to have founded big towns, to have effected some conquests and to have covered with gold the temple of Indumauli, i.e., Śiva at Vyāghrāgrahāra (vv. 16-17). His achievements recorded in other places are the signal defeats inflicted on the Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha, the acquisition of the Bāṇa kingdom and the bestowal of it on his ally the Western Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati II,[12] the conquest of Ceylon,[13] the overcoming of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja III in battle[14] and the establishment

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 158, v. 54.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, vv. 46, 48.

[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134ff.

[4] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 211. There are ample evidences of the rule of the Muttaraiyans in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts. See pages 138-39, above, Vol. XIII.

[5] See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 512, v. 20, and the Tamil portion which follows it. It is said that this Chōḷamahārāja was called the heroic head jewel of the Chōḷa race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karṇa and that his conduct was upright.

[6] Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 17.

[7] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 153, v. 53.

[8] Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 18.

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 221.

[10] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 91ff.

[11] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 213.

[12] These are recorded in the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛithvīpati II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 387, vv. 9 and 10). The chronicler distinctly refers to two invasions of the Pāṇḍya country, in the earlier of which Parāntaka I. defeated the Pāṇḍya king and captured his city, and in the later he not only defeated the Pāṇḍya but also slew an immense army despatched to his aid by the lord of Laṅkā. Parāntaka's first invasion of Madura may be placed in A.D. 910 when he assumed the title 'Madiraikoṇḍa'. The second invasion referred to above may be placed in about A.D. 919 which is the date of one of his inscriptions mentioning the battle of Vēḷūr in which it is also stated that Parāntaka defeated the allied forces of Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon.

[13] The earliest inscription that gives to Parāntaka I. the epithet "*Madirai-yum Īḻamum koṇḍa*" being dated in the 37th year of his reign, his conquest of Ceylon must be said to have taken place in or about A.D. 944. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates referring to this event state that "all the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōḷa king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the king of Siṁhaḷa, cut and killed by the king's weapons" (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 62). The Kanyākumāri inscription states that the name Siṁhaḷāntaka was acquired by Parāntaka I. by this achievement (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 153, v. 59).

[14] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 152, v. 58. Parāntaka's conquest of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III must have happened before A. D. 944 which is the earliest date of Kṛishṇa III's records in the Tamil country subject to the rule of the Chōḷas (No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909).

of several *agrahāras* called after his name Vīranārāyaṇa.[1] The first over-seas invasion—which was to be continued long afterwards—was undertaken by him. He reigned for 48 years[2] from A.D. 907 and paid great attention to the internal administration of his country. Verse 18 states that Parāntaka had three sons named Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariñjaya. Of these, **Rājāditya** is said to have been the lord of the earth after Parāntaka I. had passed away (v. 19), and fighting with Kṛishṇarāja, *i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, he is reported to have met with his end (v. 20). The incorrectness of the statement contained in verse 19 that Rājāditya became the lord of the earth after Parāntaka has been clearly shown on pages 82-83 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, where, in a footnote, several records of Parāntaka I., dated in regnal years corresponding to A.D. 947, 948, 952 and 953 have been cited. Because the battle of Takkōlam, in which Rājāditya lost his life, took place in A.D. 947 and is referred to in a record of A.D. 949, it is evident that he did not survive his father, who lived and reigned, according to a recently discovered inscription dated in the 48th year, up to at least A.D. 955. From verses 21 and 22 we learn that **Gaṇḍarāditya** reigned over the Chōḷa dominion and founded a city after his name on the north bank of the Kāvēri,[3] and passed away after a son named Madhurāntaka had been born to him. The last statement is significant inasmuch as it indicates that Madhurāntaka was a child at the time of his father's demise. The next seven verses (vv. 23-29) state that **Ariñjaya**, his son **Parāntaka II** who fought a sanguinary battle at a place named Chēvūr[4] (v. 26), and the latter's son **Āditya II** who is said to have played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya while he was yet a youth (v. 28), ruled the kingdom in succession and that **Madhurāntaka** succeeded Āditya II (v. 29). Thus, from the statements of the plates it is evident that the three kings Ariñjaya, Parāntaka II and Āditya II held the reins of government only during the minority of Madhurāntaka and gave him the kingdom when he came of age. Their reigns must accordingly have been short. That this was actually the case can be gathered from a consideration of the time of the rule of Uttama-Chōḷa. His stone inscriptions carry his reign to 16 years and one of them gives Kali 4083 as the equivalent of his 13th year.[5] As such, his rule lasted from A.D. 969 to 985. Therefore, it is certain that the intervening kings between Parāntaka I. to Madhurāntaka, omitting of course Rājāditya, who, as shown above, did not survive his father, must have reigned in the interval A.D. 955 to 970. Verses 30 to 34 speak of **Rājarāja I.**, the successor of Uttama-Chōḷa. He is said to have conquered the countries of Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kēraḷa and also Siṁhaḷēndra and Satyāśraya. The genealogy furnished in the present plates is given below in a tabular form for easy reference along with those supplied by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, the Anbil plates, and the Kanyākumāri inscription.

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[1] *Ibid.*, v. 60.

[2] *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1932, p. 43.

[3] This place has been identified with Kaṇḍarādittam in the Trichinopoly District.

[4] In some inscriptions he claims "to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest". The Kanyākumāri record states that the quivering Pāṇḍya contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. Sundara-Chōḷa's general Parāntakan Śiriyavēḷār, a Koḍumbāḷūr chief, is said to have lost his life in a battlefield in Ceylon in the 9th year of the king's reign (*above*, Vol. XII, p. 124, and note 3).

[5] *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, p. 64.

THE TABLE SHOWING THE ANCESTRY OF THE CHOLAS IN

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa.	The Kanyākumārī inscription.	The Leiden plates.
[1]Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshi-Purañjaya alias Kakutstha-Kakshīvat-Aryamā ... Anaḷapratāpa ... Vena-Pṛithu ... Dhundhumāra ... Yuvanāśva-Māndhātṛi-Muchukunda ... Vaḷabha-Pṛithulāksha-Pārthivachūḍāmaṇi ... Dīrghabāhu alias Chandrajit—Saṅkṛiti ... Pañchapa ... Satyavrata alias Rudrajit ... Uśīnara-Śibi ... Marutta ... Dushyanta-Dauḥshyanti (Bharata)-Chōḷa or Chōḷavarman.	Vishṇu-Brahmā-Marīchi-Kaśyapa-Aryaman ... Mahāvīra ... Kuṇḍaja-Chandrajit-Uśīnara-Śibi ... Chōḷa.	Brahmā-Marīchi-Kaśyapa-Vivasvān-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshi-Purañjaya ... Pṛithu ... Kuvalāśva ... Māndhātṛi ... Muchukunda ... Hariśchandra ... Sagara ... Bhagīratha ... Ṛituparṇa ... Dilīpa ... Rāma ... Chōḷa.	Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku ... Māndhātṛi-Muchukunda. Vaḷabha ... Śibi ... Chōḷa.
Rājakēsarivarman or Rājakēsarin.	Sembi, Kiḷḷi, etc.	Rājakēsarin.	Rājakēsarin.
Parakēsarin.	Karikāla, etc.	Parakēsarin.	Parakēsarin.
Chitraratha.	Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ: (built temples for the lord of Gaurī in all countries, v. 13).	Mṛityujit.	Suraguru alias Mṛityujit.
Chitrāśva.	Nalladikkōn.	Vīrasēna.	Vyāghraketu.
Chitradhanvan: (brought Kavērakanyakā).	Vaḷabha.	Chitra or Vyāghraketu.	Pañchapa.
Suraguru alias Mṛityujit.	Śrīkaṇṭha.[2]	Pushpakētu.	Karikāla: (constructed embankments to the Kāvērī).
Chitraratha alias Vyāghraketu.	Vijayālaya.	Kētumāla.	Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṉ: (a devotee of Śambhu).
Narendrapati.	Rājakēsarin: (built large temples of stone to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvērī).	Samudrajit.	Kō-kKiḷḷi.
Vasu (Uparichara).	Vīra-Chōḷa: (reduced Madhurā, married the daughter of the Kēraḷa king who was also called Paluvēṭṭaraiyar).	Pañchapa.	Vijayālaya.
Viśvajit.	Ariñjaya: (married Kalyāṇī, the daughter of the Vaidumba king).	Nṛisiṁha.	Āditya.
Perunaṛkiḷḷi.	Sundara-Chōḷa (also called Rājakēsarin and Parāntaka; his virtuous rule and his martial glory described in vv. 27-30).	Manōratha.	Parāntaka I: (covered the temple of Śiva at Vyāghrāgrahāra with gold).
Kaḍikāla (Karikāla): (renovated Kāñchi with gold; constructed embankments to the Kāvērī).		Perunaṛkiḷḷi.	Rājāditya: (fought with Kṛishṇarāja and died in battle). — Gaṇḍarāditya: (founded a village after his name on the bank of the Kāvērī). — Ariñjaya.
		Karikāla.	Madhurāntaka.
		Vaḷabha.	
		Jagadēkamalla.	
		Vyāḷabhayaṅkara.	

[1] The mythical ancestry of the Chōḷas as furnished in these sources is given at the beginning of each list before the eponymous Chōḷa is mentioned. Hyphen after a name indicates 'son and successor' and dots 'a lineal descendant'.

[2] Tiruverumbūr was called Śrīkaṇṭha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

The Tiruvālangāḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa.	The Kanyākumāri inscription.	The Leiden plates.
Kōchchengaṇṇān : (a spider in his previous birth ; devoted to Śambhu).		Vijayālaya : (constructed Tañchāpurī in the Chōḷa country).	Parāntaka I. : (fought a sanguinary battle at Chēvūr).
Vijayālaya : (captured Tañjāpurī ; consecrated Niśumbhasūdanī).		Āditya (I.) alias Kōdaṇḍarāma : (killed the Pallava king).	Āditya (II) alias Karikāla : (fought with Vīra-Pāṇḍya).
Ādityavarman : (conquered in battle the Pallava Aparājita and took possession of his country).		Parāntaka (I.) : (killed the Pāṇḍya king, destroyed Madhurā and acquired the title of Madhurāntaka ; conquered the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja and was famed as Vīra-Chōḷa ; having killed the lords of Siṁhaḷa acquired the title of Siṁhaḷāntaka ; established agrahāras called after his other name Vīranārāyaṇa).	Rājarāja I : (conquered the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kēraḷa, Siṁhaḷēndra and Satyāśraya ; destroyed ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai ; captured Vēṅgaināḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Kuḍamalaināḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam, and Īḻam ; and removed the splendour of the Śaliyas).
Parāntaka (I.) : (defeated Pāṇḍya, Siṁhaḷa ; built a Dabhra-sabhā to Śiva).		Ariñdama.	Madhurāntaka (Rājēndra-Chōḷa).
Rājāditya : (defeated Kṛishṇarāja and went to heaven). Gaṇḍarāditya : (became king after his father). Ariñdama : (became the best of kings).		Parāntaka (II) : (hearing of his advance the Pāṇḍya king crossed the mountain and fled).	
Parāntaka (II) : (called a Manu and Sundara ; on his death his queen Vānavanmahādēvī committed sati).		Rājarāja (I.) : (Satyāśraya fled from the battlefield).	
Āditya (II) : (ruled the earth after Parāntaka (II), killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle).[1] Aruṇmoḷivarman : (performed tulābhāra ; captured the town Viḻiñā ; conquered the Pāṇḍya Amarabhujaṅga, and burnt the lord of Laṅkā ; defeated Satyāśraya ; killed Āndhra Bhīma ; conquered the country of Paraśurāma, and subdued the kings of Gaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vēṅgi, Magadha, Araṭṭa, Oḍḍa, Saurāshṭra and Chāḷukya).		Madhurāntaka alias Rājēndra-Chōḷa : (conquered Kuntaḷa, made Mānyakhēṭa a playground for his armies ; had the kings of Kulūta and Utkala slain and the chiefs of Kaliṅga and Vaṅga destroyed ; burnt Kaṭāha).	
		Rājādhirāja (set fire to Kalyāṇapura, and conquered Āhavamalla). Rājēndradēva.	
		Vīrarājēndradēva alias Vīra-Chōḷa : (slew at Kūḍalsaṅgama the kings	

[1] After Āditya (II), his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka bore the burden of the earth and installed Aruṇmoḻi in the office of heir-apparent : his devotion to Śiva is described.

The Tiruvālangāḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa.	The Kanyākumari inscription.	The Leiden plates.
Madhurāntaka *alias* Uttama-Chōḷa, Rājēndra-Chōḷa and Chōḷēndrasimha; (conquest of the quarters with a powerful army; invasion of the South, the Pāṇḍya country and the flight of the Pāṇḍya king to the Malaya hill; his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya left in charge of the kingdom; invasion of the Western region, crossing the Sahya and fighting with and defeating the lord of Kērala and leaving Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya in charge of the west also; entry into Kāṭaṭṭi and conquest of Jayasimha;		of the Māṇḍāta family; conquered the Vēṅgi and the Kaliṅga countries; established *brahmadēyas* in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāḍi and Kuḷūta countries; and saw the back of Āhavamalla three times).	

After tracing the pedigree of the Chōḷas the Sanskrit portion of the inscription states that king **Rājarāja** *alias* **Rājakēsarivarman** gave in the **21st year of his reign** the village of **Āṇaimaṅgalam** to the lofty shrine of the Buddha in the **Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra**, which the ruler of **Śrīvishaya** and **Kaṭāha** named **Māravijayōttuṅgavarman** of the **Śailēndra** family having the *Makara* crest, the son of **Chūḷāmaṇivarman**, had erected in the name of his father at the delightful city of **Nāgapaṭṭana** in **Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam**, a sub-division of **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu** (ll. 73-86) and that after Rājarāja had passed away, his son **Madhurāntaka** caused a permanent edict to be made for the village granted by his father (vv. 35-36). The Sanskrit *praśasti* given in this inscription was composed by a Brāhmaṇa resident of **Koṭṭaiyūr** named **Anantanārāyaṇa** of the Vasishṭha family (v. 39): it was ordered by the officer **Tillaiyāḷi** of **Kāñchivāyil**, otherwise known as **Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēḷ**, to be neatly incised (vv. 40-42). On the direction of the lord of Kaṭāha and at the instance of **Tuvavūravāṉ Aṇukkaṉ**, the son of Śrīmān Aḍḍhal (Aḍigaḷ)[1], the five artisans of the **Bhōvya** family at **Kāñchipura**, *viz.*, **Vāsudēva** *alias* **Rājarāja-Mahāchārya**, **Śrīraṅga** and **Dāmōdara**, the two sons of **Krishṇa**, **Krishṇa** son of **Vāsudēva**, and **Purushōttama**, the son of **Ārāvamṛita** incised the *praśasti* and affixed their signatures to it (vv. 43-48).

A word may now be said about the composer of the *praśasti* and the engravers of the grant. Since it is stated that this permanent edict was caused to be made by **Madhurāntaka** (*i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., the son of Rājarāja I., there is no doubt that the *praśasti* was composed during his reign by his court poet. The composer's name given in it is Anantanārāyaṇa and not Nandanārāyaṇa as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri have it. He was a Vāsishṭha and a resident of Koṭṭaiyūr. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant, which was issued in the early part of the same reign, *i.e.*, in the 6th or the 7th year, is said to have been drawn up by Nārāyaṇa the son of Śaṅkara. The village of Koṭṭaiyūr, to which the composer of the *praśasti* in the Leiden plates belonged, is renowned as the birth place of Pūvattabhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār, one of the Chōḷa officers that conducted enquiries in temples[2]. It is indentical with the village of that name in the Kumba-

[1] On this word, see note 1, p. 242 below.

[2] No. 227 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

kōṇam Taluk of the Tanjore District. From one of the inscriptions of the place it is learnt that it was situated in Innambar-nāḍu[1]. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant was incised by four persons, the Leiden plates were engraved by five. The proper names that occur in both are Śrīraṅga (Tiruvaraṅgan) and Dāmōdara, who were the sons of Kṛishṇa, and Purushōttama the son of Ārāvamṛita. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates give the additional name Ārāvamurta, the son of Kṛishṇa, the Leiden plates furnish the names Vāsudēva, son of Krishṇa, and his son Kṛishṇa. The attribute *a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛishṇa-sambhavō-pi mahāmatiḥ* is given to Ārāvamurta in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, which distinctly state that Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara were his younger brothers, whereas it is applied to Vāsudēva *alias* Rājarājappērāchāriyaṉ in the Leiden plates which mention Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara immediately after him without specifying any relationship. The common application of the epithet cannot point to the identity of the individuals Vāsudēva and Ārāvamurta. But it is not unlikely that both Vāsudēva and Ārāvamṛita were the elder brothers of Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara. The title Rājarājappērāchāryyaṉ borne by Vāsudēva might have been granted by Rājarāja I. himself, during whose reign the gift recorded in the Leiden plates was actually made, though the document was finally issued in the reign of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. This grant might even be slightly earlier than the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant issued in about the 6th year. In the Sanskrit portion, the word *kōvya* is used to denote the family (*anvaya*) of the persons that incised the inscription on the plates and they are also called *chitrakāriṇaḥ*. In mentioning their names in the Tamil portion which follows, the persons that incised the edict get the epithet *ōviyach-chittirakāri*. It is thus made clear by the inscription itself that *kōvya* is only a variant of the Tamil *ōviya*. The word *ōviyam* occurs in the Tamil classical work *Maṇimēgalai*[2] in reference to a treatise called *ōviya-nūl* and this is made evident by the commentary of Aḍiyārkkunallār on *Vēṉiṟkādai*[3] of *Śilappadikāram*. Thus, we are led to think that *kōvya* or *ōviya* is not the proper name of a family or caste but is the name of a profession, and that profession, we know from the inscription, to be 'painting' (*chittirakāri*). This sense of the word *ōviya* is clearly obtained from two other references in the *Maṇimēgalai*[4] and *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*.[5] In the second reference, the commentator Nachchinārkkiniyar furnishes the synonym '*chittirakārar*' for *ōviyar*, as in the Leiden plates. In this connection, it is also worth noting that *ōvu* is used in the sense of "a painting" in *Maduraikkāñchi*.[6] From what has been said above, it looks as if inscriptions were in the first instance painted on the materials, stone or metal, by painters, though the incising might have been left to be done by carvers on stone or metal. But it is not unlikely that both painting and carving were done by the same individuals; that is to say that *lēkhakas* knew both painting and carving.[7]

In the **Tamil portion** of this grant it is said that on the **92nd day after the 21st year of his reign**, king Rājarāja, while he was in the pavilion on the southern side of his palace called Rājāśrayan, erected in a suburb of Tañjāvūr, declared that the income of 8,943 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *kuṟuṇi*, and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy accruing from the payment of the assessment on 97 *vēli*, 2 *mā*, 1½ *kāṇi*, 1 *mundiriġai*, *kīḻ* of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundiriġai* and *kīḻ* of half and 2 *mā* of land comprising the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam,—including such as had ceased to be *paḷḷich*-

[1] No. 241 of the same collection for 1927.

[2] Canto II, ll. 30-31, which read: [illegible]

[3] See ll. 25-29.

[4] Canto 5, l. 7.

[5] Verse 107 of the *Gāndharvadattaiyār Ilambagam*.

[6] See l. 363.

[7] This is evident from the use of the words *eḻuttu*, *kollāriyaṉ* and *chittirakāri* used in connection with the writers of this document.

chhandas (*i.e.*, grants made to Buddhist or Jain temples), and omitting such as had been excluded in survey,—should be given as a tax-free *paḷḷichchhanda* to meet the requirements of the *paḷḷi*, *i.e.*, the shrine of the Buddha in the Chūḷāmaṇivarmavihāra which was being constructed by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the king of Kaḍāram, at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇakkūrram, a sub-division of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. This oral order of the king was committed to writing by the official who generally writes down the royal orders, was signed by four persons who bore the designation *tirumandiravōlai-nāyagam*, *i.e.*, Superintendents of Royal Writs, and was issued. In accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by the officials bearing the designation *karumamārāyum*, *i.e.*, Secretary, and *naḍuvirukkum*, *i.e.*, arbitrators. Four officials of the tax department styled *puravuvari* and three others styled *variyppottagam* (*i.e.*, maintainers of tax registers) being present, the entry in the state registers was made. This done, arrangements were made for drawing up the deed of gift, giving it to the donee and effecting the necessary changes in the divisional or village accounts. For the ceremony of walking along the boundaries taking round a female elephant, pointing out the limits and marking them with stones and milk-bush, one official called *kaṇkāṇi-naḍuvirukkum*, *i.e.*, superintendent of arbitrators, four *Bhaṭṭas* and one *puravuvari* officer were nominated; and a royal order was issued to the *nāṭṭār*, *i.e.*, the members of the Divisional Assembly stating that they should be present with the nominated persons, point out in detail the boundaries and draw up and give the deed of assignment to the donee (ll. 49-50). On hearing the approach of the royal mandate, the administrative body of the division went in advance, and paying obeisance to the order, received it on their heads and acted as directed in the order. The deed drawn up by them is actually what is incised on plates I to XVI (Tamiḻ portion), which, after reciting the contents of the royal order noted above, gives in detail the boundaries of the lands comprising the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam which is the object of the grant, specifies the conditions to be observed by the donees and the privileges to be enjoyed by them and bears the signatures of the persons that were present at the time of its being drafted. The names of the officials of Rājarāja I. that figure in this inscription, their designations and the villages with district and subdivision, to which they belonged, are given in List A; and the names of the persons who signed the deed, with their official designations, and the *sabhā* or *ūr* of villages on whose behalf they attested it, are given in List B.

Here king Rājarāja I. is surnamed Rājarājakēsarivarman and is said to have cut off the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, to have taken Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam and Īḻamaṇḍalam with the aid of his highly powerful and victorious army, and to have deprived the Seḻiyas of their splendour. In the numerous collection of stone inscriptions of Rājarāja I., Kāndaḷūr-Śālai sometimes occurs in the shortened form Śālai. That it was an important place in the Chēra kingdom is made clear from the epithet "*Vīra-Pāṇḍyan talaiyum Śēralan Śālaiyum Ilaṅgaiyum koṇḍa*" (who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Laṅkā) applied to the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I.[1]; and that it was a port town having a large number of ships is evident from the phrase "*ēṟṟiḷil vēlai-keḻu Kāndaḷūr-Śālai*" occurring in the historical introduction of the same king in describing his campaign against the Chēras.[2] As the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai is first recorded in Rājarāja's stone

[1] *A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 65.

[2] Though *śālai* and *kalam* mean also 'feeding house' and 'vessel' it seems improper to introduce this sense of the words in the phrase *Śālai-kalam-aruttu* and to say that the Chōḷa king caused the discontinuance of "the feeding house or boarding school of the Chēras" (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 2f.) for, it would turn one of the important military achievements of that king, on which he may be said to have prided himself by repeating it in his deeds of glory (*i.e.*, the historical introduction), into an ignoble act which the king would hardly have allowed to be mentioned in his eulogies.

inscriptions dated in the 10th year of his reign it must have taken place in about A.D. 994. Though the epithet *Kāndaḷūr-Śālai kalam-aruttu* is applied in most records to Rājarāja I., there is but a single inscription which states that the king "by ordering his army, effected the destruction of ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai[1]". Vēṅgai-nāḍu is the country of the Eastern Chāḷukyas; Gaṅgapāḍi is the territory of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ; and Nuḷambapāḍi is the province subjected to the rule of the Nolambas. Kuḍamalai-nāḍu occurs in the form Kuḍagumalai-nāḍu in one of the Mysore State inscriptions[2] and may be the same as Coorg. But, it may also be interpreted as Malai-nāḍu (*i.e.*, the hill country) lying on the western side (*kuḍa* or *kuḍagu*). In this case, Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍamalai-nāḍu may be taken to represent the country of the Chēras.[3] And it is worthy of note that some of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. state that he defeated the Chēra king (*Chēramān*) and the Pāṇḍyas in Malai-nāḍu and presented the booty obtained there to the temple of Rājarājēśvara which he built at Tañjāvūr.[4] The conquests of the places mentioned above are registered in the king's records dated between the 12th and the 14th years as having been effected with the help of his highly powerful and victorious army. Thus between A.D. 997 and 998 Rājarāja seems to have overcome the Western Gaṅgas, the Nolambas, the chief of the Coorg province or the Chēras, and the Eastern Chāḷukyas. Inscriptions dated between the years 14 and 15 (A.D. 998-999) add Kollam and Kaliṅgam to the king's conquests. Bearing the name Kollam there were two places on the West coast. They had the distinguishing epithets Kurakkēṇi and Pandalāyani.[5] The former is Quilon, a station in the Shencotta-Trivandrum line of the South Indian Railway, and the other is Pandalāyani near Quilandy, a station in the Mangalore line of the same Railway. Both appear to have been cities of considerable importance in early times. According to the Kōṭṭayam plates of the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi, a contemporary and ally of the Chōḷa sovereign Rājakēsarivarman Āditya I. (A.D. 870-907), a Christian Church—the earliest that is known from lithic records—was built at Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, which was subject to the immediate rule of the Vēṇāḍu Chief Aiyanaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi and his heir-apparent Rāma-Tiruvaḍi.[6] The Vēṇāḍu Chiefs are often called Kōḷambhūbhṛitas from the fact that they were the lords of Kōlambha, *i.e.*, Quilon.[7] Pandalāyani-Kollam or Kōlam is said to have been made the capital of a kingdom by Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshikēśvara.[8] The chiefs of this place are called in lithic records 'Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar'[9]. If Kollam referred to as having been captured by Rājarāja I. in his historical introduction is Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, *i.e.*, Quilon, he must have got it from the chief of Vēṇāḍu after defeating him, and if it is Pandalāyani-Kollam, he must have wrested it from Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar. Both these chiefs were subordinate to the Chēra king. Probably, referring to the conquest of the Chēras herein noted as having been effected by the army of Rājarāja I., the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant says that the commandant of the king captured the town of Viḻinda whose moat was the sea, whose extensive ramparts were glorious and high, (and) which was impregnable to the enemy warriors, thus omitting Kollam but mentioning Viḻiñam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, v. 79). The Sēpūr inscription of Rājarāja I., which is somewhat differently worded from the text, states that the Chōḷa sovereign conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kulladēśam and Koḍuṅ-

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[1] No. 121 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 122.

[3] Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 704 and 764.

[4] See Tanjore temple inscription mentioning this conquest.

[5] See *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 172.

[6] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 63 and 70.

[7] *A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 34, para. 29.

[8] *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 166.

[9] *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 48.

gōḷūr (Cranganore) and that the kings of the sea (*kaḍal-arašar*) waited on him[1]. Here must be noted one other event, which seems to have taken place in the king's 14th year of reign (A.D. 998) and which seems to have furnished the king with the grandiloquent epithet *tiśaiyeḷ-ilaṅgu ēḻiyal ellā yāṇḍum toḻudeṟa viḷaṅgum yāṇḍē Śeḻiyarai-tēśu-koḷ* meaning that "in the very year of his growing prosperity when he became the object of adoration in all quarters, he took away the splendour of the Śeḻiyas (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍyas)". This event was considered to be of such prime importance that it was ever afterwards inseparably associated with his title and name in all his later inscriptions and the epithet bodily removed to the end of the introduction giving place to the mention of later additional conquests before it. It is not unlikely that the king himself was engaged in the fight against the Pāṇḍyas and secured such unqualified success which gave him the permanent epithet while the additional conquests effected by the army were inserted before the phrase *tiṇḍiṟal venṟi taṇḍāṟ-koṇḍu*.[2] An exact parallel to this may be found in the epithet *Śōṇāḍu koṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapurattu virābhishēkam paṇṇiy-aruḷiya*,[3] which was similarly associated with the name of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., and taken to the end of his introduction giving his later conquests an earlier place. The Śēṇūr inscription adds that the Chōḷa sovereign destroyed Madura, *i.e.*, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas and places that event before the conquests of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Cranganore.[4] Speaking of the Pāṇḍya conquest the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant says that when Rājarāja I. set out to conquer the South, the moon as if to afford protection to the Pāṇḍya king born in his family, became the white parasol of the invader; and records also that Amarabhujaṅga was seized[5]. The last item of conquest mentioned in the Leiden plates is Īḻamaṇḍalam, *i.e.*, the province of Ceylon. This was effected with the help of the army. Perhaps Rājarāja himself did not go to Ceylon. As the event is mentioned for the first time in the historical introduction of the 16th year, it has to be placed in A.D. 1001. Quite in agreement with the stone inscriptions that it was the highly victorious army which effected the conquest of this item also, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant registers the event in these words :—"This terrible General of that (*king Arumoḻivarman*) crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Laṅkā (Ceylon)".[6]

Since no additional conquests are recorded in Rājarāja's inscriptions from the 16th to the 20th years and since the annexation of Iraṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs is noticed in the inscriptions of the 21st year and after,[7] it seems that the invasion against the Western Chālukya country took place in some part of the 21st regnal year of the king (A.D. 1005). As the Leiden plates are also dated in the 21st year and 92nd day and as they do not mention Iraṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, it is evident that the conquest was effected in the latter part of A.D. 1005, after the date of this grant, *i.e.*, after the 92nd day of the 21st year of reign. The greatness of Rājarāja I. as a conqueror is evident from the fact that he was able to bring under subjection not only the rulers of almost all the provinces of South India but also the king of Ceylon. It would thus appear that Rājarāja I. was the greatest sovereign of the day, greater than any of his predecessors and had a high claim for imperial honours. However much the valour of this king and the conditions that were prevailing in the various

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1 *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

2 The 16th year inscriptions of Rājarāja I., add Īḻam to the list of conquests effected with the help of the army and this is inserted before *tiṇḍiṟal* and the epithet *tiśaiyeḷ* taken after it. In the records of the 21st year and later, another conquest effected with the help of the army, *viz.*, that of the Western Chālukya country or Iraṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, is mentioned. We find it also similarly entered after Īḻam and the epithet of the king taken to the end of the introduction.

3 See above, Vol. VI, p. 302.

4 *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

5 *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, vv. 77-79.

6 *Ibid.*, v. 80.

7 *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1896, para. 8.

provinces of the Deccan in his day might have contributed to the success of his arms (in his vast scheme of conquests), credit must necessarily be given to " the highly powerful army " with whose aid he is expressly stated in hundreds of inscriptions to have effected the enlargement of his dominions.

A word about the conditions of the various states of the Deccan may not be out of place here. In fact it is necessary to know them to understand what opportunities presented themselves to Rājarāja I, and how he availed himself of them. During the period when Rājarāja I, was heir-apparent, which according to the Tiruvālangāḍu grant covered the reign of Uttama-Chōḷa[1] (A.D. 970-985), there reigned over the Pāṇḍya country a king named Vīra-Pāṇḍya who boasts of " having taken the head of the Chōḷa king ".[2] As opposed to this, more than one ruler of the Southern provinces, who could be regarded as his contemporaries, have assumed the title " who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya ". One of these latter was the Chōḷa king Āditya II alias Karikāla and about him the grant under publication states that though a young boy he played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya[3]. Others are the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Vikramakēsari and Pārthivēndravarman[4], both of whom appear to have been the Chōḷa king's allies. From this it can be safely said that there were hard fights between the parties. In some of these, Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have been successful and in others his opponents. In ascertaining the actual truth in such a matter, the places of distribution of their inscriptions may be regarded as a sure test of their claims. This seems to be in favour of neither party. So far, we have not come across any inscriptions of Vīra-Pāṇḍya in the Chōḷa country. Nor have we any record of his opponents in the Pāṇḍya territory, as we do find in the case of Parāntaka I, and Rājarāja I. The struggle between the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas was a hard and continuous one. It commenced in the reign of Chōḷa Parāntaka I, against Rājasiṁha-Pāṇḍya and his ally the king of Ceylon and was continued ever afterwards. Parāntaka II alias Sundara-Chōḷa is said to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest ; and of his general Parāntakan Śiriyavēḷār it is reported that he gave up his life in a battle in Ceylon[5]. Āditya Karikāla's claim to have conquered Vīra-Pāṇḍya has just been noted. Rājarāja I, had to renew the struggle and his success was better than that of his predecessors. The numerous inscriptions of his found all over the Pāṇḍya country—*i.e.*, Madura and Tinnevelly districts—testify to the fact that his overlordship was acknowledged in that quarter[6]. Even the very name of the territory was changed into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu[7]. For this continuance of hatred between the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas there were good grounds. From the time when the ancient Chōḷas ceased to be a ruling power and lost their hold of their ancient possessions in Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and until Vijayālaya started a new line at Tanjore, their original home was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas on the one side and the Pallavas on the other : and there were severe fights between these two powers themselves. To wrest back from the new incumbents the kingdom, which had become theirs by long enjoyment and which they would not easily yield, led the Chōḷas to be continually at war with the Pāṇḍyas.

While this was the case with the kingdoms in the extreme south of the Peninsula, the state of affairs in the countries of Vēṅgī, Kaliṅga and Raṭṭa, *i.e.*, the dominion of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420, v. 78.

[2] Nos. 163 of 1894 and 69 of 1906 which are dated in the 4+2nd year and 15+4th year of this king.

[3] See below, p. 241, verse 28. Some inscriptions of Parakēsarivarman " who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya " have been attributed to this king.

[4] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 235-238.

[5] See above note 4, p. 279.

[6] See his inscription at Āṇaimalai near Madura published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 229, No. 109; also No. 110 of 1905.

[7] See Madras Epigraphical Collections Nos. 468 of 1906, 70 of 1907, 392 and 412 of 1916.

anything but satisfactory. In the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., these countries were thrown into confusion, being torn by internal dissensions, and were subjected to wars and counter-wars bringing in their train all the evils of an unsettled life, reducing to the position of subordinates the dynasties that wielded once an extensive power and enjoyed high prosperity, and resulting in the deposition of rightful heirs, affording scope for rising into prominence of families which held but subordinate and feudatory positions and leaving some of the legitimate rulers to seek the aid of others to regain their lost position and country. The years 972-5 were highly eventful in the history of these countries. In A.D. 972-3, Sîyaka Harsha, the Paramâra king of Mâḷwâ, it is said, gained a victory over the Rāshṭrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga and the latter's capital Mānyakhēṭa, *i.e.*, Mālkhēḍ, was plundered and pillaged either by him or by his successor Muñja[1]. This was followed by the rising of the Western Châlukya Taila II, who, in A.D. 973-4 overthrew Khōṭṭiga's successor Kakkala and acquired the fortunes of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, leaving the once flourishing Raṭṭa rule to remain only in the memory of the people[2]. At the very time when the Rāshṭrakūṭa rule was wiped out, the Vēṅgi country, deprived of its legitimate ruler by the deposition of Dānārṇava, was experiencing a feverish desire to obtain a suitable lord and, it is said, it was only assuaged, after 27 years, by the appearance of Châlukya-Chandra, *i.e.*, Śaktivarman. The earlier opinion as regards the interregnum in the Vēṅgi country was that it was caused by the Chōḷas. Dr. Burnell, speaking of this period, said that it was a period of anarchy and suggested that it should be attributed to a Chōḷa invasion; and Dr. Fleet suspected that the Vēṅgi country must have been conquered by the Chōḷas but considered that the claim of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgi was merely an honorary one based on some previous king's conquests, as that scholar was under the impression that Rājarāja's reign began in A. D. 1003 or 1004[3]. That the country of Vēṅgi, though deprived of its legitimate ruler Dānārṇava, was not subject to anarchy is established by the rule of Bādapa, Tāḷa and others belonging to the collateral line of the Eastern Châlukyas; and that the claim of Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgi was only honorary and must be based on a prior Chōḷa ruler's conquest is disproved by the fact that none of the predecessors claims it. On the other hand, the fact that Dānārṇava ruled for the short period of 3 years (970-972-3) and the evidence of the Conjeeveram inscription, that he killed (or defeated) Kāmārṇava, who must be no other than his contemporary the Eastern Gaṅga king Kāmārṇava IV (A.D. 950-980) might be reasonably taken to show that the latter made a counter invasion of the Eastern Châlukya dominion and brought about Dānārṇava's deposition[4]. The accession of Śaktivarman, the son of Dānārṇava, to the Vēṅgi throne immediately following Rājarāja's invasion suggests that the very object of the invasion might have been to secure the country to its rightful owner and was probably undertaken on behalf of the deposed Dānārṇava.

Here it may be remarked that the Sanskrit portion of the inscription on the Leiden plates, which contains the *praśasti* of the Chōḷa family, was composed later than the Tamil portion and during the time of Madhurāntaka, the son and successor of the donor, *i.e.*, the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. The *praśasti* seems to have been added on as a learned preface to the matter of fact Tamil portion which, as stated already, sets forth in detail everything relating to the grant of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam. While according to the Tamil portion the *vihāra* was in the course of construction by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the chief of Kaḍāram, at the time of the grant, *i.e.*, the 21st year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1005), the Sanskrit introduction states that it was built by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, the son of Chūḷāmaṇivarman, in the name of the latter. This apparent discrepancy

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 225 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 299; Vol. IV (Nilgund Inscr.), p. 206; and Vol. XII, pp. 311 f.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.

[4] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff. For *pariḷaḷa* (p. 24, l. 48) read *pariḷaḷḷa*.

may be explained by saying that the construction of the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra was undertaken by the Kaṭāha king Chūḷāmaṇivarman himself in about the 21st year of the reign of Rājarāja I. but was completed by Chūḷāmaṇivarman's son Māravijayōttuṅgavarman in the reign of Rāja-rāja's son Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. The number of years taken for the building of the vihāra which is not less than 9 and the munificent grant made to it by Rājarāja I. of the entire income from the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam amounting to 8943 and odd kalam of paddy for a year for the upkeep of the paḷḷi in it, speaks to the loftiness of the structure which in the words of the praśasti writer is said to have lowered Kanakagiri, i.e., Mount Mēru. In connection with this building we may note the following observation of Sir W. Elliot made in 1878 :—

"Till within the last few years there was to be seen on the Coromandel coast, between one and two miles to the north of Negapatam, a tall weather-beaten tower, affording a useful land-mark to vessels passing up and down the coast. It went by various names, as the Puduveli-gōpuram, the old pagoda, Chinese pagoda (Valentyn mentions it Pagood China in 1725) and in the map of the Trigonometrical survey (sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna (Jaina) pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu or Mahommedan architecture, either in form or in ornament. Tradition is silent as to its origin or purpose, and although it has been the subject of frequent speculations, no satisfactory theory has been formed to account for it." In 1846 Sir W. Elliot saw it. He describes : "I found it to be a somewhat four sided tower of three stories, constructed of bricks closely fitted together without cement, the first and second stories divided by corniced mouldings, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest story were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground story was worn at the angles, from collision with passers-by and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible." (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 224.)

The history of its disappearance is shortly this :—The Jesuits expelled from Pondichery settled in its vicinity and applied for permission in 1859 to dismantle it. Captain Oakes, the District Engineer, recommended its demolition stating it to be an old ruin, crumbling to decay and not deserving the name of an ancient monument, as it had neither sculpture nor inscription. Sir W. Elliot protested against it and the Governor deferred final orders until he saw it himself. Meanwhile Sir W. Elliot left India. Sir Charles Trevelyn went to Negapatam, was not impressed with its high antiquity, thought that expenditure on it was a waste of public money, did not concur in the recommendation for demolition but directed its being fenced round with an enclosure to secure its safety and at the same time ordered photographs of it to be taken. These orders were not carried out. In 1867 the Jesuits renewed their petition, the Chief Engineer recommended repairs and the tower was allowed to stand. He added "there is no doubt that it is used as a landmark for vessels approaching the Negapatam road-stead" and the Master Attendant of the port had expressed the opinion that "the native population objected to its removal". Then came the final order (28th August 1867) : "The Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the removal of the old tower at Negapatam by the officers of St. Joseph's College, at their own expense, and the appropriation of the available material to such school building purposes as they appear to have in contemplation". Sometime after, Lord Napier visiting Negapatam was presented with a bronze image found in the excavation connected with the college.

The construction of the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra and the paḷḷi in it, to which the grant of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam, registered in these plates, was made, is referred to in lines 6-7, 13-15, and 200-1 and in all these places, the building is said to be in the course of construction by Kaḍārattaraiyan, and not even once as having been built. In the first of the references given above, Kaḍārattaraiyan is also called Chūḷāmaṇivarman. King Rājarāja I. gave his oral order on the

92nd day after the 21st year of his reign that the grant should have effect from that very year. After the due observance of all the formalities, which took full two years and seventy-two days, the deed was finally drawn up and presented on the 163rd day after his 23rd year (ll. 322f.). It is only from the later Sanskrit introduction, composed during the reign of Rājēndra-Chōḻa I., that we learn that Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ was not a mere local chief but was a member of the Śailēndra family and the lord of the country of Śrī-Vishaya and that he was ruling over Kaṭāha and had the *Makara* crest. Now the question arises as to how Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the lord of Śrī-Vishaya and the ruler of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram, came to erect a big *vihāra* for the Buddha at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōḻa dominion and how the powerful Chōḻa king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it. It is a significant fact that the historical introduction of the Chōḻa king as detailed in these plates does not mention Kaṭāha, *i.e.*, Kaḍāram or Śrī-Vishaya. And therefore the inscription leaves us entirely in the dark as to what kind of relationship existed between Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ (*i.e.*, the lord of Kaṭāha) and the Chōḻa king Rājarāja I. Nor are we given to understand the circumstances under which the grant was made, *i.e.*, whether it was done at the request of the Kaṭāha ruler or on the Chōḻa king's own initiative. But for the somewhat later Sanskrit introduction, any one, reading only the Tamiḻ original grant, might be led to think that Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ must have been a local chief of affluence and subordinate to the Chōḻa king. Now, for aught we know, Rājarāja I. was tolerant of all religious creeds prevalent in his dominion, though his special leaning was towards Śaivism. In this connection, his construction of the Bṛihadīśvara temple, called Rājarājēśvara after his name, at his capital Tanjore, and the immense gifts made to it from the treasures which he had acquired as booty in the conquests of the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kings in Malai-nāḍu and the Chāḷukya king Satyāśraya, and his assumption of the significant surname Śivapādaśēkhara, are worth remembering. Rājarāja I. was no mean monarch. It was he that for the first time in the annals of the Chōḻas maintained a large standing army which consisted of 900,000 men and which is spoken of in his inscriptions as "highly powerful and victorious". The power of his arms, as we have seen already, was felt in India from Kaliṅga in the north to the southern cape and beyond the seas in Ceylon; but no mention is made of Kaṭāha. From the conquest of Kaṭāha described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōḻa I, we learn that it was a kingdom of considerable importance and contained many strongly fortified places such as Śrī-Vijaya, *i.e.*, Śrī-Vishaya of the Leiden plates, Paṇṇai, Malaiyūr, Māyiruḍiṅgam, Ilāmuriḍēśa, Ilaṅgāśōka, Pappāḷa, Māvilimbaṅgam, Viḷaippandūr, Takkōla, Māḍamaliṅgam, Nakkavāram, etc. As such, if Rājarāja I. had really conquered Kaṭāha, it would certainly have found mention in his historical introductions. The omission seems to indicate that he did not conquer it. On the other hand the fact that Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ was enabled to commence the construction of a monumental Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam in the Chōḻa country in the 21st year of Rājarāja I. and that the latter assigned the revenues of a village for the upkeep of a shrine in it might lead one to infer that the Kaṭāha ruler must have made a successful invasion of the Chōḻa country. This is, however, negatived for the reason that the inscription is not issued in the name of the Kaṭāha ruler but in the name of the Chōḻa king. Can it not therefore be said that the Kaṭāha ruler was on friendly terms with the mighty Chōḻa king and obtained his permission to build the *vihāra* in question and that the latter made endowments to a *paḷḷi* in it, which, as we know from the smaller Leiden plates, was called Rājarājapperumbaḷḷi after the name of the Chōḻa king?

One other observation may be made with regard to the connection of the Buddhists with Negapatam. In the traditional account of Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār, who is described in the *Guruparamparā* as a feudatory of the Chōḻa king of his day, it is stated that he once went to Nāgapaṭṭaṇam, got inside the Buddha temple at the place, carried away the gold image that was

enshrined within it and melting the same utilised the amount in building walls and other structures in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. If there is any truth in this, it would show that long prior to the construction of the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra, i.e., before the beginning of the 9th century, Negapatam was renowned as a Buddhist centre and had in it a Bauddha monument. We do not know if the *vihāra* that was erected in the days of Rājarāja I., was a new one or was only the renewal of the old monument.

The order of the king granting the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam was addressed to the *nāṭṭār* (the Divisional Assembly), the *brahmadēya-kiḻavar* (i.e., the head men of the *brahmadēyas*), the *ūrpaḷḷār* (i.e., the body of *ūr*) of *dēvadānas*, *paḷḷichchandas*, *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēṟu* and to the *nagaras*. It will be shown below that in carrying out this order, men of several *brahmadēyas* and the *ūrār* of several villages, *dēvadānas* and *veṭṭippēṟu* actually took part. It is to be noted that this order, though addressed to all these bodies of men, was in the first instance received by the *nāṭṭār* only and was executed by all as required. The *nāṭṭār* appear to have had a better standing than the rest and the others were all subject to their administrative control. Here are four distinct assemblies, viz., (1) the assembly of the division (*nāḍu*), (2) the assembly of the *ūr*, (3) the assembly relating to the *brahmadēyas*, i.e., the *sabhās*, and (4) the *nagara* by which is perhaps meant the body of merchants. What is meant by a *brahmadēya*, *dēvadāna*, or *paḷḷichchanda* is generally well known. They refer respectively to villages or lands granted to Brāhmaṇas, Hindu temples, and Jaina or Buddhist shrines. The significance of *kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu* is not so plain. The word *kaṇi* is used in ancient Tamiḻ works to denote the person or persons that announce to the king the time of day or night. They are also called *nāḻigaikkaṇakkar* or *kaḍigaiyār*[1]. It is not unlikely that their services were paid for by grants of lands or villages as other services were. *Muṟṟūṭṭu* may be taken to mean "complete yield". This sense of the word is obtained from its usage in reference to a piece of land granted to a temple in the text of an inscription from Kīḻappaḻuvūr[2] where we find the phrase "*i-nilam eḻudu paṟṟi-ūrā muṟṟūṭṭāgak koṇḍaruḷa tirumuṟṟam oḻappaḍāgavum*". The use of the word *muṟṟūṭṭu* after the group *dēvadāna-paḷḷichchanda-kaṇi* seems to indicate that in the case of lands of villages granted to temples, Buddhist or Jaina shrines, and to the announcers of time to the king, the entire produce without any incidental deductions should be made over to the respective donees. It is not unlikely that we meet with phrases like *dēvadāna-muṟṟūṭṭu*, *paḷḷichchanda-muṟṟūṭṭu*, and *kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu*. The separation of *brahmadēyas* from the group is perhaps due to the fact that they had assemblies of their own called *sabhās*, different, of course, from the assembly of the *ūr*, as we see it in this very inscription. That a particular village might have had more than one assembly according to its constitution could also be gathered from the circumstance that Kaḷamimaṅgūr had both the *sabhā* and the *ūrār* and one person on behalf of each of these assemblies signed the deed in respect of that village.

The transactions of the *nāḍu*, the *sabhā* and the *ūr* are usually recorded by the command of these bodies, by persons who bore the official designations *Madhyastha*, *Karaṇattān* and the like. The functions of these individuals were perhaps similar to those of the secretaries of regularly constituted associations. Sometimes, we find that the order to these individuals is given by a single member instead of by the body collectively. This member is designated by the term *Tiruvaḍigaḷ*. In all likelihood *Tiruvaḍigaḷ* meant the President of the assembly. In this connection it is particularly worthy of note that he is stated to be one of the members constituting the body. This is made evident from the wording of an inscription of Rājarāja I.[3], viz., *sabhaiyōḍ-irundu sabhai-Tiruvaḍi paṇippa eḻudinēn ivvūr madhyasthan Mūvēndavēḷān magan Karppagap*-

[1] See Jīvakachintāmaṇi, v. 2731, and Śilappadikāram, Indira' l. 44.

[2] No. 218 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

[3] No. 24 of S. I. I., Vol. VII.

peruṅguṛi. Since the Secretary is called the *madhyastha* of the village, it may be even said that he was the accountant of the village and had a function in the assembly. In List B (p. 237, below), the official Kuṇavan Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṉ occurs thrice (Nos. 4, 15 and 16), firstly as the *madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Mūṅgiṛkuḍi, secondly as the *karaṇattāṉ-madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Pirambil and lastly as the *karaṇattāṉ-madhyastha* of the *ūrār* of Kaḍambaṅguḍi. If all these refer to a single individual, it would show that one could hold the position of a *karaṇa* or *madhyastha* of several villages. Perhaps the three villages Mūṅgiṛkuḍi, Pirambil and Kaḍambaṅguḍi were close to one another.

From a number of inscriptions, we see clearly that the *sabhā* and the *ūr* were transacting their business independently. Though this was the case, they appear to have been completely subject to the orders of the king which they implicitly carried out. In this connection we may draw attention to the fact that the grant of the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam, registered in the Leiden plates, was first made by the king without any reference to these bodies and was even entered in the State accounts, and the bodies were only required to give effect to it. Another point to note is, that as occasion required, the State deputed one or more persons to co-operate with the local bodies in the conduct of their business. Thus, in the matter of marking the boundaries of the village and drawing up the deed of gift, no less than six persons—all State officials, one being a *naḍuvirukkum*, one *puravuvari* and four *Bhaṭṭas*—were nominated. In fact it was one of these officials that actually drew up the deed of gift; it is worthy of note that he was not even a resident of any of the villages of the division of Paṭṭaṉa-kūṛṛam.

From List B it will be seen that the assemblies of no less than 26 villages took part in going round the boundaries of Āṉaimaṅgalam whose revenues were assigned by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. to the Buddha shrine at Nāgapaṭṭaṉam. Like Āṉaimaṅgalam, these villages were also situated in the sub-division Paṭṭaṉa-kūṛṛam of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. Many of them bear the names given in the inscription even at the present day. Ten of these villages, *viz.*, (1) Kaḍambaṉūr, (2) Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, (3) Mūṅgiṛkuḍi, (4) Śaṅgamamaṅgalam, (5) Koṭṭāmbakkuḍi, (6) Naṉṉimaṅgalam, (7) Poṟuvaṉūr, (8) Pirambil, (9) Uvarkkuḍi, and (10) Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi were administered by *sabhās*; except (4) and (10), the rest are expressly called *brahmadēyas*. Of the remaining places, fourteen, *viz.*, (1) Naṉṉilam, (2) Śāttamaṅgalam, (3) Kōvūr, (4) Uttūr, (5) Ālaṅguḍi, (6) Tuṟaiyūr, (7) Kaḍambaṅguḍi, (8) Śēndamaṅgalam, (9) Kuṟṟālam, (10) Tirunāvūr, (11) Mañjikkuḍi, (12) Kaḍambavalavāykkāl, (13) Paḷañ-Koṟṟaṅguḍi and (14) Veṇṇāḍaṅgil were under the control of the administrative bodies of the *ūrār*; it is worthy of note that none of these fourteen villages is called a *brahmadēya*. In the case of two other villages, *viz.*, Vēḷaṅguḍi and Śiṟu-Śēndamaṅgalam, neither the *sabhā* nor the *ūrār* is mentioned. But as regards the latter, there is the possibility of its having been subject to the authority of the *ūrār* of Śēndamaṅgalam of which it must have formed part. It is not known why the assemblies of Śivaḷaiykuḍi (l. 103) and Nallāchchēri (l. 163) which, according to the boundaries given, were in the outskirts of Āṉaimaṅgalam do not figure among the signatories.

The ceremony of circumambulating the granted village, fixing its limits and marking the latter with stones and milk-bush, was performed by the members of the assemblies of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* of the abovenamed twenty-six villages, at whose bidding and on whose behalf an official or two invariably signed the document. Besides these, on behalf of the other two villages two persons signed the deed. Āṉaimaṅgalam itself contributed two individuals for the purpose. Of these, one, a Veḷḷāḷa by caste, rode on the back of an elephant, pointed out the boundaries and signed the document, while the other a Brāhman also attested it. The four Bhaṭṭas who were nominated by the Government to co-operate with the representatives of the several divisions of the district in this matter, did so and affixed their signatures to the deed which they helped to be drawn up and given to the donee.

The officials who signed the deed at the command of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* are variously called *madhyasthan*, *karaṇattān*, *vidhikaran*, *karaṇattān-vidhikaran* or *karaṇattān-madhyasthan*.

The deed evidencing the gift, by the king, of the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam, drawn up as aforesaid in accordance with the royal order issued to the *nāṭṭār* of Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam in Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, conveying in due form the revenues of the village to the donees, stipulates the conditions (*vyavasthā*) to be observed by, and specifies the privileges (*parihāras*) conferred on, the said donees, *i.e.*, the authorities of the Bauddha *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam. It is interesting to note that the word *parihāra* has been defined by such an early authority as Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra*, in the following words :—

Jāti-viśēshēshu purēshu ch-aiva grāmēshu dēśēshu cha tēshu tēshu | anugrahō yō nṛipatēr-nidēśāt taj-jñaḥ parihāra iti vyavasyēt ||[1]

That favour, which by the command of the king has been bestowed on special castes, cities, villages or countries, is called a *parihāra* by one who knows it. From the use of the words *parihāra* and *anugraha* as synonyms, it can be gathered that the king refrained from taking the incomes due to him and favoured the donees with their gift.

The conditions for the enjoyment of the grant stated in this inscription are :—

(1) When fresh channels have to be dug, they shall be so done as to admit of an easy flow of water. With their aid, the lands of the village shall be irrigated. After the fields are irrigated, the waste or the excess water shall be collected and led away.

(2) Water passing in the existing channels for irrigating the lands of this village shall be allowed to do so as usual and the excess water shall, consistently with the prevailing custom, be collected. And none shall be permitted to cut any branch channels from them, to dam them across, to put up small picottahs or to bale out their water in baskets.

By these two clauses, the donees are given the sole right to the use of the existing irrigation channels and the privilege of opening fresh channels for irrigation in such a way as to admit of an easy flow of water.

(3) Good water (intended for drinking) shall not be used for common purposes, but that water may be dammed and made to irrigate lands.

This clause prevents the contamination of the sources of water intended for drinking purposes. The sanitary effect of it needs no saying.

(4) Mansions and big buildings shall be constructed with burnt bricks only.

This condition is perhaps intended to secure safety and permanency to stately edifices and to prevent their collapse and consequent loss arising from the use of bad materials such as unburnt bricks.

(5) Large wells shall be sunk.

This is possibly to afford facilities for irrigating dry lands that have no access to the existing irrigation channels.

(6) Cocoanut trees shall be planted in groves.

(7) *Damanaka*, *maruva*, *iruvēli*, *śeṇbaga*, *śeṅgaḻunīr*, mango, jack, areca-palms, *koḍi* (perhaps vines or betel creepers) and such other useful plants of various descriptions shall be grown.

These two clauses seem to afford facilities for availing to the fullest extent the resources of the village and to add to its wealth and beauty.

(8) Big oil-presses shall be installed.

(9) The irrigation channels passing through the lands of this village to other villages in the outskirts shall be permitted to flow without any impediment by the donee ; and similarly also

(10) The channels passing through outside villages to irrigate the lands of this village shall be allowed to flow uninterrupted by the people of the outlying villages.

[1] Dr. Shama Sastri's second ed., p. 72.

The object of the last two clauses is perhaps to secure peace and harmony among the people of the adjacent villages and to safeguard their rights.

The next clause (11) prohibits the Īḻavas from climbing the palmyra and cocoanut trees, possibly for tapping them for toddy; and the last clause (12) allows the use of big drums and ornamental arches by influential or aristocratic families living in the village and accustomed to have them by tradition or by family suffrage. The clause is indirectly meant to secure non-interference by the donees of the rights of privileged persons.

Subject to the above conditions the donees are given the *parihāra*, *i.e.*, the privilege of realising and enjoying all such incomes as *nāḍāṭchi*[1], *ūrāṭchi*, *vaṭṭinā[ḻi]*, *pidānāḻi*, *kaṇṇālakkāṇam*, *vaṇṇārappārai*, *kuśakkāṇam*, *nīrkūli*, *daṇḍakkūlam*, *taṟiyppuḍavai*, *tarugu*, *taṭṭārappāṭṭam*, *iḍaippāṭṭam*, *āśuk-kiyai*, *vallā*, *nallerudu*, *nāḍukāval*, *ūdupokku*, *virpiḍi*, *vālamañjāḍi*, *ulgu*, *oḍakkūli*, *maṉṟupāḍu*, *māvirai*, *tīyeri*, *īḻampūchchi*; *kāṭṭikāśu*[2], etc., which the donor, *i.e.*, the king had the right to realise. The inscription states that these incomes shall not hereafter be claimed by the king but that they shall go to the donees.

After the deed had been completed, the following five persons, who were probably Royal officers of high standing, set their signatures to it (last plate: second side):—

(1) Araiyaṉ Arumoḻi *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa-Pallavaraiyaṉ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 323-25).

(2) Krishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa-Brahmamārāyaṉ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 325-27).

(3) Irāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Uttamaśōḻa Pallavaraiyaṉ of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 327-9).

(4) Draidaigōmapuraṭṭu Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 329-30).

(5) Araiyaṉ Śikaṇḍaṉ *alias* Mīṉavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, the headman of Kuṟumbil in Ambar-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 330-32).

In these names, it is particularly worthy of note that Nos. (2) and (3), *i.e.*, Krishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ and Irāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ, who bore the titles Mummaḍiśōḻa Brahmamahārāyaṉ and Mummaḍiśōḻa Pōśaṉ respectively in the body of the Tamiḻ document (lines 19f., 21-22, 52 and 53) probably after the surname Mummaḍiśōḻa borne by Rājarāja I., had their titles changed into Rājēndraśōḻa Brahmamārāyaṉ and Uttamaśōḻa Pallavaraiyaṉ when they affixed their signatures at the end of the document (see lines 325-7 and 327-9). The altered titles take after the names of Rājēndra-Chōḻa I. and indicate that when these persons affixed their signatures king Rājēndra-Chōḻa I. had assumed regal powers. It will thus be seen that this is in accordance with the palæographical indications noted on page 17.

Irāyiravaṉ, Pallavayaṉ, with the surname Mummaḍiśōḻa-Pōśaṉ, figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājarāja I. of varying dates and is styled one of the *Perundaram* (of the king). His connection with the temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District is known from the inscriptions of that place.[3] The village Araiśūr, whence he hailed, is stated to have been situated in the Chōḻa country (*Śōḻa-nāḍu*) and to have belonged to the sub-division Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam on the southern bank (of the Kāvēri).[4]

[1] For the significance of these terms see pp. 343 f. of my *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*.

[2] This word may be interpreted as "quarter (paṇam?)" to be paid by the dancing women (*tāḷi*). It has not to be mistaken for *kāṭṭukkāśu* which occurs in other records and means 'default'.

[3] Nos. 208 to 210, 216, 219 and 228 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

[4] No. 216 of the same.

Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu, to which the officer Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ belonged, was also called Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam[1] and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam[2] and contained in it the village of Tiru-Vēḷvikuḍi now called Tiruviḷakkuḍi[3] in the Mayavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District. Though several inscriptions state that this Kaḍalaṅguḍi, surnamed Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, was situated in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu,[4] two records mention it as being in Nallāṟṟūr-nāḍu.[5] That Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu was also in the Chōḻa country (Śōḻa-maṇḍalam) is known from an inscription of Śaiguṇam[6] in the North Arcot District.

LIST A.

Designation.	Name of person.	Village.	Sub-division.	District.	Lines.
Ōlai-eḻudum or Mandira-ōlai	Ammalaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ .	Viḻattūr .	Āvūr-kūṟṟam	Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu.	17, 18, 30.
Ōlai-nāyagaṉ or Mandira-ōlai-nāyagaṉ	Krishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḻa-Brahmamahārājaṉ	Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.	Veṇṇāḍu .	Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.	19-20, 32, 325-327.
Do.	Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḻa-Pōśaṉ	Araiśūr .	Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam.	Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu.	21-22, 33, 327-28.
Do.	Vēlāṉ Uttamaśōḻaṉ *alias* Madhurāntaka-Mūvēnda-vēḷāṉ	Paruttikkuḍi	Neṇmali-nāḍu	Arumoḻidēva-vaḷanāḍu.	22, 23, 34.
Karumamārāyum	Ārūraṉ Aravamaiyaṉ *alias* Parākramaśōḻa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	..	..	..	23, 314.
Do.	Tattaṉ Śēndaṉ *alias* Semboyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	..	..	..	25, 314.
Do.	Aruṅguṉṟamuḍaiyāṉ Māppēṟaṉ Poṟkāri	..	..	..	27.
Do.	Piṅgaḷaṉ Pūdūr *alias* Mīnavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	Karkuḍi .	Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu.	Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu.	29, 30, 312.
Do.	Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ	Vaṅganagar .	Puraṅgarambai-nāḍu.	Arumoḻidēva-vaḷanāḍu.	30-31.
Do.	Śōḻavēḷāṉ	..	..	..	313.
Do.	Kuṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ	..	..	..	312.
Do.	Tēvaṉkuḍaiyāṉ	..	..	..	312.
Do.	Araiśūruḍaiyāṉ	..	..	..	313.

[1] No. 121 of the same collection for 1926.
[2] No. 143 of the same.
[3] No. 109 of the same.
[4] No. 130 of the same.
[5] Nos. 121 and 135 of the same.
[6] No. 149 of 1921.

LIST A—*contd.*

Designation.	Name of person.	Village.	Sub-division.	District.	Lines.
Naduvirukkai	Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-sarvakratuyājin	Pullamaṅgalam	..	..	27, 28, 318.
Do.	Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭan	Kaḍalaṅguḍi	..	..	28, 319-320.
Do.	Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭan	Vennaimallūr	..	..	32, 42.
Do.	Tiyambaka-Bhaṭṭan	Puḷaḷai	..	..	32.
Do.	Pūratta-Bhaṭṭan	Koṭṭaiyūr	..	..	313.
Puravuvari	Kaṇṇan Pōrkāri	Kiḷimallūr	..	..	33.
Do.	Sūrriyan Tēvaḍi	Kaḷumalam	..	..	33, 34.
Do.	Tēvan Śāttan	Paḷuvūr	..	..	35.
Do.	Āṇaiyan Taḷikkuḷavan	Kaḷḷikkuḍi	..	..	35, 46, 306-7.
Do.	Kōdaṇḍan Śēman	Ālaṅguḍi	..	..	316.
Do.	Iḷavaḍigaḷ Nallāṇan	Pūdamaṅgalam	..	..	317.
Do.	Karppagan Śōlai	Āṇaiyūr	..	..	317f.
Varippottagam	Kumaran Araṅgan	Śāttanūr	..	..	36.
Do.	Śiṅgan Veṅkāḍan	Paruttiyūr	..	..	36, 318.
Varippottaga-Kaṇakku	Mādēvan Ēmi	..	..	..	320.
Variyiliḍu	Tāḷi Vīraśōḷan	Uṟaiyūr	..	..	320f.
Mugavetti	Kiḷēy Kaṇavadi	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Muṇḍan Araṅgan	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Śaiyaḍan Amalan	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Tattan Śīkiṭṭan	..	..	..	319f.
Paṭṭolai	Perumāṉ Ambalattāḍi	..	..	..	321.
Do.	Śikaṇḍan Dēvan	..	..	..	321.
Do.	Mākālan Ariñji	..	..	..	322.
Do.	Nakkan Maṇḍaganan	..	..	..	322.
Bhaṭṭa	Pārkkuḷattu Purṇaṇa-bha-Bhaṭṭan	Tirunallūr	Vēḷā-nāḍu	Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu.	44, 45, 304-5.
Do.	Perumaṅgalattu Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭan	Do.	Do.	Do.	46, 307f.
Do.	Irāśaṅgamaṅgalattu Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭan	Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam	Kāra-nāḍu	Rājēndra-siṁha-vaḷanāḍu.	46-7, 309-10.
Do.	Tōrpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭan	Śrī-Tuṅga-maṅgalam alias Abhimāna-bhūshaṇa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam.	Tirumaṇaiyār-nāḍu.	Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu.	42-44, 301.

LIST B.

No.	Name of person.	Designation.	sabhā or ūrār.	Village.	Lines.
1	Maṇṇattirayaṉ Yajñaṉ alias Kaṇṇappattiyaṉ	Madhyasthaṉ	sabhā	Kaḍambaṅgūr (brahmadēya).	217.
	Nārāyaṇaṉ Irāmadēvaṉ	Vaikhānasa	ūrār	Do.	218.
2	Irundiyuraṉ Uttamaṉ alias Brahmamaṅgalapriyaṉ	Madhyasthaṉ	sabhā	Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam (brahmadēya).	219.
3	Nārāyaṇaṉ Oṟṟi	..	..	Viḷāṅguḍi	220.
4	Kumaraṉ Nambi alias Alaṅkārapriyaṉ	Madhyasthaṉ	sabhā	Māṅguḍi (brahmadēya).	222.
5	Ambalattāḍuvāṉ Viḍēlviḍugaṉ	Do.	ūrār	Narumagaram	223.
6	Eḍiraṉ Sāttaṉ alias Nandinarappēraṅgiyaṉ	Vēḷāṉ	Do.	[illegible]maṅgalam	224.
7	Tiruvikkaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ	Karaṇattār-Madhyasthaṉ	sabhā	Sammamaṅgalam	225-26.
8	Ūraṉ Chandraśēkharaṉ alias Brahmamaṅgalyaṉ	Do.	Do.	Koṭṭirakkuḍi (brahmadēya).	227f.
9	Aiyyaṉ Aiyyaṉ	Do.	ūrār	Kīvūr	[illegible]
10	Nakkaṉ Malli	Do.	Do.	Uttūr	244f.
11	Kaṇṇaṉ Alaṅkārapriyaṉ	Do.	sabhā	Naṟaiyamaṅgalam (brahmadēya).	247f.
12	Mādēvaṉ Ūraṉ	Karaṇattāṉ Vēḷāṉ	Do.	Perunaṟaiyūr (brahmadēya).	251-52.
13	Kāśyapaṉ Sūryaṉ Araṅgaṉ	Karaṇattāṉ	ūrār	Ālaṅguḍi	255f.
14	Bhāradvāji Tiruttiṉ Vaikuntaṉ	Do.	Do.	Tiruvaiyūr	258-9.
15	Kumaraṉ Nambi alias Alaṅkārapriyaṉ	Karaṇattār-Madhyasthaṉ	sabhā	Perambil (brahmadēya).	261-62.
16	Do.	Do.	ūrār	Kaḍambaṅguḍi	263f.
17	Ūraṉ Aiyyaṉ	Madhyasthaṉ	Do.	Sēndamaṅgalam	265f.
18	Etti Vaḷañjoliyaṉ Saṅkaraṉ	..	..	Siṟu-Sēndamaṅgalam.	268f.
19	Dēvaṉ Ūraṉ	Karaṇattāṉ Vēḷāṉ	ūrār	Kuṟṟālam	272-3.
20	Chakkarapāṇi Arāḍaṉ	Madhyasthaṉ	Do.	Tirunaḷḷāṟu	273-4.
21	Mīnāṅgaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ	Karaṇattāṉ Vēḷāṉ	sabhā	Uruttiraṅguḍi (brahmadēya).	278-80.
22	Mīnāṅgaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ	Do.	ūrār	Muttikkuḍi	282-3.
23	Alkkāmaṉ Irukkatiruvālaṉ alias Maṇṇūrāyaṉ	Do.	sabhā	Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi	286-7.

LIST B—*contd.*

No.	Name of person.	Designation.	*sabhā* or *ūrar*.	Village.	Lines.
24	Uṛāṇ Uṛāṇ	*Karumattāṅ-Madhyasthaṉ*	*ūrar*	Kaḍambavaṉavāśal	290-91.
25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pāḷaṅkaṭṭaḍaṅgaṇi	293-95.
26	Uṛāṇ Nakkaṉ	Do.	Do.	Vaṇakkiḷaṅgi	297-98.
27	Āriyaṉ Śaṭṭiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ	..	..	Āṉaimaṅgalam (Ānaimaṅgalam).	299.

TEXT.

Sanskrit Portion.

Metres :—*Anushṭubh*, vv. 7, 8, 11, 14, 23, 26, 27, 35-37, 40-45, 47 and 48 ; *Mālabhāriṇī*, v. 32 ; *Mandākrāntā*, vv. 12, 21, 30 and 39 ; *Mañjubhāshiṇī*, v. 13 ; *Praharshiṇī*, v. 9 ; *Rathōddhatā*, v. 10 ; *Ruchirā*, v. 24 ; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 1, 4, 18, 19 and 33. *Sragdharā*, vv. 2, 3, 20 ; *Upajāti*, vv. 5, 6, 15, 17, 22, 28, 34, 38 and 46 ; *Vaṁśasthā*, v. 29 ; *Vasantatilakā*, vv. 16, 25 and 31.

First Plate ; First Side.

1 Svasti Śrī ||
Lakshmī-pīna-payōdhara-dvaya-taṭī-kāśmīra-paṅk-āṅkitā
2 bhrāmyan-Mandara-tuṅga-śṛiṅga-kashaṇa-bhrājishṇu-hēm-āṅgadāḥ [|*] rakshantō ha-
3 rinīla-nīla-vapushō lōka-trayaṁ Śārṅgiṇaś=śārṅg-ādy-āyudha-śōbhina-
4 ś=śriyam=alaṁ pushṇantu vō bāhavaḥ ||[1*] Yāvat Kailāsa-śailē
5 viharati bhagavān= Indumaulis=sva-dēvyā yāvat kshīr-āmburāśau
6 Harir=ahi-śayanē yōga-nidrām=tanōti [|*] yāvad=dhvāntam=nitāntaṁ vyapa-
7 nayati Ravir=viśva-lōk-aika-dīpas=tāvat pāyād=apāyād=ayam=akhi-
8 la-mahī-maṇḍalaṁ=Chōḷa-vaṁśaḥ ||[2*] Āsīd=ādyō nṛipāṇām=Manur=Ahimakarād=viśva-
9 lōk-aika-nētrād=Ikshvākus=tat-tanūjō=jani nṛipa-makuṭa-śrēṇi-līḍh-āṅghri-pī-
10 ṭhaḥ [|*] Māndhātā Dhātṛi-kalpō guṇa-nidhir=abhavat=tat-kulē bhūmipālō yō Lō-

First Plate ; Second Side.

11 kālōka-śail-āvadhi vidhivad=imāṁ pālayāmāsa bhūmim ||[3*][1] Rāj=āsīn=Muchukunda ity=a-
12 bhihitas=tasy=ātmajō vīryavāṁs=tat-putrō Vaḷabhō=jani kshitipatiḥ kshatr-aika-
13 chūḍāmaṇiḥ [|*] tad-vaṁśē Śibir=ity=aśēsha-jagati prakhyāta-kīrttir=nṛipaś=śrīmān=āvirabhūd=a-
14 śēsha-nṛipati-vrāt-ārchchit-āṅghri-dvayaḥ ||[4*] Par-ārtthē-saṁrakshita-jīvitasya tasy=ā-

[1] The punctuation mark, which consists of double vertical strokes, seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted between *bhūmim* and *Rāja*.

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I.
SANSKRIT PORTION.

i,a.

i,b.

ii,a.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3910 E'35-425.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii,b.

iii,a.

iii,b.

15 ti-gambhīra-guṇasya rājñaḥ [|*] Vyāsaṁ kavīnām=ṛishabham vihāya kō vā guṇā-

16 n=varṇṇayituṁ samarthaḥ [|[5*] Tad-vaṁśa-vārākara-pūrṇṇachandrō nidhiḥ kalā-
nām=a-

17 janishṭa Chōḻaḥ [|*] yad-vaṁśa-jātā yad-upajñam=ēva Chōḻ-ābhidhānaṁ=dadhati
kshitīśāḥ [|[6*]

18 Tatō jit-ākhil-ārātī rāj=āsīd=**Rājakēsarī** [|*] tataḥ para-pura-ddhvaṁsa-parō=bhūt

19 **Parakēsarī** [|[7*] Rājakēsariṇō nāma Parakēsariṇō=pya cha [|*] sva-vaṁśa-janma-
nāṁ

20 rājñām=ājñ=ēva parivṛittitaḥ [|[8*] Tad-vaṁśē Suragurur=asta-vairi-varggō rājēn-
drō

Second Plate : First Side.

21 Ravi-kula-kētur=āvirāsīt [|*] yō jitvā raṇa-bhuvi Mṛityum=apy=ajayyan=dushprāpām=
alabha-

22 ta Mṛityujit-samākhyām [|[9*] Vyāghrakētur=abhavat=tad-anvayē vairi-vā[ra*]ṇa-
mṛigādhi-

23 pō nṛipaḥ [|*] Pañchapō=jani tad-anvayē balī pārtthivō=rtthi-jana-kalpapāda-

24 paḥ [|[10*] Ari-kālō mahīpālaḥ **Karikālas**=tad-anvayē [|*] āvirāsīd=asau chakrē
Kā-

25 vēri-tīra-bandhanam [|[11*] **Kōchchaṁkaṇṇān**=abhavad=akhila-kshmādhip-ārādhit-
āṅghri-

26 r=vvaṁśē tasya prathita-mahimā Śambhu-pād-ābja-bhṛiṁgaḥ [|*] **Kōkkiḷḷi**-kshipati-

27 r=amala-dhīr=anvavāyē tadīyē bhūpālō=bhūd=akhila-nṛipati-śrēṇi-chū-

28 ḍ-ārchchit-āṅghriḥ [|[12*] **Vijayālayō**=jani tad-anvayē jayī vijit-ākhil-āvani-talō
ma-

29 hābalaḥ [|*] praṇaman-nṛipēndra-makuṭa-sthala-skhalan-maṇi-raśmi-rañjita-pad-
āmbuja-dvayaḥ [|[13*]

30 **Ādityō** bhūbhṛitas=tasmād=udagād=amita-dyutiḥ [|*] dhvast-ārāti-mahīpāla-ddhvānta-
cha-

31 kraḥ pratāpavān [|[14*] Ananta-ratna-prakar-ākara-vāsād=udāra-sattvād=udiyāya
tasmā-

Second Plate : Second Side.

32 t [|*] **Parāntakō** viśva-hitāya rājā Rāj=ēva dugdh-āmbunidhēḥ kalābhiḥ [|[15*]
Ā-Chakra-

33 vāḷam=avaniṁ sa vijitya sarvvāṁ rakshan sukhēna Kali-kāla-tamō-ṁśumālī [|*]
grā-

34 mān=nivēśya vividhān=mahatō yaśōbhiś=śubhraś=chakāra śarad-abhra-nibhair=ddig-
antān [|[16*]

35 Sva-bā[hu*]-vī(r)yy-āvajit-ākhil-āśā-mukh-ōpanīt-āmala-hāṭakēna [|*] samāvṛiṇō-

36 n=mandiram=Indumaulēr=Vvyāghrāgrahārē[1] Ravi-vaṁśa-kētuḥ [|[17*] Tasy=ātma-
ja-

[1] The length of ghrā seems to have been inserted afterwards.

37 ¹rēndra-vandita-pada-dvandvasya putrās=trayas=trē-āgni-dyutayō=bhavan=narapatē-
38 s=Sutrāma-tulya-śriyaḥ [|*] Rājāditya iti kathitaṁ nigaditaś=śrī-Gaṇḍarāditya ity=a-
39 ki=Ōriñjaya ity=aśēsha-jagati khyātās=tridhā dhāmnō bali [||18*] Saṁrakshya kshitim=ambu-rā-
40 śi-rasanāṁ dharmma-kramāt divaṁ yātē tatra Parāntakē para-bala-ddhvaṁs-aika-daksh-ē²
41 nṛipē³ [|*] bhūpāl-āvali-mauli-līḍha-charaṇa-dvandvas=tad-ātmajō Rājāditya i-
42 ti śrutas=sa babhūv=ākhil-āvanyāḥ patiḥ [||19*] Rājādityas=sa vīrō Ravi-kula-tilakaḥ

Third Plate ; First Side.

43 **Krishṇarājaṁ**⁴ sa-sainyaṁ sakshōbhy-ākshōbhyam=ājau nija-niśita-śarai-
44 s=sampatat(d)bhis=samantāt [|*] nāg-ēndra-skandha-vartti vidalita-hṛidayas=tan-niśāt-ēshu-pātai-
45 r=āruhy=ōchchair=vvimānaṁ=tribhuvana-mahitō vīra-lōkaṁ jagāma [||20*] Rājādityē
46 surapura-vadhū-vaktra-paṅkēruhāṇāṁ prītiṁ karttuṁ gatavati mahātējasi kshmā-
47 m=aśēshām [|*] vīrō=rakshat kshapita-sakal-ārāti-sāndr-āndhakārō
48 bhrātā tasya prathita-mahimā **Gaṇḍarādityavarmmā** [||21*] Utpādya putram⁵=**Madhurāntak-ā-**
49 khyaṁ Kavēra-kany-ōttara-tīra-bhūmau [|*] svā[ma*]n=mahāntañ=cha nijēna nāmnā pu-
50 raṁ vidhāya=sa divaṁ jagāma [||22*] Tasmin=divaṁ gatē dēvē tasya ma-
51 hatīm=mahīm [|*] **Ariñjayō**=n-bhūpāla-vana-dāvānalō bali [||23*] Ariñjayād=a-
52 ni Parāntak-ōpamaḥ **Parāntakaḥ** para-nṛipa-chakra-marddanaḥ [|*] apālayaj=jaladhi-mē-
53 khalām=mahīṁ sukhēna yō nija-guṇa-rañjita-prajaḥ [||24*] Chēvūra-nāmani⁶ purē
54 nija-chāru-chāpa-mukt-ātisāra-śara-rāji-nirantar-āṅgaḥ [|*] śatr-ēbha-bhinna-nṛipa-danti-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

55 girīndra⁷-niryyad-rakt-āpagā bahuvidhā nirvarttayat saḥ [||25*] Karikāl-ānva-yāt
56 nam=Ādityam=udapīpadat [|*] Rājarājañ=cha rājēndrō Ravi-vaṁśa-śikhā-maṇiṁ [||26*]
57 Suralōka-paritrāṇa-parē tasmin Parāntakē [|*] naralōka-paritrāṇam=A-

¹ The *ś* sign of *śu* is at the end of the previous line.
² After *kē* the length sign has been entered and erased.
³ The letter *t* is entered in the next line.
⁴ There is something like a *visarga* mark on the left top of *ṇaṁ*.
⁵ After *ra* in *putram*, the length sign has been entered and erased.
⁶ After *na* in *nāmani*, a length sign has been entered and erased.
⁷ Read *girīndra*.

58 **dityō** vidhivad-vyadhāt ||[27*] Sa **Vīra-Pāṇḍyēna** ca bālam=ājau chikrīḍa(da) lalā

59 Manu-vaṁśa-dīpaḥ [|*] mataṁgajēn=ēva madōtkaṭēna mṛigēndra-śāba(vō) ba-

60 la-garvvitēna ||[28*] Divaṁ gatē tatra narādhip-ādhipē ca Gaṇḍarāditya[1]-sa-

61 tē[2] mahā-bhujaḥ [|*] apālayad-vāridhi[3]-mēkhalām-mahīm-Mahēndra-kīrtti-

62 r=**mMadhurāntakō** nṛipaḥ ||[29*] Tasmin=gatē Tridaśa-nilayan-trātum=urvvīṁ-Indrē

63 vīrē vīrva-kshiti-pati-śaras-mauli-līḍh-āṅghri-pīṭhaḥ [|*] dōshṇā śēsh-ōraga-pa-

64 ti-tanu-śrī-mushā **Rājarājō** garvvām-urvvī dhuram=adarālmah-Chōḷa-vaṁśa-pradīpaḥ ||[30*] Ji-

65 tvā ca Pāṇḍya-D(T)aḷu Kēraḷa-Siṁhaḷēndra-Satyāśray-ādi-nṛipatir=n[4]ija-bāhu-vīryyāt [|*] ā-

66 dāya tat-kari-turaṁgama-ratna-rāśi(śī)ṁ(n=y)=āśā daś=āpi yaśasā dhavaḷī-chakāra[5] ||[31*] Kṛi-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

67 ta-dig-vija[ya*]ś=ca Rājarājaḥ karadīkṛitya mahīpatīn=aśēshān [|*] nyavasat[6] sva-purē sukhan=nṛi-

68 [7]pēndras=tridivē lōka-namaskṛitō yath=Ēndraḥ ||[32*] Ā sailād=abhimānato-janmā-nahi-

69 tād=ā dakshiṇ-āmbhōnidhēr=ā chaĀst-āhvaya-parvvatāt[8] giripatēr=ā Śambhun-ādhi-

70 shṭhitāt [|*] rājānō nija-vaṁśa-rakshaṇa-parā bhōktum-cha bhōgān-bahūn-nityā Nitya-

71 vinōda-pāda-kamala-dvandvaṁ samāśrityau ||[33*] Yatas=sa rājā nija-pā-

72 da-bhājāṁ rājñām=udārō bahuḷīkṛit-āśrayō=bhūt [|*] ataḥ pṛithivyām=amuṁ-

73 prabhāvaṁ Rājāśrayan-tam=ngadanti santaḥ ||[34*] Sō=yam=akhila-kalā-kalāpa-

74 pārāvāra-pāradṛiśv=āśēsha-nṛipa-chakra-chāru-chāmīkara-kirīṭa-kōṭi-gha-

75 ṭṭa-śrēka-māṇikya-marīchi-puñja-pañjarīkṛita-pāda-pīṭhō **Rājarājō Rājakēsari-**

76 **varmmā** sva-sāmrājya-varshē ēkaviṁśatitamē nikhila-dharaṇi-tilakāyamānē[9] **Ksha-**

77 **[7]triya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭu**=nāmni mahati janapada-nivahē **Paṭṭana-kkūrra**-nāmni ja-na-pa-

78 dē=nēka-sura-sadana-satra-prap-ārām-ābhirāmē vividha-saudha[10]-rāji-rājamānē **Nā-**

Fourth Plate : Second Side.

79 **gīpattanē** nija-mati-vibhava-vijita-Suraguruṇā budha-jana-kamala-vana-marīchimālin-ā

[1] Read *Gaṇḍarāditya*. The length of *rā* seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted wrongly before *r* instead of after it.

[2] The *ē* sign of *tē* is at the end of the previous line.

[3] Read *vāridhi*.

[4] Read *nṛipatin=nija*-.

[5] After *chakāra*, a *visarga* has been entered and erased.

[6] The letters *vasat* are written over an erasure.

[7] The *ē* sign of *pē* is incised at the end of the previous line.

[8] Read *°tād=*.

[9] From this line, Tamiḷ characters are interspersed with Grantha.

[10] The words *vividha-saudha* are written over an erasure. After *dha*, a fourth stroke has been erased.

80 rtthi-jana-kalpapādapēna **Śailēndra-vaṁśa-sambhūtēna Śrīvishay**-ādhipati-

81 nā **Kaṭāh**-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā Makara-dhvajēn=ādhigata-sakala[1]-rāja-vidyasya **Chūḷā-**

82 **maṇivarmmaṇaḥ** putrēṇa śrī-**Māravijayō[2]ttuṁgavarmmaṇā** sva-pitur=[3]nnāmnā nirmmāpitam=adhi-

83 rikṛita-Kanakagiri[4]-samunnati-vibhavam=atiramaṇīyaṁ **Chūḷāmaṇivarmma-vihāram**=adhiva-

84 satē Buddhāya tasminn[5]=ēva janapada-nivahē Paṭṭana-kkūrra-nāmni jana-pa-

85 dē kaṇṇi-parikramaṇa-vispashṭa-sīmā-chatushṭayam=**Āṇaimaṁgal**-ābhi-

86 dhānaṁ grāmam=adāt || Ittham=dēvēna dattasya sva-pitrā chakravarttinā [|*] grāmasy=āsya ga-

87 tē[6] tasmin=dēvabhūyam=mahaujasi ||[35*] Tat-siṁhāsanam=ārūḍhas=tat-putrō **Madhurāntakaḥ** [|*]

88 śāsanaṁ śāśvatam=dhīmān kārayitv=ādiśa[n*]=nṛipaḥ ||[36*] Śēshō=śēshām=mahīṁ yāva-

89 d=dhattē=śēsh-ōrag-ēśvaraḥ [|*] sthēyāt=tāvad=vihārō=yam vibhavēna sa-

90 h=āvanau ||[37*] Sō=yaṁ Kaṭāh-ādhipati[r*]=gguṇānāṁ=nivāsa-bhūmir=mmahita-pra[7]-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

91 bhāvaḥ [|*] āgāminaḥ prārtthayatē narēndrān dharmmaṁ sad=ēnam=mama rakshat=ēti ||[38*] Grāmē

92 ramyē jagati mahitē **Kōṭṭayūr**-ābhidhānē **Lakshmī-dhāmany**=ajani vimalē yō Vasishṭh-

93 ānvavāyē [|*] sat-saṁsēvī vimala-charit=[8]Ōnantanārāyaṇ-ākhyas=sō=

94 yan=dhīmān=arachayad=imām=agrajanmā praśastim ||[39*] Tasya tē-

95 jō[9] mahim[10] sarvvān=dharmmēṇa parirakshataḥ [|*] ajayyasya

96 jit-āśēsha-ripu-bhūpāla-saṁhatēḥ ||[40*] Mahādhikāri[ṇ]

97 matimān=Tillayāḷi-samāhva[ya*]ḥ [|*] yaj-janma-bhūr=abhūt[11] bhūmau Kāñchi-vāyil-i-

98 ti śrutaḥ ||[41*] Yō Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēḷ=iti prathitō bhuvi [|*] tan-niyō-gād=i-

99 daṁ sō=yaṁ śāsanaṁ siddhim=akārayat[12] ||[42*] [illegible]

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[1] After sakala, a letter has been entered and rubbed out.

[2] The letter yō in vijayō is a correction.

[3] The letter nnā is a correction.

[4] Read girī-.

[5] The letters tasminn=ē are written over an erasure.

[6] The ē sign of tē is at the end of the previous line.

[7] The last letter pra is a correction.

[8] The proper name seems to be *Anantanārāyaṇa* and not *Nandanārāyaṇa* as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri have taken.

[9] The ē sign of jō is written at the end of the previous line.

[10] Read mahīṁ.

[11] Read abhūd=bhūmau.

[12] The letters siddhim=akāra seem to have been entered over an erasure.

The Larger Leiden Plates of Rajaraja I. (II)

iv,a.

iv,b.

v,a.

v,b.

TAMIL PORTION.

i,a.

i,b.

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

100 Kaṭāh-ādhipatēr-asya niyōgāt-Tuvavūravān [|*] Anukka iti vikhyātaś-śrīmān-Aḍikaḷ[1]-ātmajaḥ ||43* ௳

101 Vinītō guṇa-sampannas-svāmi-kārya-hitē rataḥ [|*] śāsanaṁ śāśvatam-idam-achīkarad-udāra-dhīḥ ||44* ௳

102 Rājarāja-mahāchāryyō Vāsudēv-āpar-āhvayaḥ [|*] a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛi-

103 shṇa-sambhavō-pi mahāmatiḥ ||45*| Śrīraṅga-Dāmōdara-nāmadhēyaḥ Kṛishṇ-ātma-

104 jaḥ Kṛishṇa-pad-ābja-bhṛiṅgaḥ [|*] Kṛishṇ-ābhidhānō-pi cha Vāsudē-

105 va-śarīrajō nīraja-chāru-nētraḥ ||46*| Ārāvamṛita-putraś-cha Purushō-

106 ttama-sa[ṁ*]jñitaḥ [|*] spardhamānō-kshara-nyāsē Chitraguptēna chitragaḥ ||47*|

107 Hōvy-ānvavāya-tilakāḥ Kāñchīpura-samutbhavāḥ[2] [|*] praśastim-ēnām-ali-

108 khan pañch-aitē chitrakāriṇaḥ ||48*| Iś-śāsanam veṭṭinōm Jayaṅkoṇ[ḍa]śō-

109 ḷa-maṇḍalattu śrī-Kāñchipurattu ōviya-chchitrakāri Kṛishṇaṉ Vāsudēvaṉ-āṉa Rājarāja-ppē-

110 rāchāryyaṉ-ēṉum Kṛishṇaṉ Tiruvaraṅgaṉum Kṛishṇaṉ Dāmōdiraṉum Vāsudēvaṉ Kṛishṇaṉum

111 Ārāvamirdu[3] [4]Purushōttamaṉum|| ௳ || ௳ || ௳

Tamiḻ Portion.

First Plate ; First Side.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] ௳ Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-

2 pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu nāṭṭārkkum brahmadēya-kkiḷavarkkum dēvadāna-ppaḷḷi-

3 chchanda-kkaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu[5]-veṭṭappēṟ-ūrgaḷilārkkum nagarangaḷilārkkum

4 namakku yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉṟāvadu nāḷ toṇṇūṟṟ-aṟupadiṉāl

5 Tañjāvūr-ppurambaḍi māḷigai Rājāśrayanil teṟkkil maṇḍabat-

6 tu nāmu irukka-kKiḍāratt-araiyaṉ Chūḷāmaṇipanmaṉ Kshatriyaśikhā-

7 maṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Nāgapaṭṭaṉattu eḍuppikkiṉṟa Chūḷā-

8 maṇipanma-vihārattu-ppaḷḷikku vēṇḍum nivandattukku Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-va-

9 ḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Āṉaimaṅgalam paḷḷichchandam iṟaṅgal-uḷpaḍa aḷa-

10 ndapaḍi nilangal nīkki nilaṉ toṇṇūṟṟ-ēḻē-iraṇḍu-mā mukkāṇiy-araikkā-

[1] Abhikaḷa is the reading given in Volume IV of *Archaeological Survey of South India*. As the letter *bh* is quite differently shaped from *ḍ*, there is no doubt that the proper name here given is *śrīmān Aḍikaḷ* (Aḍikaḷ) and not Abhikaḷa.

[2] *Read samudbhavāḥ.*

[3] The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 208 is *Ārāvamirtaṉum*. The additional *ṉum* is clearly a mistake. There is no trace of it in the plate. If *ṉum* is retained, there would be six names; but there must be only five for it is stated in line 108 *pañch-aitē chitrakāriṇaḥ*. Moreover, what is required is a double name like *Kṛishṇaṉ Vāsudēvaṉ*, etc., in which the first component indicates the name of the father. In fact we have it stated in verse 47, that this individual's name was *Purushōttama* and that he was the son of *Ārāvamṛita*.

[4] The letter *pu* is corrected from *pi*.

[5] Read *maṟṟum*.

[6] The reading of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, (p. 208, l. 114) is *muṟṟaṟṟu*. It is evidently a mistake. The plate reads only *muṟṟūṭṭu* which is also found in other inscriptions.

First Plate : Second Side.

11 ṭi maṇḍirigaḷ-kkīḻ-nāṭṭu-nā ṇmkkāṭ manḍaigaḷ-kkīḻ araṇ ēy-irug-
12 da-māṭṭuḷ irai-kaṭṭiṉa kāṇikkaḍaṉ ṉelli ṟṟrāyinaṟa-iraḷḷāyi-
13 ratta nāṟṟatta nu-kkaḷanē iru-tūṇi-kkuṟuṇi ari-nāḷiyum Kaḷḷiruk-arūyaḷ
14 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Nāgapaṭṭaṇatt-oḍuṅgu-
15 kiṉṟa Chōḷāmaṇḍapaṉma-vihārattu-ppaḷḷikku iruṭṭpaḷḷ-āga yāṇḍu irubat-
16 t-oṉṟāvadu-mudal palḷichchanda-iṟaiy-iliy-āga vaṟṟyil-iṭṭa-kkoḍukka-
17 v-eṉṟu nām solla nam ōlai eḻudum Nittavinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu Ā-
18 vūr-kkūṟṟattu Vijattūr-kiḻavaṉ Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ eḻuttiṉālum nam ā-
19 lai-nāyakaṉ Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāṭṭu Veṇṇāṭṭu-kKīraṉūr[ka]-chchaturvvē-
20 dimaṅgalattu Kṛishṇaṉ Irāmaṉ-āṉa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉum[1] Nitta-

Second Plate : First Side.

21 vinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPāmbuṇi-kkūṟṟattu Arumūr-uḍaiyāṉ Irāyiravaṉ Palla-[2]
22 vayaṉ-āṉa [3]Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōśaṉum Arumoḻidēva[4]-vaḷanāṭṭu Nemmali-nāṭṭu-pPaṟu-
23 ttikkuḍaiyāṉ Vēḷāṉ Uttamaśōḷan-āṉa Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum
24 uḍaṉāḷum pukka nan-tittinpaḍiyē vaṟṟyil-iṭṭu-kkoḷgav-eṉṟu
25 nam karumam-ārāyum Āṭṭaṉ Aravaṉaiyāṉ-āṉa Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvē-
26 ndavēḷāṉum Taṭṭaṉ Śēndan-āṉa Śembiyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉu-
27 m Arumūr-uḍaiyāṉ Māṉṉēṟṟi Porkāriyum aaḍuvurakkum Puḷḷa-
28 maṅgalattu-pParamēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakratuyājiyum Kaḍalaṅguḍi-tTāmōdara-Bhaṭ-
ṭaṉu-
29 m nam karumam-ārāyum Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-tTirunaraiyūr-nāṭṭu-kKaṟ-
kāḷai-
30 yāṉ Pasāṅgaṉ Pāḷār-āṉa Minavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Arumoḻidēva-vaḷanāṭṭu-

Second Plate : Second Side.

31 pPuraṅgarambai-nāṭṭu Vaṇṇaṅgur-uḍaiyāṉ Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṉ-Araṅgaṉum naḍuvi-
32 rukkum Veṇṇaiyallūr-tTammaḍi Baṭṭaṉum Paṉḍai-tTiyambaka-Baṭṭaṉum A-
33 ḷi-pparaśurari-kKiḻnallūr-kiḻavaṉ Koṟṟaṉ Porkāriyum Kaḷumalam-uḍai-
34 yāṉ Sūṟṟiyaṉ Tēvaḍiyum Paḻuvūr-uḍaiyāṉ Tēvaṉ Śāttaṉum
35 Kaḷḷikkuḍaiyāṉ Aṇaiyāṉ Taḷikkuḷattāṉum vaṟippattagam Ēḻ-
36 ttanūr-uḍaiyāṉ Kumaraṉ Araṅgaṉum Parattayūr-kiḻavaṉ Śiṅgaṉ Ve-
37 ṇkāḍaṉum irundu yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉṟāvadu nāḷ toṇṇūṟṟ-ē-
38 ḻiṉāl paḷḷichchandam iṟaiy-iliy-āga vaṟṟyi[l]-iṭṭu-kkoḷutta taṉṉa-nāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṇa-
39 kkūṟṟattu Āṉaimaṅgalam aḷandapaḍi nilgai nīkki nilaṉ toṇṇūṟṟ-ē-
40 ḻēy irandu-mā-kkāṇiy-araikkāṇi mundirigai-kkīḻ-nāṭṭu-nā ṇmkkāṭ

[1] Read *Brahmamārāya*.

[2] *Pallavayaṉ* has been taken as *Pallava[ra]iyaṉ* by inserting *ra* in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209. As there is not a single place where *Pallavaraiyaṉ* occurs, the proper name *Pallavayaṉ* needs no correction.

[3] *mma* in *Mummaḍi* is written over an erasure.

[4] The letters *mmoḻi* in *Arumoḻi* are damaged.

ii,a.

ii,b.

iii,a.

iii,b.

iv,a.

iv,b.

41 mundirgai kīḻ-ataiyōy-irandu-māvum [piḍi] śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍappi[p*]pad-āgakkaṇkāṇi naḍu[1].

Third Plate ; First Side.

42 virukkum[2] Veṇṇainallūr-tTammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉaiyum[3] Baṭṭaṉ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-va-

43 ḷanāṭṭu-tTirunagaiyūr-nāṭṭu śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam-āṉa Abhimāṉabhūshaṇa-chchaturvvē-

44 dimaṅgalattu-tTūṟpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṉaiyum I-nāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu-tTirunallā-

45 ṟ Pārkkuḷattu-pPaṟpanāla[4]-Bhaṭṭaṉaiyum ivv-ūr Pūrōmapuṟattu[5] Veṇṇaiya-

46 Bhaṭṭaṉaiyum Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāṭṭu Kāra-nāṭṭu-ttaṉiyūr śrī-Vīranārāya-

47 ṇa-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu [6]Dvādaigōmapuṟattu Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṉaiyum para-vuva-

48 ri Kaḷḷikkuḍaiyāṉ Aṉaiyaṉ[7] Taḷikkuḷavaṉaiyum pēr[8]-ttandōn-tā-

49 ṅgaḷum ivargaḷōḍu niṉṟu ellai teṟittu-ppiḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu kallu-

50 ṅ-kaḷḷiyum nāṭṭi aṟavōlai śe[y*]du[9] pō[10]-ttagav-eṉṉum vāśagattāl mandira-

51 [11]vōlai Viḷattūr-kiḻavaṉ Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ eḻuttiṉālum mandiravōlai nā-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

52 yakaṉ Krishṇaṉ Irāmaṉ-āṉa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamahārāyaṉum Aṟaiśūr-uḍai-yāṉ [I]-

53 rāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ-āṉa Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōśaṉum Paruttikkuḍaiyāṉ

54 Vēḷāṉ-Uttamaśōḷan-āna Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷā[12]-

55 ṉum oppiṉālum [|*] Tiru-magaḷ pōla-pperu-[ni]la-chchelviya-

56 n-taṉakkēy-urimai pūṇ[ḍa*]mai maṉa-kkoḷa-kKāndaḷūr-

57 chchālai kalam-aṟutt-aruḷi Vēṅgai-nāḍum-Gaṅgapāḍiyu[m*] Nu-

58 ḷambapāḍiyun-Taḍigaipāḍiyuṁ-Kuḍamalai-nāḍuṁ-Kollamuṁ-Kali-

59 ṅgamum eṇ-diśai pugaḻ tara Īḻa-maṇḍalamun-ti[ṇ*]-diṟal-veṉṟi-ttaṇ-

60 ḍāṟ-koṇḍa taṉ-eḻil vaḷar ūḻiyuḷ-ellā yāṇḍum-to-[13]

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[1] This word is omitted in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 152.

[2] This word has been incorrectly read as *kaḷakkam* in the above. The official designation *vaḍaviruddam* of Veṇṇainallūr-tTammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉ actually occurs in text line 142 f. on the same page.

[3] This word has been incorrectly read as *Baṭṭaṉaiyum* in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 153.

[4] The Tamiḻ letters *nāla* are written in smaller characters than the rest and *la* appears as a convex curve. The traces show that the Grantha letter *bha* was originally written and then erased. The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 156 is *Paṟpaṉḍaḷ*.

[5] The reading of this word given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is *Pūrampura* in line 156 and *Vīrampura* in line 118 which are clearly inadmissible.

[6] The reading in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is *[Dvādaiy(?)]gōmapuṟattu*.

[7] This word has been wrongly read as *Aṉaiyāṉ* in text-line 159 of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209.

[8] Read *pēr tandōm* ; see, above p. 216.

[9] Without inserting *y*, we may read *śedu* which is but the colloquial form of *śeydu*. But as the inscription uses *śeydu* later on (ll. 204 and 206), it is preferable to have here also the grammatically correct form.

[10] *Pōttagav* seems to be the contraction of *pōga* and *tagav*.

[11] The *ō* sign of *vō* is entered at the end of the previous line.

[12] The letters in this line are larger in size than those in the other lines.

[13] There is space for the length of *ṇ* at the commencement of the next line, but it is not written.

61 ḷittaga viḷaṅgum pāṇḍiy Śeḻiyaṉai=ttāṉ koḷ śeṅkōlaṉ-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

62 rājarājak-kaṉṉarammaṉ-āga śrī-Rājarājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉbadāvadu nāṭṭō-
63 mukku=ttirumugam vara [|*] nāṭṭōmum-tirumugaṅ-kaṇḍu edir-eḻundu śeṉṟu toḻudu vā-
64 ṅgi-ttalai-mēl vaittu=ppiḍi śūḻnda paḍāgai naḍandu ellai teriñju kalli-
65 n-kalliṭṭu[m*] nāṭṭi aṇaraiśai śeyda pīlattukku-kkīḻpāṟk-ellai Kshatri-
66 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu-kKōvūr mil-ellai[3] [|*]
67 Kōvūr=ttachchu=pīlattukkum Kōvūr-kKāviriy-ōḍaikku[m*] mēṟkum-[|*]
68 teṟk-iṉṉum ivv-ūr=pPugaiyuṇṇiy=uṇṇum pīlattukku mē-
69 ṟkum [|*] teṟk-iṉṉum ivv-ellaiyē kiḻakku nōkki-ppōy i-ppīlat-
70 tukku teṟk-iṉṉum Pugaiyuṇṇiy-uṇṇum pīlattukku mēṟkum [|*] te-
71 ṟk-iṉṉum mēṟk-uṇṇum Pugaiyuṇṇikku=ppāyum vāykkālu mēlaiy-a-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

72 raikkālil nāṟṟukkāl-āga aṭṭi=kkiḍanda āṟu-varambukku vaḍakkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-arai-
73 kkāliliy mēṟku nāṟṟukkāl-āga aṭṭi-kkiḍanda āṟu-varambukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum
74 i-nnāṟṟukkālukkōy teṟku varamb-āga aṭṭi=kkiḍanda varambukku vaḍakkum [|*] iṉṉa-
75 m ivv-araikkālil mēl-varambukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-araikkā-
76 lin teṟkil pPugaiyuṇṇiy-araikkālukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum kīḻ-
77 n teṟkil Kōvūr-kkumāra-ḍiṉṉ oru-māv-araikku mēṟkum [|*] idaṉ teṟkil
78 oru-māv-araikku mēṟkum [|*] idaṉ teṟkil ōḍaiyil [4]naḍuvukku-tteṟkum [|*] iṉ-
79 ṉum i-kKōvūr ellaikku mēṟkum [|*] teṟk-iṉṉum Kōvūr veḷḷāḷaṉ A-
80 raiśūr[5] Mariyāḍi[6] oru-māvukku mēṟkum [|*] idaṉ teṟkil ōḍai naḍuvukku=tteṟkum [|*] i-
81 vv-ōḍaiyē teṉ-kiḻakku nōkki-ppōy mēṟ-Pallavāykkāl iv-ō-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

82 ḍaikkōy viḻunda iḍattukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum mēṟ-Pallavāykkālin teṉ-
83 karaikku-tteṟkum Kōvūr Mēlpaḷḷattu mēl-varambukku mēṟkum [|*] ivv-ūr Mē-
84 lpaḷḷattu veḷḷāḷaṉ Urāppuḷi[8] Pākkaraṉ araikkāl vaḍa-varambukku va-
85 ḍakku[m*] [|*] ivv-araikkālin mēlai ōḍaiyiṉ naḍuvukkum veḷḷāḷaṉ Pa-
86 ramēśvaraṉ Naṟaiyūr araikkālukku mēṟkum [|*] ivv-ōḍaiyiṉ naḍu-[9]

[3] The letters *mil-ellai*, written at the end of this line, are in bigger characters.
[4] The letter *dn* almost encircles the previous letter in *naduvukku*.
[5] The *ai* sign of *rai* is written at the end of the previous line.
[6] Before *di* in *Mariyāḍi* the letter *t* has been entered and erased.
[7] The letters *ṟpu* in *Urāppuḷi* are written over an erasure.
[8] The reading given in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, text-lines 195 and 276 is *Urappuḷi-ppākkaṉ*. The plate clearly reads *ṟi*, not *ṟu*. It being a double name it has to be read as given in our text.
[9] The letter *dn* almost encircles the previous letter.

v,a.

v,b.

vi,a.

vi,b.

vii,a.

vii,b.

87 vukku mērkum [|*] Kōrūr vaḻḻilan-Aiyyāṉan Śēnaṉ arachchāḻ
88 kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkē mērkum [|*] ivv-amaikkāḻikku-ttarku-
89 m [|*] Mēlpaḍi-nilattu kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkēy mērkum [|*] ivv-ō-
90 ḍai[1] Eṟivatti-vāykkālukkēy viḻunda iḍattukku mērkum [|*] ivv-Eṟivatti-vāykkā-
91 lukkē mērkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-Eṟivatti-vāykkālukkēy terkum [|*] ivv-E-

Fifth Plate : Second Side.

92 ṟivatti-vāykkālukkē mērkum [|*] Teṉpārk-ellai ivv-Eṟivatti-vā-
93 ykkālukku vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-Eṟivatti-vāykkāl mērku nōkki-chche-
94 ṉṟu i-vvāykkālaiy-ōḍaṟuttu-ttaṉ karaikkēy-ēṟi terk-iṉṉu-
95 m ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu-ppaḍugai vēlī nila-
96 ttu mēl-ellaiyē iṉṟu te(n)[2]-mēlaiy-kkiḍanda ōḍaik-
97 ku mērkum [|*] ivv-ellaiyē (t)erku nōkki-chcheṉṟu mērkk-i-
98 ṉṉum ivv-ōḍaikkēy vaḍakkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-ōḍaikku
99 vaḍakku nōkkiy-Eṟivatti-vāykkālu(k)kēy-ēṟ-aḍarku kiḻakkum [|*] ivv-Eṟivatti-
100 vāykkālaiy-ōḍaṟuttu vaḍa-karaiyēy-ēṟi i-vvāykkālin vaḍa-karaiyē[3]
101 mērku nōkki-chcheṉṟu i-vvāykkālukku vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-ellaiyēy

Sixth Plate : First Side.

102 mērku nōkki-chcheṉṟu i-vvāykkāl tāṉ kiḍandavāṟē mērku nōkki i-nnāṭṭu-p-
103 Paṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Śivalaiykuḍiyil nilaṉ nāṉ-māvil vaḍa-varam-bāy-ur-
104 ṟu i-vvarambē mērku nōkki-chcheṉṟu ivv-ellaikku vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-ellai-
105 yē[4] mērku nōkki-chcheṉṟu Paḷaviḷapp-āṉa ōḍaiyāy-uṟṟu ivv-ellai-
106 kku vaḍakkum [|*] Mēṟpārk-ellai vaḍakku nōkki Nāṭṭuppōkkil-ttalai-
107 vāyar vettappēṟṟukku-kkiḻakkum [|*] vaḍakk-iṉṉum i-nnāṭṭu-p-Paṭṭa-
108 ṉa-kkūṟ(ṟ*)attu Mañjikuḍi nilattu kiḻ-ellaiy-āṉa ōḍaiyēy-uṟṟu-iv-
109 v-ōḍaiyiṉ naḍuvē vaḍakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu ivv-ōḍaiy-ulppaḍa ivv-ō-
110 ḍaikku-kkiḻakkum [|*] ivv-ōḍai tāṉ kiḍandavāṟēy vaḍakku nōkki i-mMañjiku-
111 ḍi nilamēy-uṟṟu i-mMañjikuḍikku-kkīḻ[5]-ellaiy-āṉa ōḍaiyēy-uṟṟu vaḍakk-iṉ-

Sixth Plate : Second Side.

112 ṉum ivv-ellaikku-kkiḻakkum [|*] ivv-ōḍai tāṉ kiḍandavāṟēy pala muḍ-kkum[6]-u-
113 ḍaiyi vaḍakku nōkki i-mMañjikuḍi nilamēy-uṟṟu i-mMañjikuḍikku-kkiḻ-ellaiy-āṉa
114 ōḍaiyē vaḍakk-iṉṉum ivv-ellaikku-kkiḻakk-iṉṉum ivv-ōḍai tāṉ ki-
115 ḍandavāṟēy vaḍakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu nilattai viṭṭu i-mMañjikuḍi veḷḷā-
116 ṉ Irāmaṉ Gōvindaṉ nilattil teṉ-varambēy-uṟṟu ivv-ellaiyē va-

[1] The ai-sign of ḍai is written at the end of the previous line.
[2] Read vaḍakku.
[3] At the end of line 100 and at the beginning of line 101 there is unwritten space for one or two letters. It is not clear if some letters were written and erased.
[4] The ē sign of yē is entered at the end of the previous line.
[5] Read -kkiḻ.
[6] Muḍ-kkum and vaḍakkil are perhaps mistakes for muḍukku and vaḍakkil.

117 dakku nōkki=chchenṟu i-mMuñjikuḍi brahmadēyam-āṉa nilattiṉ teṉ-varambē-
118 y=aṟṟu iḍaṉukku-tteṟkum [|*] iḍaṉukkēy kiḻakkum [|*] iṉṉum i-mMuñjikuḍi
119 brahmadēyam nilattukkēy vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki-chchenṟu i-
120 mMuñjikuḍi veḷḷān-vagai-kkiḻ-ellaiy-āṉa nilattukku-kkiḻakkum [|*] iv-
121 v-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki-chchenṟu vaḍa-mēṟku nōkki Muñjikuḍi Uḍārimaṅ-

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

122 kkal-eṉṉum nilamēy=aṟṟu i-nnilattiṉ kiḻ-varambukkū-kkiḻakkum [|*] iḍaṉ vaḍa-
123 varambēy mēṟku nōkki=chchenṟu vaḍa-varambukku vaḍakku[m*] i-chcheyiṉ naḍu-ppa-
124 ṭaiyōḍai vaḍakku nōkki=chchenṟu ivv-ōḍaikku-kkiḻakkum [|*] ivv-ōḍaiyē vaḍa-
125 kku nōkki-chchenṟu ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattukku-ppāya-kkaliṅga[1] Rāja-
126 rājaṉ-vāykkālēy=aṟṟu i-vvāykkālaiy=ūḍa[ṟu*]ttu vaḍa-karaikkēy=ēṟi
127 ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu-kKāḷavāy-eṉṉum nilatti-
128 ṉ kiḻ-varambukku-kkiḻakkum [|*] vaḍakku nōkki-chchenṟu[m*] kiḻakku nōkki-chche-
129 ṉṟu[m*] ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu-kKiḷāṉ[2] Kiḷāṉ kār-cheyiṉ teṉ-va-
130 rambēy=aṟṟu-tteṉ-kiḻakku nōkki-chchenṟu idiṉuṟu vaḍa-kiḻakku nōkkiyum
131 kiḻakku nōkkiyum seṉṟa ellaikku-tteṟkum kiḻakkum [|*] iḍaṉ vaḍa-varambēy

Seventh Plate ; Second Side.

132 vaḍa-mēṟku nōkki-chchenṟu iḍaṉukku vaḍakkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu
133 brahmadēyattu Āritaṉ Śiriyāṉ Kaḷambaṉ mūṉṟu-māviṉ kiḻ-varambukku=kkiḻakkum [|*] Va-
134 ḍapāṟk-ellai i-chcheyiṉ teṉ-varambēy kiḻakku nōkki-chchenṟu iḍaṉukku=tteṟku-
135 m [|*] i-nnāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Pirambil Koṭṭiḍal-āṉa nilat-
136 tiṉ ellaiyēy kiḻakku nōkki=chchenṟu ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēya-
137 ttu Vāchchiyaṉ Paramēśvaraṉ Pūvaṉ nilattiṉ mēl-varambēy[3]=aṟṟ=aḍaṅku=t-
138 teṟkum [|*] i-nnilattukkēy mēṟkum-teṟkum kiḻakkum [|*] i-nnāṭṭu brahmadēyam
139 Pirambil Koṭṭiḍal-āṉa nilattiṉ kiḻ-varambukku-kkiḻakkum [|*] i-vvarambēy vaḍakku nōkki-ch-
140 chenṟu Viḷapp-eṉṉum=āṟṟiṉ teṉ-karaiyēy=aṟṟu-tteṉ-karaikku-tteṟkum [|*] i-kkarai-
141 yē[4] kiḻakku nōkki=chchenṟu ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu Mahādēvar dēvadānam-āṉa o-

Eighth Plate ; First Side.

142 ru-māv-araiyiṉ mēl-varambēy=aṟṟu i-vvarambukku mēṟkum [|*] i-vvarambēy teṟku
143 nōkki i-ttēvar dēvadāṉam-āṉa Moḷḷivaraiyiṉ[5] mēl-varambēy=aṟṟu i-
144 vvarambukku mēṟkum [|*] i-vvarambē teṟku nōkkiyum=kiḻakku nōkkiyum=che-
145 ṉṟu i-ttēvar kuḷamēy=aṟṟu i-ttēvar kuḷattukku-ppāyum vāykkā-

[1] The reading *pāyikkalig* given in *A. R. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is due to the mistake of taking ya and ṉa for ṉ and ṉ; in so doing, the sense is obscured.
[2] A letter has been entered and erased after -*ḷā*.
[3] The letters *bēy=aṟṟu* are written over an erasure.
[4] After *yē*, a letter has been entered and erased.
[5] This proper name may also be read *Moḷḷivaṉai*.

viii,a.

viii,b.

ix,a.

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SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ix,b.

x,a.

x,b.

146 lil mêl-varambiṉ teṟku nōkki-chcheṉṟu i-ttêvar dêvadānam-Ka-
147 ṇavadikāl-āṉa nilattiṉ mêl-varambukku mêṟkum [|*] i-kKaṇavadikāl-āṉa
148 teṉ-varambêy kiḻakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu i-vvarambukku-tteṟkum [|*] i-t-
149 têvar dêvadāṉam-āṉa Meḷakkuppuṟam oru-māviṉ mêl-varambukku mêṟkum [|*] ivv-oru-
150 māviṉ teṉ-varambêy kiḻakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu i-vvarambukku-tteṟkum [|*] i-ttê-
151 var dêvadāṉam mukkāṇiyiṉ teṉ-varambêy kiḻakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu Paṭ-

Eighth Plate ; Second Side.

152 ṭal-vāykkālêy=uṟ-aḍaṟku-tteṟkum [|*] i-pPaṭṭal-vāykkāliṉ mêl-karaiyê va-
153 ḍakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu Viḷappāy-uṟ-aḍaṟku-kkiḻakkum [|*] i-vViḷappaiy-ūḍaṟu-
154 ttu vaḍa-karaikkêy=ēṟi i-nnāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadêya[m*] Māṅgiṟ-[1]
155 kuḍiy=ellaiyêy=uṟṟu ivv-ellaiyê vaḍakku nōkkiyuñ-
156 kiḻakku nōkkiyuñ-cheṉṟu iḍaṉukku-kkiḻakkum-teṟkum [|*] i-
157 num i-mMāṅgiṟkuḍi nilattukkêy mêṟkum [|*] ivv-ellaiyê
158 teṟku nōkki Viḷappukkêy-uṟṟu Viḷappaiy[2]-ūḍaṟuttu-tteṉ
159 karaikkêy-ēṟi-tteṉ-karaiyê kiḻakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu i-nnāṭṭu-kKōvū-
160 r-kKaṇavadimayakkal-āṉa nilattiṉ mêl-varambêy-uṟ-aḍaṟku-tteṟkum [|*] i-kKa-
161 ṇavadimayakkal-āṉa nilattiṉ mêl-varambukku mêṟkum [|*] i-kKaṇavadimayakka-
162 liṉ teṉ-varambêy kiḻakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu i-nnāṭṭu-[p]Paṭṭa[ṉa]-kkūṟṟattu

Ninth Plate ; First Side.

163 brahmadêya[m*] Nallūrchchērikku-ppāyum vāykkālaiy=uṟ-aḍaṟku-tteṟkum [|*] i-v-
164 vāykkāliṉ teṉ-karaiyêy kiḻakku nōkki-chchen(ṉ)ṟu i-nnāṭṭu-kKōvūr
165 veḷḷāḷaṉ Urāppaḷḷi Pākkaṉ-oru-māviṉ teṉ-varambêy-uṟṟu i-tteṉ-
166 varambêy kiḻakku nōkki-chcheṉṟu Kōvūr muṉ-ṟuḷḷadigaḷa tarbohan-nilattukkêy-u-
167 ṟ-aḍaṟku-tteṟkum [||*] Āga ivv-iśaitta peru-nāṉg-ellaiyiluḷ-agappaṭṭa nīr-nilaṉu-
168 m puṉ-seyum ūrum ūr-irukkai[yu*]m-kuḷamum Śrī-kōyilgaḷum parai-chchêri-
169 yuṅ=kammāṇ-śêriyuñ=chuḍukāḍum peruvaḍ-āgarum [|*] ivv-ūr niṉaiyum iṉu-
170 ṉai-ppaḍappaiyuṅ-kaḍal[yu]m-kaḍal-tteravum mmuṟum-kuṟṟu-mêy-pāḷum-ku-
171 ḷamuñ=koṭṭagāramuñ=kiḍaṅguṅ-kêṇiyum puṟṟun-teṟṟiyuṅ-kāḍum piḷḷiguiyuṅ-[ka]-
172 ḷarum uvarum āṟum āṟ-iḍu-paḍugaiyum ōḷaiyum uḍaippum miṉ-payil-paḷḷamuṉ-tēṉ-pa-
173 yil poḍumba[m*] mê[l*]-nōkkiya maramum kīḻ-nōkkiya kiṇarum uḷḷiṭṭu nīr pāśi nu-

Ninth Plate ; Second Side.

174 ḍum-paramb-eṟindu uḍumb-[3]ōḍiy=āmai tavaḻndad-evvagai[4]-ppaṭṭadum uṇṇilam=o-
175 ḻiv-iṉṟi-kkāṇiyumai iṟaiyiliyu[m*] migudi-kkuḍaiyum-uḷḷaḍaṅga ippaḍi peṟṟaḍa-
176 rku-ppeṟṟa vyavasthai [||*] i-nnilattukku nīrkk-īndavāṟu[5] vāykkāl kuṭṭi-p

[1] The reading brahmadêyam=āna-Kilukudi in A. R. of S. I., Vol. IV (No. 266, p. 213) is a mistake. That the name of the village is Māṅgiṟkuḍi is evident from line 137.

[2] The letters ḷap are written in smaller characters after erasing a letter which was probably ḷa.

[3] The letters ōḍi are faintly marked over an erasure.

[4] The letters after tōdi and pai are written over an erasure.

[5] This is a variant of tīndadu or īṇḍadu.

177 pāyttavum vāravum viḍavum peṟuvad-āgavum [|*] i-ppūlattukku-
178 ppāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṉmaḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peṟuva-
179 d-āgavum [|*] i-vvāykkālgaḷ aṟṟiyar kuṟaṅg-aṟuttu-kkoḷḷavum
180 vīṇāṟ-aḍaikkavum koṟṟavum paṇṇavum-kūḍa-ṟṟu-ṟuṟaikkavum
181 peṟṟ-āḷud¹-āgavum-ūraṇi-ppaḍuvaṉai śeyyādad-āgavum [|*] a-ṉṉilam-aḷḷa-ppā-
182 chchu²-ppeṟuvad-āgavum-chūṭṭ-ōṭṭāl māḍa-māḷigaiy-eḍukka-ppeṟuvad-āgavum
183 tuṟavu-kiṇaṟu iḍukka-ppeṟuvad-āgavum-kāvu toṭṭ-iḍa-ppeṟuvad-āgavum-damanaka[ka]-
184 mu[m*] maruvum-iru-vēlyum-chaṇbagamum-chendalirum māvum palāvum kamugum pana-

Tenth Plate ; First Side.

185 yum-koḍiyum-uḷḷiṭṭa pal-maravil payaṉ maram-iḍavum-naḍavum peṟuvad-āgavum [|*] peru-
186 ñ-chekk-iḍa-ppeṟuvad-āgavum [|*] ivv-ūr nilattaiv-ūḍaṟuttu-ppeṟav-āṟṟukku-ppāy
187 nīr pāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṉmaḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peṟuvad-āgavum [|*] peṟav-ūr ni-
188 lattūḍu pōndu ivv-ūr nilattukku-ppāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṉa-
189 ḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peṟuvad-āgavum [|*] ivv-ūrōḍa teṟgum peṟaiyum i-
190 ḍavar-ūr-ppeṟuvad-āgavum-aṉ kuḍikk-ūrra-vaṇṇam muṟaiyum mappaḍi-ttō-
191 vaṉa[um*]m nāṭṭa-ppeṟuvad-āgavum [|*] i-ppaḍi peṟṟadaṉa-ppeṟṟu pūchchāraṇ-aḷḷiṉḍi-
192 yum ūrāṭchiyum vaṭṭi-nāḷiyum pidi-nāḷiyum-kaṇṇāḷa-kkāṇamum vaṇṇāra-ppāṟai-
193 yum-kuśa-kkāṇamum-nīr-kkūliyum ilai-kkūlamum-taṟi-ppuḍavaiyum-taragu-ṭṭaṟa-
ppāṭṭa-
194 mum iḍai-ppāṭṭamum-āṭṭukk-iṟaiya[m*] nallāvum-nallerudum-nāḍu-kāvalum ūdupō-

Tenth Plate ; Second Side.

195 kkum veṭṭiyum³ vālamañjāḍiyum alguṟ³ ōḍa-kkūliyum maṉṟupāḍum mā-
196 viṟaiyum-āyeṟiyum īḻam-pūchchiyum kāṟṟu-kālum uḷḷiṭṭa-kkōṭṭōṭṭam-
197 paṇpāḍal-evvagai-ppaṭṭaṉavuṅ-kō-kkoḷḷādē paḷḷichchandaṟttukkē⁴
198 y peṟuvad-āgavum [|*] i-ppaḍi peṟṟa vyavasthaiyum parihāramum
199 peṟṟa i-nnilaṅ-kāṇamu maiyāṭchiyuṇ[m*] naṉguḍi-kkuraimaiyum-uḷḷa-
200 ḍaṅga-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Nāgapaṭṭaṇattu-kKaḍāraṭṭ-araiyaṉ eḍuppi-
201 kkiṉṟa Chūḷāmaṇipaṉma-vihārattu-ppaḷḷikku-ppaḷḷichchandam-ā-
202 gaiy-āy-āga-kkuḍuttu i-ppāṭṭu Āṉaimaṅgalam paḷḷichchanda iṟaigaḷ-a-
203 ḷpaḍa yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉṟāvadu-mudal pidi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu kalla-
204 ñ-kaḷḷiyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-va-

Eleventh Plate ; First Side.

205 ḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu nāṭṭōm nāṭṭārōḍum uḍa-naṟu piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu
kal-
206 lu-kaḷḷiyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm paṉavaṉ Kaḷḷikkoḍiyāṉ Ānaiyaṉ;

¹ The *ā* sign of *pā* is marked at the end of the previous line.
² Insert *p* before *chchu* and read *pāychchu*.
³ For a note on these words see above, p. 233.
⁴ The *ē* of *kē* is written at the beginning of the next line.

xi,a.

xi,b.

xii,a

xii, b.

xiii, a.

xiii, b.

207 Taḷikkulavaṉḍu-ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalam paḍi śāṉ-
208 ḍu pāḍāgai naḍakkumpōdu āṉaiy-eṟi [||*] kāṭṭāḷōḍum naḍa-nūṟ-allai
209 teṟuṉ-kkāṭṭiṉār ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattārukkum vaḷḷālaṉ Kāṉ Pur-
210 ṉaṉḍu-ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ippaḍi paḍi śāṉḍu pāḍāgai naḍandu
211 araviḷai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkū-
212 ṟṟattu brahmadēya[m*]n-Kaḍambaṉūr sabhaiyōm ivargaḷ solla ivv-ūr madhyastha-
Muṉṉattira-
213 vaṉ Yajñaṉ-āṉa Kaṟpagahēśaṉḍu-ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum i-kKaḍambaṉūr sa-
214 lla ivv-ūr Vaikhāṉasaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ Dāmōdaraṉḍu-ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉ-

Eleventh Plate ; Second Side.

215 ṟum [||*] ippaḍi pāḍāgai naḍandu paḍi śāṉḍu araviḷai śeydu kuḍuttōm
216 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Nārāyaṇa-
217 ṅgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṉ¹ Irunāṟṟuvaṉ Uttaman-āṉa Bra-
218 hmamaṅgalyaṉḍu-ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ippaḍi paḍi śāṉḍu aravō-
219 lai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkū-
220 ṟṟattu Vēḷaṅguḍi Vēḷaṅguḍaiyāṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ Oṟṟiyūr
221 ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ippaḍi paḍi śāṉḍu pāḍāgai naḍandu a-
222 ravōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟa-
223 ttu brahmadēya[m*] Māṅgiḷkuḍi sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṉ¹ Kaṇṇva-Ya-
224 nūy-āṉa Alaṅkāraṉpriyaṉḍu-ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ip-

Twelfth Plate ; First Side.

225 paḍi paḍi śāṉḍu pāḍāgai naḍandu aravōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhā-
226 maṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Narimaṇṉattu ūrōm ūr[ā*]r solla eḻu-
227 dinēṉ ivv-ūr maddhyastaṉ¹ Ambalattiruvaṉ Vaḷḷivāḷuṉaṉḍu ivai eṉ-
228 ṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ippaḍi paḍi śāṉḍu pāḍāgai naḍandu aravōlai
229 śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu-ch-
230 Chāttamaṅgalatt-ūrōm ilcar² solla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr Vā-
231 ṭkkōvaṉ-Eḍiraṉ Sāttaṉ-āṉa Nāṉūṟṟuvappeṟumāṉdēṟṟa-
232 ṉḍu-ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ippaḍi pa[ḍi*] śāṉḍu pāḍāgai naḍandu ara-
233 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟat-
234 tu brahmadēyam Saṉṉamaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār solla eḻudi[ṉēṉ*]

Twelfth Plate ; Second Side.

235 ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ¹ Durakkaṉ Kaṇṇḍaṉḍu ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻu-
236 tt-eṉṟum [||*] ippaḍi paḍi śāṉḍu pāḍāgai naḍandu aravōlai śeydu kuḍuttō-
237 m Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Koṭṭārakkuḍi sa-
238 bhaiyōm ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ¹ Uraṉ Chandraśēkharaṉ-āṉa
239 Brahmamaṅgalyaṉḍu ivaiy-eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [||*] ippaḍi paḍi śāṉḍu

¹ Read °sthaṉ.
² Read avar.

240 piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
241 nāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟṟattu-kKōvūr ūrōm ūrar[2] śolla eḻ[u]diṉēṉ
242 ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1] Aiyyaṉ Aiyyaṉēṉ-ivaiy-eṉ-eḻutt-e-
243 ṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri-
244 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟṟattu Uttūr ūrōm ūrar[2] śolla(v)e-

Thirteenth Plate : First Side.

245 ḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1] Nakkaṉ Muṭṭiyēṉ-ivaiy-eṉ-
246 ṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍut-
247 tōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Naṉṉimaṅga[la*]-
248 lattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1]
249 Kaṇṇaṉ Alaṅkārappiriyaṉēṉ-ivai-eṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] i-
250 ppaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriya-
251 śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Porruvaṉūr sabhai-[3]
252 yōm sabhaiyār śolla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ Vēṭkōva-
253 ṉ Mādēvaṉ Ūraṉēṉ-ivaiy-eṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] śūḻndu piḍā-
254 gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-

Thirteenth Plate ; Second Side.

255 kkūṟṟattu Āḷaṅguḍi ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ Kā-
256 śyapaṉ Sūryya[ya*]ṉ-Araṅgaṉēṉ ivai eṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu pi-
257 ḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkū-
258 ṟṟattu-tTuṟaiyūr ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattā-
259 ṉ Bhāradvājī Tiruvi Vaikuṇḍaṉ eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍā-
260 gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-[pPaṭ]-
261 ṭana-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Pirambil sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr-kkaraṇatt[ā*]ṉ maddhya-
262 sthaṉ Kuṇavaṉ Nandiy-āṉa Alaṅkārappiriyaṉēṉ ivaiy-eṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟu-
263 m [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kaḍambaṅkuḍiy-
ūrō-
264 m ūr[ā*]r śolla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyasthaṉ Kuṇava[ṉ*] Nandiy-āṉa
Ala-

Fourteenth Plate ; First Side.

265 ṅkārappiriyaṉēṉ ivaiyeṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟa-
266 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟṟattu Śēndamaṅ-
267 galattu ūrōm ūrār śolla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr maddhyasthaṉ Ūrāṉ Aiyyaṉē-
268 ṉ-ivai eṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śe-
269 ydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟṟa[ttu*]-[illegible]
maṅga-
270 lattu Etti Vaḷañjiḍiyaṉ Śaṅgaṉēṉ ivai eṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻ-
271 ndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-

[1] Read °stan.

[2] Read ūrār.

[3] The bh of bhai is entered at the commencement of the next line.

[4] This letter is superfluous.

xiv,a.

xiv,b.

xv,a.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3910 E'35–425.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

xv,b.

xvi,a.

xvi,b.

272 pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu-kKuṟṟālatt-ūrōm ūrār solla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ
273 Vēṭkōvaṉ Dēvaṉ Umaiyaṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍā-
274 gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭ[a-*]

Fourteenth Plate ; Second Side.

275 ṉa-kkūṟṟattu-tTiruṉāvūr ūrōm ūrār solla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr madhyastha-
276 ṉ Śadurmugaṉ-Aṟa[ṉ]ḷattāṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu
277 piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭ-
278 ṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Uvarkkuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār so-
279 lla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ Vēṭkōvan Māṉāya[ṉ*] N-
280 ārāyaṇaṉēṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu pi-
281 ḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāma-
282 ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Muñjikuḍi ūrōm ūrār so-
283 lla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ Vēṭkōvaṉ Māṉāyaṉ Kaṇṇa-
284 ṉēṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu a-
285 ṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Ti-

Fifteenth Plate ; First Side.

286 rukkaṇṇaṅkuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār sollav-eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇat-
287 tāṉ Vēṭkōvaṉ Ātirāmaṉ Irubattunālvan-āgiya Muṉṉūṟṟuvaṉē-
288 ṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai
289 śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-k-
290 kūṟṟattu Kaḍambavalavāykai ūrōm ūrār solla eḻudiṉēṉ i-
291 vv-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ madhyasthaṉ Uraṉ-Uraṉēṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻu-
292 tt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu
293 kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu-
294 pPālaṅkoṟṟaṅkuḍi ūrōm ūrār solla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkaraṇattā-
295 ṉ madhyasthaṉ Uraṉ-Uraṉēṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻn-
296 du piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-

Fifteenth Plate ; Second Side.

297 pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Veḷḷāḍaṅgil ūrōm ūr[ā*]r solla eḻudiṉēṉ ivv-ūr-kkara-
298 ṇattāṉ maddhyasthaṉ Ura[ṉ*] Nakkaṉēṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] i-ppaḍi piḍi śūḻndu
299 piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadē-
300 yattu Āriṉ Śiriyāṉ Kaḍambaṉēṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum i-ppariśu[2] bhaṭṭā-
301 y niṉṟu piḍi naḍappittu aṟavōlai śeyvittēṉ Kshatriyaśikhāma-
302 ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-tTirunaṟaiyūr-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalattu-
303 tTōṟpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṉēṉ-ivai eṉṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi Bhaṭṭā[y*]
304 niṉṟu piḍi naḍappittu aṟavōlai śeyvittēṉ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
305 nāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu-tTirunallūr-pPākkuḷattu-pPaṟpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṉēṉ-ivai eṉ-
306 ṉ-eḻutt-eṉṟum [|*] i-ppariśu Bhaṭṭāy niṉṟu [piḍi*] naḍappittu aṟavōlai śeyvittēṉ Ksha-
307 triyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu-tTirunallūr Pērūmapurattu Veṇ-

[1] This word is generally written *Paṭṭi*.

[2] Delete *ś*.

308 ṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṉ-ṉ̄r-ivaiy-ṉ̄ṟ-eḻutt-eṉṉum [*] i-pparisu Bhaṭṭāy niṉṟu pi-
309 ḍi naḍappittu ugavōlai śeyvittāṉ Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāṭṭu Śrī-Vīranā-

Sixteenth Plate; First Side.

310 rāyaṇa-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu Dēvadaigōmapuratu Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṉ-ṉ̄r-ivai
311 ṉ̄ṟ-eḻutt-eṉṉum [*] pugunda aṟavōlaippaḍiyē vaṛiyil-iṭṭu-kkoḍukka-ccoṉṉa naṉ-karumam-ārā-
312 yum Minavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Koṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉum Tēvaṉkuḍaiyāṉum na-
313 ḍuvirukkum-Kaḍalaṅguḍi-Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉum Koṭṭaiyūr-pPūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṉum naṉ-karuma-
314 m-ārāyum Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Śembiyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Śōḷavē-
315 ḷāṉum Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṉum naḍuvirukkum Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-sarvva-
316 kratuyājiyum-cholla-ppuravuvari Āḷaṅguḍaiyāṉ Kāḍaṉḍaṉ Śēṉaṉum Pū-
317 damaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ Iḷavaḷigaḷ Nallāṟaṉum Ālattūr-uḍaiyāṉ Kaṟpagaś-
318 Chōlaiyum vaṟippottagam Parutūyār-kiḻavaṉ Śiṅgaṉ Veṅkāḍaṉum
319 mugaveṭṭi Kiḻvāy Kaṇavadiyum Maṉḍaṉ-Araṅgaṉuñ-Chaiyaḍaṉ-Amalaṉum Tattaṉ
320 Śikiṭṭaṉum vaṟippottaga-kkaṇakku Mādēvaṉ Būmiyum variyiliḍu Uṟavūr-uḍaiyā-
321 ṉ Tāḷi Vīraśōḷaṉum paṭṭōlai Perumāṉ-Ambalattāḍiyum Śikaṇḍaṉ Dēvaṉum
322 Mākāḷaṉ-Ariñjiyum Nakkaṉ Maṉjagavaṉum irundu **yāṇḍu irubattu-mūṉṟāva-**

Sixteenth Plate; Second Side.

323 **du nāḷ nūṟṟ-aṟubattu-mūṉṟināl** vaṛiyil-iṭṭu-kkuḍuttadu || Ivai[1] Uyyakkoṇḍār-
324 vaḷanāṭṭu-tTiraimūr-nāṭṭu Naḷūr-kiḻāṉ Araiyaṉ Arumoḻiy-āṉa Rājē-
325 ndraśōḷa-pPallavaraiyaṉ eḻuttu || Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāṭṭu Veṇṇāṭṭu-
326 kKēraḷāntaka-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu Krishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ-āṉa Rājēndraśōḷa-
327 Brahmamārā[ā*]yaṉukkum okkum || Nittavinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPāmbuṇi-kkūṟṟa-
328 [ttu*] Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṉ Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ-āṉa Uttamaśōḷa-pPallava-
329 raiyaṉukkum okkum || Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāṭṭu-kKuṟukkai-nāṭṭu-kKa-
330 ḍalaṅguḍi Dēvadaigōmapuratu Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉukkum okkum || Uyyakkoṇḍā-
331 r-vaḷanāṭṭu Ambar-nāṭṭu Kurumbil-kiḻāṉ Araiyaṉ Śikaṇḍaṉ-āṉa Miṉavaṉ Mūvē-
332 ndavēḷāṉukkum okkum || Ø ||

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit portion.

(L. 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(V. 1) May the arms of Śārṅgin (i.e., Vishṇu) of the *kuvalaya*-blue body, which are resplendent with *śārṅga* and other weapons, which are marked with the *kāśmīra* ointment (smeared) on the surface of Lakshmī's two round breasts, whose golden bracelets glitter as they rub against the high summits of the whirling Mandara (*mountain*), (and) which protect the three worlds, increase greatly your prosperity!

[1] From this word onwards the writing is slightly different and the letters are more deeply cut. This portion might belong to the time of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, while the previous portion might have been written at the time of Rājarāja I.

(V. 2) As long as the moon-crested deity (*i.e.* Śiva) sports with his consort on the Kailāsa mountain, as long as Hari (Vishṇu) performs meditative sleep (*yōga-nidrā*) on the serpent couch in the milk-ocean, and as long as the sun, the sole light of all the worlds, dispels the dense darkness of the world, so long, may the Chōḷa family protect from danger the circle of the whole earth.

(V. 3) From the Sun (*Ahimakara*), the sole eye of the whole world, was (born) Manu the first of kings; (from him) was born his son Ikshvāku, whose foot-stool was licked by rows of diadems of kings. In his family was (born) king Māndhātṛi, who was a storehouse of virtues, who was equal to Dhātṛi (Brahman) and who justly ruled this earth (extending) as far as the Lōkālōka mountain.

(V. 4) His son was the heroic king named Muchukunda. As his son was born king Vaḷabha who was the sole crest jewel of the Kshatra (*i.e.* the Kshatriya race). In his family was born the illustrious king, who was widely renowned throughout the world as Śibi and whose two feet were worshipped by the whole host of kings.

(V. 5) Who, excepting Vyāsa, the best among poets, is able to describe the qualities of that profoundly virtuous king who preserved his own life (*only*) for the benefit of others?

(V. 6) As a full moon to the ocean of that family, was born (*king*) Chōḷa, who was the repository of all arts (*kalā*) (just as the fullmoon is the repository of the sixteen *kalās*) and the kings born in whose family bore the name Chōḷa after his name.

(V. 7) Then came king **Rājakēsarin**, who conquered all (*his*) enemies. After him came **Parakēsarin**, who was bent on destroying the towns of hostile kings.

(V. 8) The name of Rājakēsarin and (*that*) of this Parakēsarin became alternately the order of kings born in their family.

(V. 9) In that family was born the lord of kings, Suraguru, who destroyed all (*his*) enemies, who was the standard of the Solar race, (*and*) who having conquered in the battle-field even the unconquerable Mṛityu, acquired the unattainable epithet Mṛityujit.

(V. 10) In his family was born king Vyāghrakētu, who was a lion (*as it were*) to the elephants—(*his*) enemies. In that race was born the strong king Pañchapa (*who was*) the *Kalpa*-tree to (*his*) supplicants.

(V. 11) King **Karikāla**, (*the god of*) Death to his enemies, was born in that family. This (*king*) constructed embankments to the Kāvērī (*river*).

(V. 12) In his family was (*born*) **Kōchchaṁkaṇṇān** of well established fame, the bee at the lotus-feet of Śambhu (Śiva). (*and one*) whose feet were worshipped by all kings. In his family (*there*) was king **Kōkkiḷḷi** of clear intellect, the lord of prosperity, whose feet were worshipped by the crests of the whole host of kings.

(V. 13) In that family was born the victorious **Vijayālaya** of great strength, who conquered the entire surface of the earth (*and*) whose two lotus-like feet were brightened by the lustre of gems emanating from the region of the diadems of prime kings that prostrated before him.

(V. 14) From that king (*also* mountain) came forth **Āditya** (*also* Sun) of great splendour, who possessed (*mighty*) powers (*also* heat) and destroyed the dense darkness, *i.e.*, enemies.

(V. 15) From him, who was the sole abode of countless heaps of gems (*and*) who possessed enormous strength, rose for the benefit of the world, king **Parāntaka** with full glory, just as the moon does with all his rays, to give pleasure to the world, from the milk-ocean (*which contains* within it countless gems and huge aquatic animals).

(V. 16) Having conquered the earth right up to the Chakravāḷa (*mountain and*) protected the whole (*of it*) with peace, that sun to the darkness, *i.e.* the Kali age, founded various big towns

(*and*) brightened the ends of the quarters with (*his*) fame which was as (*white as*) the clouds of the autumn (*śarad*).

(V. 17) With the pure gold brought from all the quarters which were subdued by the prowess of his own arm, this banner of the solar race (*i.e.*, Parāntaka) covered the *mandira* of Indumauli (Śiva) at Vyāghrāgrahāra (*i.e.*, Chidambaram).

(V. 18) To that king, whose two feet were worshipped by all the rulers of men, were born three sons prosperous as Sutrāman (Indra) and resplendent as the three fires, the (*one*) called Rājāditya in this world, (*another*) named the glorious Gaṇḍarāditya (*and the third*) Ariñjaya, the valorous, whose name was famous throughout the world.

(V. 19) When king Parāntaka, who was pre-eminent in destroying the armies of (*his*) enemies (*and*) who was a follower of *dharma*, had gone to heaven after having protected the earth girdled by the ocean, there (*was*) his son known as **Rājāditya**, who was strong (*and*) whose two feet were rubbed by the crests of hosts of kings: he became the lord of the earth.

(V. 20) That heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race having agitated in battle, the imperturbable **Kṛishṇarāja** along with his army, with his sharp arrows falling in all directions, while (*seated*) on the back of an excellent elephant, had his heart split by the thrusts of his (*i.e.* Kṛishṇarāja's) sharp arrows and mounting a celestial car went to the world of heroes (*vīra-lōka*) praised by the three worlds.

(V. 21) When Rājāditya (or the sun among kings) of great prowess (or splendour) had gone to give pleasure to the lotus-faces of heavenly damsels, his heroic brother of wide-spread fame, (*named*) **Gaṇḍarādityavarmman**, protected the whole earth dispelling the dense darkness, (*viz.*) all (*his*) enemies.

(V. 22) Having got a son named **Madhurāntaka** and (*having founded*) a big village after his own name in the country on the north bank of (*the river*) Kavērakanyā (*i.e.* Kāvērī), he (Gaṇḍarāditya) went to heaven for achieving the objects of (*that*) other world.

(V. 23) When that lord had gone to heaven, the heroic **Ariñjaya**, a very conflagration in (*consuming*) the forest of enemy kings, ruled the whole earth.

(V. 24) From Ariñjaya was born **Parāntaka**, (*who was*) equal (*in prowess*) to the destroyer of the (*three*) cities (*i.e.* Śiva), (*who was*) the crusher of the circle of enemy kings, (*and*) who, (*causing his*) subjects to be pleased by his good qualities, peacefully ruled the earth girdled by the ocean.

(V. 25) At the city named Chēvūra, he (Parāntaka) had the quarters filled with heaps of sharp and pointed arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and caused to flow manifold rivers of blood springing from the high mountains, *i.e.* the enemies' elephants cut asunder by (*his*) sharp sword.

(V. 26) This lord of kings (*rājēndra*) begot (*two sons*), Āditya, otherwise called **Karikāla** and **Rājarāja**, the head-jewel of the solar race.

(V. 27) When that Parāntaka directed his attention to protect the world of gods (*i.e.*, died), **Āditya** justly carried out the protection of the world of men.

(V. 28) That young boy (Āditya), the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with **Vīra-Pāṇḍya**, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant proud of (*its*) strength.

(V. 29) When that chief of kings went to heaven, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, (*i.e.*) king **Madhurāntaka**, he, of powerful arms and famous as Mahēndra (Indra), protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle.

(V. 30) When that chief of the rulers of the earth passed away to protect the abode of the gods, the heroic **Rājarāja**, the light of the Chōḷa race, whose footstool was licked (*i.e.* rubbed)

by the glittering crests of all kings, bore the heavy burden of the earth on his arm which was surpassing the lustre of the body of Śêsha, the lord of serpents.

(V. 31) Conquering the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu and Kêraḷa (*countries and*) **Siṁhaḷêndra** and **Satyāśraya** and others by the power of his arm and taking possession of their elephants, horses, gems, and kingdoms, he caused to glow all the ten quarters with (*his*) fame.

(V. 32) Having accomplished the conquest of the regions and made all kings tributary, that lord of kings, Rājarāja, lived happily in his town, honoured by (*his*) people, just as Indra, worshipped by the world, was in heaven.

(V. 33) As far as the mountain which has the glory of bringing forth the Sun, as far as the Southern ocean, as far as the mountain named Asta and as far as the lord of mountains (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) occupied by Śambhu (Śiva), the kings that were concerned in the protection of their own families sagaciously sought refuge in the pair of lotus feet of Nityavinôda, in order to enjoy many pleasures.

(V. 34) Because that sovereign was liberal to, (*and*) in many ways the refuge of, the kings that sought his feet, the good men in this earth call him **Rājāśraya** of boundless magnanimity.

(ll. 73 to 86) He, this **Rājakêsarivarman Rājarāja**, who had seen the other shore of the ocean of the collection of all sciences, whose foot-stool was made yellow by the cluster of rays (*emanating*) from many a gem set on the borders of the beautiful gold diadems worn by the entire circle of kings, gave, in the twenty-first year of his universal sovereignty,

to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful **Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra**, of (*such*) high loftiness (*as had*) belittled the Kanakagiri (*i.e.*, Mêru), which had been built—in the name of his father, by the glorious **Māravijayôttuṅgavarman**, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest (*viz.*) the learned men, who was the *Kalpa*-tree to supplicants, who was born in the **Śailêndra** family, who was the lord of the **Śrī-Vishaya** (*country*), who was conducting the rule of **Kaṭāha**, who had the *Makara* crest, (*and*) who was the son of **Chūḷāmaṇivarman** that had mastered all state-craft—at **Nāgīpattana**, delightful (*on account of*) many a temple, rest-house, water-shed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (*situated*) in the division called Paṭṭana-kūrra (*included*) in the big group of districts named **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu**, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth,

the village named **Āṇaimaṅgalam** (*which had its*) four boundaries defined by the circumambulation of the female elephant and (*which was situated*) in the division called Paṭṭana-kūrra (*included*) in the same group of districts (*as had been named above*).

(Vv. 35-36) When that powerful (*Rājarāja*) had obtained divinity, his wise son, king **Madhurāntaka**, who ascended on his throne, caused an enduring edict (*to be made*) for this village, which had thus been granted by his father, the king-emperor, and ordered thus:—

(V. 37) As long as Śêsha, the lord of all serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this *vihāra* last in (*this*) world with its endowment.

(V. 38) This lord of Kaṭāha of great valour, the abode of virtues, thus prays to all future kings:—

"Protect (ye) for ever this my charity."

(V. 39) In the delightful village called Koṭṭaiyūr, famed in this world, that intelligent Brāhmaṇa of stainless character named Anantanārāyaṇa, the follower of the wise, born in the spotless family of Vasishṭha, which was the abode of prosperity, composed this *praśasti*.

(Vv. 40-42) Of that king who was justly protecting the entire earth, who was invincible and who had subdued the whole host of hostile kings, the chief officer was the wise person called **Tilla-**

yāḷi, whose birth place in this earth was known as **Kāñchivāyil** and who was known in the world as Rājarāja Mūvēndavēḷ. At his (*i.e.* the king's) injunction, he caused this edict to be neatly executed.

(Vv. 43-44) At the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Śrīmān Arikaḷ's son, who was well known as **Tuvavūravān Anukka**, who was modest, endowed with virtues, devoted to his master's concerns and of generous mind, caused to be made this lasting edict.

(Vv. 45-48) The most intelligent Rājarāja-Mahāchārya, otherwise called Vāsudēva, who, though born of Krishṇa, was not of black (*krishṇa*) conduct; the two sons of Krishṇa, called Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara, who were the bees (*as it were*) at the lotus-feet of Krishṇa; and also the son of Vāsudēva, named Krishṇa, who had beautiful lotus-like eyes; and the son of Ārāvamṛita, called Purushōttama, of excellent speech (?), who was vying with Chitragupta in stamping (*i.e.* engraving) letters—these five artists, who were the forehead-marks of the Hōysa family and born in Kāñchipura, wrote this eulogy.

(ll. 108f.) This edict was incised by us, the engraving sculptors of the prosperous (*city of*) Kāñchipura in Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam, *viz.*, Krishṇaṉ Vāsudēvaṉ *alias* Rājarājapperāchāryaṉ, Krishṇaṉ Tiruvaraṅgaṉ, Krishṇaṉ Dāmōdaraṉ, Vāsudēvaṉ Krishṇaṉ and Ārāvamudu Purushōttamaṉ.

Tamiḻ portion.

(l. 1) Hail! Prosperity! (*This is the order of*) Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṉ (*issued*) to the *nāṭṭār* (*i.e.*, the members of the Divisional Assembly) of Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam, a sub-division in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the headmen of *brahmadēyam*, the representatives of the *ūr* in *dēvadānas*, *paḷḷichchandu*, *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēṟu* (villages) and the *nagarattār* (*i.e.*, the body of merchants).

(l. 4) In the twenty-first year and ninety-second day of our (*reign*) when we were in the pavilion to the south of the palace of Rājāśrayan (*situated*) outside Tañjāvūr, we having declared that, (*in order to meet*) the necessary requirements of the *paḷḷi* (*attached to*) the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kiḍāra king Chūḷāmaṇivarman at Nāgapaṭṭanam in Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the income of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, (one) *kuṟuṇi* and one *nāḻi* of paddy accruing from the payment of land assessment on ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāṇi*, one *mundirigai*; *kīḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi*, and one *mundirigai* and *kīḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of half and two *mā* of land, inclusive of those that had ceased to be *paḷḷichchandu* and exclusive of those that had been removed in survey, which formed the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam in Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu shall be entered in the (*revenue*) register as a tax-free *paḷḷichchandu* from the twenty-first year (*of our reign*) and the taxes paid over to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which (*as aforesaid*) is being erected by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapaṭṭanam in Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*this*) our order was written by Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ, the headman of Viḷattūr in Āvūr-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu, who writes our orders, signed by the superintendents of our writs (viz.,) Krishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Mummaḍichōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu, Irāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Mummaḍichōḷa Pōśaṉ, (*a native*) of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu and Vīḍaṉ Uttamachōḷaṉ *alias* Madurāntaka Mūvēndavēḷāṉ (*a native*) of Paruttikkuḍi in Neṉmali-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumoḻidēva-vaḷanāḍu, and was issued; and in accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by our Secretaries Ārūraṉ Aravaṇaiyāṉ *alias* Parākramachōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Tattaṉ Sēndaṉ *alias* Semiyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ (*and*) Māṉṟaraṉ Poṟkāri (*a native*) of Aruñkuṉṟam, the arbitrators Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakratuyājin of Puḷḷamaṅgalam and Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Kuḍalāṅguḍi, our

Secretaries Pāśōman Pāḷūr *alias* Miṇavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ of Kaṛkuḍi in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, and Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ of Vaṅganagar in Puṟaṅgarambai-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, and the arbitrators Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Veṇṇainallūr and Tiruvaṉḍaraṇ-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Paḷalai.

(l. 33) The *Puravuvari* (*officers*) Koṟṟaṉ Poṉṉāri, the headman of Kiḷiyanallūr, Śāttaṉ Tēvaṉ (*a native*) of Kaḷumalam, Tēvaṉ Śāttaṉ (*a native*) of Paḷuvūr and Aṇaiyaṉ Taḷikkuḷavaṉ (*a native*) of Kaḷḷikkuḍi, the *varippottagam* (*i.e.* officers in charge of Tax registers) Kumaraṉ Araṅgaṉ (*a native*) of Śāttaṉūr and Śiṅgaṉ Veḷḷiḍaṉ, the headman of Parattiyūr, being present, Āṉaimaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of their district, comprising of ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāṇi*, one *mundiriga*, *kīḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundirigai* and *kīḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of half, and two *mā* of land, after deducting those that had been removed in survey, was entered in the revenue register as a tax-free *paḷḷichchandam* on the ninety-sixth day of the (*said*) twenty-first year.

(l. 41) We furnished the names of (*the following persons*) for going round the hamlets, accompanying the female elephant :—

Our (*officer*) *Koṉḍāṉai-naḍuvirukkum* Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Veṇṇainallūr and the Bhaṭṭas (*viz.*) Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Tūppil residing at Śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam *alias* Abhimānabhūshaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, Padmanābha-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pārkkuḷam (*residing at*) Tirunallūr in Vēḷānāḍu (*a sub-division*) of the same *nāḍu*, Veṇṇaya-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pērāmapuram (*residing*) in the same village and Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Dvēdaṉyūmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a free village in Kārnāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu and the *Puravuvari* (*officer*) Aṇaiyaṉ Taḷikkuḷavaṉ (*a resident*) of Kaḷḷikkuḍi.

(l. 49) A royal order (*tirumugam*) embodying the above and with the words " it behoves you also to be with these persons, to point out the boundaries, to go round the hamlets accompanied by a female elephant, to set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and to draw up and give the deed of gift," having been sent to us, the *nāṭṭār* (the assembly of the district), on the writing of the Royal scribe (*tirumandiravōlai*) Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ, the headman of Viḷattūr, and with the signatures of the Superintendents of Royal Writs (*tirumandiravōlai-nāyakam*) Krishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḻa-Brahmamārāyaṉ, Irāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḻa-Pōśaṉ (*a resident*) of Amiśūr and Vēḷāṉ Uttamaśōḻaṉ *alias* Madhurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ (*a resident*) of Paruttikkuḍi, in the twenty-first year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājadēva, who having conceived in his mind that, like the goddess Lakshmī, the great goddess of the Earth had become his own, was pleased to destroy the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, took, with (*the aid of*) his highly powerful and victorious army, Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam and the province of Īḻam (*i.e.* Ceylon), famous in the eight quarters, and who carried away the splendour of the Śeḻiyas (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍyas) in the year of his acquiring excessive glory fit for being praised till the end of time, we, the *nāṭṭār* (*i.e.*, the assembly of the district), seeing it (*i.e.* the order) being brought, respectfully advanced (*towards*) received and carried (*it*) on our heads and accompanying the female elephant, walked round the hamlets, set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and drew up and gave the deed of gift.

(l. 65) The eastern boundary of the land (*thus granted*) forms the western boundary of Kōvūr in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu ; (*it is*) to the west of the land of the carpenter of Kōvūr and of the (*stream*) Kāvidi ōḍai of Kōvūr ; further south (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyuṇṇi (*belonging to*) the same village ; further south, proceeding in an easterly direction on the same boundary and further south of the same field, (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyuṇṇi ; further south and further west, (*it is*) to the north of the

small ridge (*which had been*) converted into a nursery (*and made to form part*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land lying*) to the west of the channel irrigating the (*land called*) Puṉaiyuṇṇi ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the (*said*) small ridge which had been converted into a nursery at the western side of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further still, (*it is*) to the north of the ridge made on the southern side of the same nursery ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the western ridge of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the one-eighth (*vēli*) of Puṉaiyuṇṇi (*lying*) on the southern side of the said one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further south of this, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* and a half of land belonging to the potter of Kōvūr ; on the south of this (*land*), (*it is*), to the west of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the boundary of this (*village of*) Kōvūr ; further south, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* of land of Araiśār Maṟiyāḍi, a *Vellāḷa* of Kōvūr ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; going in a south-easterly direction along this stream, (*it lies*) to the west of the spot at which the western Pallavāykkāl falls into this very stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the south of the southern bank of the western Pallavāykkāl and to the west of the western ridge of (*the land called*) Mēlpaḷḷam of Kōvūr ; (*further*), it is to the north of the northern ridge of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Vellāḷa Uṟāppaḷi Pākkuṟaṉ in Mēlpaḷḷam of this village ; (*it is also*) to the west of the middle of the stream at the western side of this same one-eighth (*vēli*) and of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Vellāḷa Paramēśvaraṉ Naṟaiyūr ; (*it is*) to the west of the middle of this stream ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this same stream which forms the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of Aiyyāṉaṉ Śēndan, a Vellāḷa of Kōvūr ; (*it is also*) to the south of the same one-eighth (*vēli of land*) ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this stream at the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the land (*called*) Mēlpaḷḷam ; and (*also*) to the west of the spot at which this stream falls into the (*channel*) Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl and to the west of this Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl ; further, (*it is*) to the south of this Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl and to the west of this Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl.

(l. 92) The southern boundary is to the north of this Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl ; and going in a westerly direction along this Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl, crossing the same channel and getting up (*its*) southern bank, and going further south along the western boundary of the (*one*) *vēli* of *pahaṉṟi* land belonging to the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṉaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the west of the stream which (*here*) lies in the direction of south-north ; going then in a southerly direction along this (*same*) boundary, (*and proceeding*) further west, (*it is*) to the north of the same stream ; again (*going*) in a northerly direction along the said stream and reaching this Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl, (*it is*) to the east of it ; crossing the Erivaṭṭi-vāykkāl and getting up its north bank and proceeding (*then*) in a westerly direction along the north bank of this channel, (*it lies*) to the north of the channel ; passing in a westerly direction along this boundary, and then in a westerly direction in the course of the stream, and reaching the northern ridge of the four *mā* of land in Śivaḷaiykuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam in this *nāḍu*, and (*then*) passing along the same ridge in a westerly direction, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary ; proceeding in a westerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the stream (*called*) Paḷuviḷappu, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary.

(l. 100) The western boundary is to the east of the *vettappēṟu* (*granted to the man in charge of*) the head sluice of the Nāṭṭuppōkku (*channel*) which runs in a northerly direction ; going further north and reaching the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the lands of (*the village of*) Muñjikuḍi in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam of the same district and going then in a northerly direction along the middle of the same stream as it lay, (*it lies*) to the east of this stream, and includes the stream also ; proceeding thence in a northerly direction along the stream, as it lay, till reaching the lands of the same (*village of*) Muñjikuḍi, and reaching also the stream which formed the eastern boundary of this Muñjikuḍi, and proceeding further north, (*it is*) to the east of the same boundary ; going through the several turnings of the stream as it lay and then passing in a northerly direc-

tion till reaching the lands of this Muñjikuḍi (*village*), and proceeding further north of the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the same village of Muñjikuḍi and further to the east of the same boundary, and going then in a northerly direction along this stream as it lay, and leaving this (*stream*) and reaching the southern ridge of the four *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Rāmaṉ Gōvindaṉ, a Veḷḷāḷa of this Muñjikuḍi and passing (*then*) in a northerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the southern ridge of the lands which formed the *brahmadēya* of this (*same*) Muñjikuḍi; (*it lies*) to the south of it and also to the east of it; further on (*it lies*) to the north of the lands (*belonging to*) the *brahmadēya* of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction along the same boundary, (*it lies*) to the east of the land forming the eastern boundary of the holding of the Veḷḷāḷas (*veḷḷāṉ-vagai*) of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction along the same boundary, and then in a north-westerly direction till reaching the field called Ūdārimavakkal in Muñjikuḍi, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the said field; going in a westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same field, (*it lies*) to the north of the northern ridge; going in a northerly direction along the (*stream of*) Paṟaiyōḍai on the western side of the same field, (*it lies*) to the east of the same stream; going then in a northerly direction along the same stream till reaching the channel called Rājarājaṉ-vāykkāl which was dug out to irrigate the lands of this (*village of*) Āṉaimaṅgalam and then crossing this channel and getting up its northern bank, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the field called Kālavāy in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṉaimaṅgalam; going in a northerly direction and (*then*) in an easterly direction and reaching the southern ridge of the quarter (*vēli*) of land of Kiḻāṉ Kiḻāṉ in the *brahmadēya* of this Āṉaimaṅgalam, and passing (*again*) in a south-easterly direction, (*it lies*) to the south and east of the boundary which proceeds from this (*ridge*) in north-easterly and easterly directions; going (*then*) in a north-westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same, (*it lies*) to the north of this (*line*); further, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the three *mā* (*of land*) of Āritaṉ Śiṟiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṉaimaṅgalam.

(l. 134) Proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this (*land*), the northern boundary is to the south of this (*field*); proceeding in an easterly direction along the boundary of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambil in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of the said district (*of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu*) till reaching the western ridge of the land of Vāchchiyaṉ Paramēśvaraṉ Pūvaṉ in the *brahmadēya* of the said Āṉaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the south of it; (*it also lies*) to the west, south and east of the said land; (*it is*) also to the east of the eastern ridge of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambil in the above said *nāḍu*; proceeding in a northerly direction along the same ridge and reaching the southern bank of the river called Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the south of its southern bank; proceeding in an easterly direction along this bank and reaching the western ridge of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) in the *dēvadāna* of (*the god*) Mahādēva of this (*village of*) Āṉaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the west of this ridge; proceeding in a southerly direction along the same ridge and reaching the western ridge of (*the field of*) Muḷḷivaravai which is (*also*) a *dēvadāna* of the same god, (*it lies*) to the west of that ridge; proceeding (*then*) in southern and eastern directions along the same ridge and reaching the tank of this god, and then going in a southerly direction along the western bank of the channel feeding the said tank of this god, (*it lies*) to the west of the western ridge of the field called Kaṇavadi-kāl which is also a *dēvadāna* of (*the above mentioned*) god; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this Kaṇavadi-kāl, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge; (*it is also*) to the west of the western ridge of the one *mā* of the *dēvadāna* land called *Meḻukkuppuṟam*[1] (*belonging to*) this god; proceeding in an easterly

[1] Assignments made for meeting the expenses of supplying oil for the anointing of images of gods and for cleaning the courtyards of temples are called *Meḻukkuppuṟam*.

direction along the southern ridge of this one *mā*, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of the three *kāṇi* of the *dēvadāna* land of (*i.e.*, belonging to) this god and reaching the Pattal-channel, (*it lies*) to the south of it; proceeding (*further*) in a northerly direction along the western bank of the said Pattal-channel till reaching the (*river called*) Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the east of it; crossing the said Viḷappu and getting up its northern bank and arriving at the boundary of Mūṅgiṟkuḍi which is a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in the same district and then proceeding in northern and eastern directions along that boundary, (*it lies*) to the east and south of it; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the lands of this Mūṅgiṟkuḍi; proceeding in a southerly direction along the said boundary till reaching (*the river*) Viḷappu, crossing the Viḷappu and getting up its southern bank and then proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern bank and reaching the western ridge of the land called Kaṇavadimayakkal (*situated*) in Kōvūr of this *nāḍu*, (*it lies*) to the south of it; (*it lies also*) to the west of the western ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal; proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal and reaching the channel irrigating Nallūrchēri, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam of this district (*it lies*) to the south; proceeding then in an easterly direction along the southern bank of the said channel till reaching the southern ridge of the one *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Urāppaḷi Pākkaran, a Veḷḷāḷa of Kōvūr in the same district and then going in an easterly direction of this southern ridge and reaching the carpenter's land in Kōvūr where the boundary originally commenced, (*it lies*) to the south.

(l. 167) The donee shall have possession of the wet lands, dry lands, the village, village-site, ponds, sacred temples, the quarters of the Paṟaiyas, the quarters of the artisans and the burning grounds included within the four great boundaries thus described.

(l. 169) The following are the conditions to be observed in thus taking possession of this village inclusive of *kārāṇmai* and *miyāṭchi* (*rights*) with its excess and deficiency in measurement including in it the houses, house-sites, shops, the bazaar street, assembly grounds, waste lands set apart for grazing calves, ponds, *koṭṭagāram* (*i.e.*, kraals or palaces), valleys and wells, ant-hills, *teṟṟi*, forests, *piḍilikai*, barren lands and brackish lands, rivers, arable lands near rivers, streams, breaches, pits containing fish, gardens with their honey (*produce*), trees growing up and wells sunk down, without excluding any of the existing lands covered with water or rolled by the harrow or where the *iguana* runs or the tortoise crawls.

(l. 178) Channels shall be dug (*so as*) to irrigate the lands of the village; and their waste water shall be collected in canals and led away. Existing water courses over channels irrigating these lands shall be allowed to flow and their waste water shall be collected and led away. It is not permissible for others to cut branches, dam them across, put up small picottahs or bale water in baskets. Good (*i.e.*, drinking) water shall not be used for common purposes; but it may be dammed and made to irrigate (*lands*). Mansions and large edifices shall be built of burnt tiles (*i.e.*, bricks). Large wells shall be sunk. Coconut trees shall be planted in groves. *Damanaka*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *śeṅgaḻunīr*, *śeṅgaḻunīr*, mango, jack, areca-palm, palmyra, *kaḍi* and other useful trees of various descriptions shall be sown and planted. A big oil-press shall be set up. (*Such of*) the irrigation channels as are cut through the lands of this village and (*made to*) pass to outlying villages shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. (*Similarly also*), the channels cut through the lands of the outlying villages (*and made to*) pass into this village for the irrigation of lands shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. *Īḻavas* shall not be permitted to climb the palmyra and coconut trees planted (*on the borders*) of this village. Big drums and ornamental arches in three rows shall be allowed for families, according to traditions.

(l. 191) On receiving the lands as aforesaid, the privileges conferred are as follows:— *nāṭṭāchi* (fee for the administration of the district), *ūrāṭchi* (fee for the administration of the

village), *taṭṭoḷi* (i.e., one *nāḻi* of grain on each basket), *piḍānāḻi*, *kaṇṇālakkāṇam* (i.e., fee of one *kāṇam* of gold received on every marriage occasion), *vaṇṇārappārai* (i.e., fee on washerman's stones), *kuśakkāṇam* (i.e., fee of one *kāṇam* paid by every potter), water-cess, *ilai-kūlam*, *tarip-pudavai* (i.e., fee of one cloth on each loom), the fee on brokers, fee on goldsmiths, fee on shepherds, *āṭṭukkiṟai* (i.e., fee for keeping flocks of sheep), good cow and good bull, *nāḍukāval* (i.e., fee for the watch of the district), *ūḍupōkku*, *virpaḍi*, *vilanaṭṭāḍi*, *uḷgu*, *ōḍakkūli* (i.e., fee on ferries), *tulā*, *manṟupāḍu* (i.e., fee raised for assembly), *mādiṟai*, *tiṟai*, *iḷampūtchi*, *kāṭṭikāl* and such other fees, as the king could levy and enjoy, shall not henceforth be received by the king but shall be taken by the authorities of this *paḷḷi*.

(l. 198) For this land, inclusive of its *kīḻiṟai* and *mēlvāram* (*rights*), with all excess and deficiency in measurements and including (*such*) lands as had ceased to be *paḷḷichchanda*, forming the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam (*situated*) in this district, which had been granted (*subject to*) the conditions and privileges (*specified*) above, as a tax-free *paḷḷichchanda* to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapaṭṭaṉam in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam, we, the *nāṭṭōm* (i.e., the members of the Divisional Assembly) of (*the said*) Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanying the female elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, planted (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush, drew up and presented the gift deed (*to have effect*) from the twenty-first year (*of the king's reign*). I, Aṇaiyaṉ Taṇikkuḷavaṉ, (*a resident*) of Kaḷḷikkuḍi (*and*) a *puravuvari* (*officer*), being present with the representatives of the districts while accompanying the female elephant and circumambulating the hamlets, planting (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush, drew up and gave the deed of gift; and this is my signature.

(l. 207) When the *nāṭṭār* were accompanying the she-elephant and circumambulating the hamlets of this Āṉaimaṅgalam, I, Kōṉ Puttaṉ, a Veḷḷāḷa, residing at this Āṉaimaṅgalam, mounted the elephant, was present with them and showed the boundaries clearly: and this is my signature.

(l. 210) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Kaḍambaṉūr, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At their bidding, I, Muppatturuvaṉ Yajñaṉ *alias* Kaṟpagādittaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*); and this is my signature. At the bidding of the inhabitants of this Kaḍambaṉūr, I, Nārāyaṇaṉ Dāmōdaraṉ, a Vaikhānasa of this village, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 215) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nāraṇamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, circumambulated the hamlets accompanying the she-elephant, and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Irunūṟṟuvaṉ Uttamaṉ *alias* Brahmamaṅgalyaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 218) In this manner, we, (*the ūrār of Vēlaṅguḍi ?*), accompanied the she-elephant and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Vēlaṅguḍaiyāṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ Oṟṟi of Vēlaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 221) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Mūṅgirkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇava-Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 224) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Narimaṇpuram in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets

and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Ambattiruvan Viḍêlvi-ḍugan, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 228) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Śâttamangalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, *Vêḷâṉ* Ediran Śâttan *alias* Nânûṟṟuvapperungôvêḷâṉ of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 232) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Śannamaṅgalam, a *brahmadêya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Durukkan Kamudan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 236) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Koṭṭârakkuḍi, a *brahmadêya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Êran Chandraśêkharan *alias* Brahmamaṅgalyan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 239) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Kôvûr in Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Aiyyan Aiyyan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 243) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Uttûr in Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gifts. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Nakkan Muḷḷi, the accountant-arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 246) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nannimaṅgalam, a *brahmadêya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Kaṇṇan Alaṅkârapriyan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 249) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Poruvanûr, a *brahmadêya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vêḷâṉ* Mâdêvan Êran, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 253) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Âlaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Kâśyapan Sûryyan Araṅgan, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 256) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Tuṟaiyûr in Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Tiruttî Vaikuṇḍan of the Bhâradvâja-(*gôtra*), the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and (*this is my*) signature.

(l. 259) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Pirambil, a *brahmadêya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kûṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇavan Nandi *alias* Alaṅkârapriyan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 263) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Kaḍambaṅguḍi, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Kuṇavaṉ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkârapriyaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 265) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Śêndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Ûrâṉ Aiyaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 268) In the said manner, we, (*the ûrâr of Śiṟuchchêndamaṅgalam?*), accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, and drew up and gave the deed of the gift. I, Eṭṭi Valañjuḷiyaṉ Saṅgaṉ of Śiṟuchchêndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriya-śikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 270) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Kuṟṟâlam in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, *Vêḷâṉ* Dêvaṉ Ûraṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 273) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Tiruṇâvûr in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Chaturmukhaṉ Araṅgaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 276) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Uvarkkuḍi, a *brahmadêya* of Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vêḷâṉ* Mânâgaṉ Nârâyaṇaṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) ; and this is my signature.

(l. 280) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Muñjikuḍi in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, *Vêḷâṉ* Mânâgaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 284) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vêḷâṉ* Atirâmaṉ Irubattunâlvaṉ *alias* Muṉṉûṟṟuvaṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 288) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Kaḍambavalaṟṟai in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Ûrâṉ Ûrâṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 292) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Pâḷaṅkoṟṟaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Ûrâṉ Ûrâṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 295) In the said manner, we, the *ûrâr* of Veṇkiḍaṅgil in Paṭṭaṉa-kûṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ûrâr*, I, Ûrâṉ Nakkaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 298) In the said manner, we, (*the members of the assembly of Āṇaimaṅgalam*) [], accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Āritaṉ Śṛiyāṉ Kaḷambaṉ, (*a resident*) of this *brahmadēya* of Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 300) In the said manner, I, Tūṟpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṉ, (*a resident*) of Śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Tirumaṇiyūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up. This is my signature.

(l. 303) In the said manner, I, Paṟpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pārkkuḷam, (*residing*) at Tirumallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 306) In the said manner, I, Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pūrēmapuram (*residing*) at Tirumallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 308) In the said manner, I, Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Dvēdaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 311) Our (*i.e.*, the Royal) Secretaries (*viz.*) Mīṉavaṉ Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Koṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ and Dēvaṉkuḍaiyāṉ; the arbitrators (*viz.*) Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi and Pūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Koṭṭaiyūr; our Secretaries (*viz.*) Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Śembiyaṉ Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Śōḷavēḷāṉ and Araiśūruḍaiyāṉ, and the arbitrator Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakratuyājin of Puḷḷamaṅgalam, having ordered that (*the necessary*) entries may be made in the Revenue Registers in accordance with the deed that was thus signed and issued: the *puravuvari* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kōdaṇḍaṉ Śiṅgaṉ of Ālaṅguḍi, Iḷavaḍigaḷ Naḷḷāṟaṉ residing at Pūdamaṅgalam and Kaṟpagaṉ Śōlai residing at Ālattūr, the *varippottagam* (*i.e.*, officer in charge of Revenue Registers) (*viz.*) Śiṅgaṉ Veṇkāḍaṉ, the headman of Paruttiyūr, the *mugaveṭṭi* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kīḻvāy-Kaṇavadi, Muṇḍaṉ Araṅgaṉ, Śaiyaḍaṉ Amalaṉ, Tattaṉ Śīkiṭṭaṉ (*i.e.*, Śrī-Kṛishṇa), the *varippottagakkaṇakkar* (*i.e.*, the accountant in charge of the Revenue Registers) Mādēvaṉ Būmi, the *variyiliḍu* (*i.e.*, the officer who makes entries in Revenue Registers) Tāḷi Vīraśōḷaṉ, a resident of Uṟavūr, and the *paḍṭōlai* (keepers of Royal writs) (*viz.*) Perumāṉ Ambalattāḍi, Śikaṇḍaṉ (*i.e.*, Śrīkaṇṭha) Dēvaṉ, Mākāḷaṉ Ariñji, and Nakkaṉ Maṇḍagavaṉ, being present, entries were made in the Revenue Registers and the deed was given (*to the donee*) on the **one hundred and sixty-third day** of the **twenty-third** *regnal* **year**.

(l. 323) This is the signature of Araiyaṉ Arumoḷi *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṉ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 325) (*This is*) approved by Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 327) (*This is*) approved by Irāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Uttamaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṉ, a resident of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 329) (*This is*) approved by Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Dvēdaigōmapuram, (*a resident*) of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 330) (*This is*) approved by Araiyaṉ Śikaṇḍaṉ (Śrīkaṇṭha) *alias* Mīṉavaṉ Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, the headman of Kurumbil in Ambar-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

No. 35.—THE SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES (OF KULOTTUNGA I).

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below is engraved on a set of **three copper-plates** now preserved in the Leiden University Museum in Holland. It was once published without plates in the *Archaeological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, pp. 224 ff., by Burgess and Natesa Sastri as early as 1886. Though the text of the inscription had been fairly well made out, the translation given in the volume requires to be largely amended. It is also considered desirable to give facsimile plates of the inscription. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly obtained from the Museum authorities in Leiden one set of excellent rubbings of the inscription and a photograph of the seal and placed them at my disposal for study and publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.[1]

The three plates—each of which measures 14·8 inches by 5·3 inches—that form this set, are held together by a strong ring bearing a large **seal** very similar to the one on the Larger Leiden Plates. The following is the reading of the **legend** on this seal by Burgess and Natesa Sastri :—

Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷasya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ

puṇyaḥ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā(ya) śāsanam

The editors note : " whether through mistake on the part of the engraver or from want of room to get the whole inscription into the one line round the circumference, is uncertain, but the syllables—*ḷasya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ* are inserted below *ṅga-Chō* and *puṇyaḥ kshōṇīśvara* between which they must be read, and this, together with the peculiar forms of some of the letters, makes the legend difficult to decipher". The fact that the legend runs round the circular seal and has the syllables *ḷasya, etc.*, engraved below in a second line is a clear indication that what is written below forms the end of the legend. And since it is certain that *Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chō* must precede the portion contained in the second line, the commencement, *i.e.*, the first half of the verse forming the legend is *Puṇyaḥ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāya śāsanam*. In this legend, the compound *kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāya* has been translated as "to the crest jewel of the assembly of earth-rulers" by Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri. There is no doubt that the engraver had made some mistake here as had been supposed by these scholars. It seems to me, however, that the compound must have specific reference to the *saṅgha* of the Buddhist church (*paḷḷi*) erected at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam by king Chūḍāmaṇivarman of Kaḍāha. *Sabhā* in the legend is no doubt a synonym of *saṅgha* : and the term *ratna*, which is often applied to the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*, the sole resorts of the Buddhists, is highly suggestive of and favourable to connecting *sabhā* with the Buddhist shrine and creed. There is yet another suggestion contained in the terms used in the same compound : *chūḍāratna* may be taken to stand for *chūḍāmaṇi*, perhaps a contracted form of *Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra*, which was the name of the Buddhist monument called after its royal founder Chūḍāmaṇivarman : but the intervening position of the word *sabhā* between *kshōṇīśvara* and *chūḍāratna* makes the interpretation difficult. Had the word *sabhā* with the appropriate termination been used at the end of the compound, it would have been quite easy to interpret the word into " to the *saṅgha* of (the *vihāra* erected by) king Chūḍāmaṇivarman " which, it seems, was intended to be conveyed by the legend. In fact the inscription on the plates as will be pointed out in the sequel, tells us clearly that the ambassadors from the king of

[1] [The impressions of this inscription also were very kindly prepared by Lt. Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks-Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, at the request of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel.—Ed.]

Kaṭāha requested king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa to have a copper-plate issued in favour of the *saṅgha* of the *paḷḷi* of Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra. We have instances of edicts with opening verses of this nature.[1]

The inscription is written in the **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet throughout : but Grantha letters are used here and there where words of Sanskrit origin occur. For instance see *si* and *sa* in *siṁhāsa* (l. 3), *ja* and *sma* (l. 3), *śrī* (l. 4), *rāja* (l. 5), *Rājēndra* (l. 6), *Rājarāja* (l. 7), *śābai* (l. 8), *sāmra-śāsana* (l. 10), *Rājavidyādhara-śrī-sāmanta* and *Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmanta* (ll. 10-11), *Rājavallabha* (l. 12), *prasāda* (l. 13), *Rājarāja* (l. 14), *brahmadē* (l. 18), *brahma* (l. 28), *Vijayarājēndra* (l. 31), *śrī-Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarmma-vihāra* (ll. 39-40), *Mahādēva* (l. 42), *santarigriha* and *Rāja*[7] (l. 49), and *Rājē*[7] (l. 50).

Unlike the plates of the Sanskrit and Tamiḷ portions of the Larger Leiden set, the plates of this set are not numbered. The only **orthographical peculiarities** worth noting are : (1) the use of the vowels in some rare places where consonants are needed, *e.g.*, *kāṇiāḷarai* (ll. 9, 38) and (2) the formation of *ū* in cases of *ṇū*, *nū*, *mū*, *lū*, etc., by the addition of the length (vertical stroke) sign to their short. The inscription is not quite well worded and there are possibilities of engraver's mistakes.

The inscription which is dated in the **20th year** of the reign of the Chōḷa king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.** commences with the historical introduction *pugal-mādu viḷaṅga*, which refers in general terms to the king's conquest of the Chēra (*Villavar*), Pāṇḍya (*Mīnavar*), Vikkalaṉ, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI and Siṅgaṇaṉ, *i.e.*, Jayasiṁha. It records that, while the king was resting on the reclining seat (*paḷḷi-ppīḍam*) called Kāliṅgarājaṉ in the bathing hall of his palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram, two messengers (*dūtar*) of the king of Kaḍāram, named Rājavidyādhara-śrī-sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmanta, petitioned to him that the village granted free from the payment of taxes including *antarāya*, *viraśābai*, *paṇmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭi*, *kandāli* and *śuṅgamērā*, as *paḷḷichchanda* for meeting the requirements of the shrines of Rājēndrasōḷapperumpaḷḷi and Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi which were constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at Sōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, may be entered in a copper-plate document and issued in favour of the *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi*. The messengers also prayed that the *Kāṇiyāḷars* of the *paḷḷichchanda* lands may be removed and the lands be left entirely in the charge of the *paḷḷi* and that this fact may also be noted in the same copper-plate deed. Accordingly, a royal order was issued to the *adhikāris* named Rājēndrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ that he, in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ, should draw up a copper-plate deed to that effect. After giving a list of the *paḷḷichchandas* belonging to Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, their situation, extent, *kāṇikkaḍan*, and *nichchayitta-nellu*, the inscription states that (1) the taxes or incomes in money and kind have been assigned to meet the requirements of the monastery and that (2) the previous owners who were holding the lands of these *paḷḷichchanda* villages have now been removed and the same have been vested solely with the *Saṅgattār* of the monastery. The details furnished about the *paḷḷichchanda* villages are given in a separate table. Further, the inscription furnishes the under-mentioned boundaries of the monastery and its surroundings (*paḷḷi-uḷai* and *paḷḷi-viḷāgam*) and states that the total extent covered by them was 31¼ *veli*, 2 *mā* and 1 *mundirigai* :—

Eastern boundary—to the west of the sea-shore inclusive of the sand-hill in it ;

Southern boundary—to the north of the well called Pugaiyuṇṇi-kiṇaṟu ; to the north of the land belonging to the temple of Tiruviraṭṭānamuḍaiya-Mahādēva situated to the west of the said well ; and to the north of the line passing westwards from the north

[1] Nos. 435, 450, 764, 766-7 of the *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V.

bank of the channel dug by Paṟavaikkuḷattu-Mārāyaṉ and reaching the high road to Kāraikkāl ;

Western boundary—to the east of the said high road to Kāraikkāl ;

Northern boundary—to the south of the boundary of the lands in Vaḍa-Kāḍaṉpāḍi of Śōḷakulavallipattanam.

The inscription concludes by saying that the royal order had thus been carried out and that, on the direction of the *sandhivigraha* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ and the *adhikārin* Rājēndrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, this copper-plate charter was written by Nilaiyuḍaiya-Paṇaiyāṉ Nigariliśōḷan Madhurāntakaṉ, one of the Vikkiramābharaṇatterinda-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāras of Uṟkōḍi.

Serial No.	Village.	Division in which situated.	Extent in vēli, mā, kāṇi and mundirigai.	Kāṉikkaḍan in kalam, kuṟuṇi and nāḻi.	Nichchayittapaḍi in kalam.
1	Āṉaimaṅgalam . . .	Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam in Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu	97-2-1¼	8,943-9-3	4,500
2	Brahmadēya in Āṉaimaṅgalam .	Do. .	12¾	400	500
3	Muñjikuḍi . . .	Do. .	27½-3¼	2,779-4-4	1,000
4	Amūr	Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam . .	106⅛	10,000-9-0	3,850
5	Vaḍakuḍi *alias* Nāgaiyūr .	Aḷa-nāḍu . . .	70½-4¼	8,314-5-1	2,340
6	Kīḻ-Chandirappāḍi . .	Do. . . .	10-2-1¼-1	1,012-5	1,500
7	Pālaiyūr brahmadēya .	....	kīḻ ½-00¾	1,000	
8	Puttakkuḍi . . .	Kurumbūr-nāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.	87¾	8,720-4-4	6,167
9	Udayamārttāṇḍanallūr .	Iḍaikkaḷi-nāḍu . . .	3-3	135-3-3	79-3

Of the villages noted above, whose revenues had been assigned to the *paḷḷi* Āṉaimaṅgalam, Amūr, Vaḍakuḍi and Pālaiyūr are in the list of villages of the Negapatam Taluk of the Tanjore District (Madras Presidency) and Muñjikuḍi, which, according to the Larger Leiden plates, formed the South-western boundary of Āṉaimaṅgalam, must also be in the same Taluk.

The historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions commences in different ways. One of them found in his earlier epigraphs begins with the words *tirumaṉṉi viḷaṅgum* and records that with the sole aid of his arm and sword, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram (Wairagaḍh in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces), received tribute from Dhārāvarsha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa (country) and brought the earth under his parasol.[1] In these epigraphs, which are dated up to the 4th year of reign, the king is styled Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndra Chōḷadēva. Another inscription dated in the 6th year of his reign commences with the words *pū-maḍarivum*.[2] The majority of his other records, dated between the 6th and 49th years, have either (1) the introduction *pugaḻ-śūḻnda-puṇari*, which gives a detailed account of the king's achievements, or (2) *pugaḻ-māḍu-viḷaṅga*, which refers in general terms to his victory of the Chēra, Pāṇḍya, and Vikramāditya VI and Simhaṇa, i.e., Jayasimha.[3] The late Dr. Hultzsch has dealt with the events of the reign of Kulōttuṅga as could be gathered from the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* of Bilhaṇa,

[1] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 392.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 137.
[3] No. 813 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV ; Nos. 874 and 735 of Vol. VII.

the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅgoṇḍān, the copper-plate grants of the later Eastern Chālukya kings and the inscriptions of his reign and has also attempted to reconcile the discrepancies found in them. The following are categorically the events of his reign :—

(1) While heir-apparent, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram and defeated Dhārāvaraha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa country.

(2) In or before the 5th year, he defeated the king of Kuntala, crowned himself as the king of the Chōḷa country and decapitated an unnamed king of the south.[1]

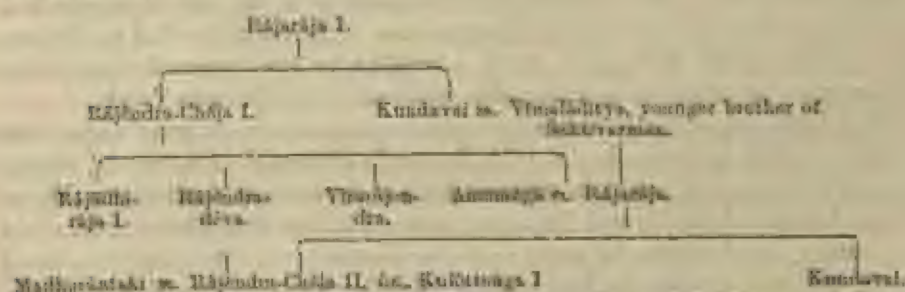
(3) An eleventh year record adds that he drove Vikkalan from Naṅgili by way of Maṇalūr to the Tuṅgabhadrā river and conquered Gaṅgamaṇḍalam and Siṅgaṇam.[2] Some inscriptions substitute Aḷatti for Maṇalūr and Koṅgaṇam for Siṅgaṇam.

(4) An inscription of the 14th year states that Kulōttuṅga put the five Pāṇḍyas to flight and subdued the western portion of their country including the gulf of Mannār, the Podiya mountain, Cape Comorin and Kōṭṭāṟu.[3] He is reported also to have limited the boundary of the Pāṇḍya country, to have placed garrisons in the strategically important places of the newly acquired territory, and to have conquered Kuḍamalai-nāḍu.

(5) The conquest of the Kaliṅga country is noticed in the inscriptions of the 26th, 42nd and 45th years of the king's reign.[4]

As the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I., unlike those of Rājarāja I., Rājēndrachōḷa I., and others, do not mention the conquests effected by the king in the order in which they occurred— the later inscriptions often omitting the earlier achievements — it is difficult to determine with their aid the actual date of occurrence of the events.

About Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga's acquisition of the Chōḷa dominions a word may now be said. It will be easy to follow the events if we have before us the pedigree of the Chōḷas from Rājarāja I., and that of the Eastern Chālukyas from Śaktivarman downwards, for it was during the reigns of the kings that followed them, the two families were closely knit together by marriage ties. The following table represents the relationship between the various members of the two families :—



The earliest Chōḷa king that interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukya country was Rājarāja I. From his inscriptions it is seen that he conquered Vēṅgi in the 14th year of his reign (=A.D. 999-1000).[5] That it resulted in placing Śaktivarman *alias* Chāḷukya-Chandra on the Eastern Chālukya throne is evident from the fact that the latter's accession took place in that

[1] See Kielhorn's *Southern List* No. 761.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 174.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

[4] See Kielhorn's *Southern List* Nos. 777, 782; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72; and Madras Epigraphical collection for 1891, No. 44 (*S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 445), and the same for 1904, No. 608.

[5] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 739.

very year.[1] This is known from the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, the son and successor of Śaktivarman, which places the coronation of that king on Thursday 10th May, A.D. 1011, and states that Śaktivarman ruled for 12 years before him.[2] Of Vimalāditya's son Rājarāja I (of the Eastern Chālukya family), the Korumelli plates[3] state that his coronation fell on Thursday, 16th August, A.D. 1022 and the Tēki plates[4] add that he ruled for forty-one years. His younger brother was Vijayāditya VII. And since it is said that after Rājarāja I., Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya ruled for fifteen years, the latter has been assigned to the period A.D. 1063-1077 by Dr. Fleet.[5] There are three inscriptions at Drākshārāma[6] of a certain Vishṇuvardhana ranging in date from the 3rd to the 15th year and furnishing Śaka equivalents which work out for the king's initial year A.D. 1061-2. These inscriptions may have to be attributed to Vijayāditya VII, as there was no other Vishṇuvardhana at the time, Kulōttuṅga being distinctly styled *Saptama Vishṇuvardhana*. It appears that Vijayāditya VII ruled till A.D. 1077. We have three copper-plate charters of the reign of Vijayāditya which state that he succeeded to the throne on the death of his elder brother Rājarāja.[7] There is no room to suspect that Vijayāditya's succession was disputed. Further, a consideration of the facts, that Rājarāja was crowned in A.D. 1022 and reigned for 41 years, that Vijayāditya counted his regnal years, as shown above, from A.D. 1061-2, coupled with the fact that Rājēndra *alias* Kulōttuṅga I., son of Rājarāja, actually assumed regal powers only from A.D. 1070, *i.e.*, several years after the demise of his father and reigned for the long period of nearly 50 years, *i.e.*, till A.D. 1119-20, leads to the irresistible conclusion that Rājēndra must have been in his teens 60 years prior to the end of his reign; and establishes also the necessity for the succession of Vijayāditya after Rājarāja[8] and his quiet succession to the throne of Vēṅgi, as reported in the plates, confirm this conclusion. The dissension between Vijayāditya and Rājēndra, if any, must have arisen only subsequent to the death of Rājarāja, perhaps when Rājēndra came of age.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the Eastern Chālukya dominion was subject to the rule of the successive kings Śaktivarman, Vimalāditya, Rājarāja and Vijayāditya without any break from A.D. 999-1000 to A.D. 1077. For aught we know, Vijayāditya was not a powerful monarch and his rule was not peaceful. Ever since the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukyas and, putting an end to the interregnum, placed Śaktivarman on the throne of Vēṅgi, that country seems to have practically become a principality subject to the authority of the Chōḷas; and the Chōḷa kings appear to have cemented their relationship with the Eastern Chālukyas by ties of marriages. The policy followed by Rājarāja I. and Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. towards the newly acquired country of Vēṅgi, was neglected by the latter's sons Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndradēva, but was resumed by Vīrarājēndra. This is referred to in the Kanyākumāri inscription in the following terms[9]:—

"The Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga countries which had come in the family of the Chōḷas for generations having been left uncared for by his (Vīrarājēndra's) two brothers and having

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, and Vol. VI, pp. 349-51.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 336.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

[6] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1011, 1012 and 1015.

[7] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1925, p. 77 and the same for 1914, p. 86.

[8] The pretty long reign of Rājarāja for 41 years and the actual longer reign of Rājēndra for 50 years after an interval of several years making up a total of more than 91 years for the reigns of father and son are worth noting.

[9] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 157, v. 77.

been encroached upon by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha, *i.e.*, Vīrarājēndra, conquered these highly powerful foes, leaving only those that were frightened, and ruled over the country."

From the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra we further learn that he conferred the country of Vēṅgi on Vijayāditya and protected him. If these facts are borne in mind, it will be easy to see why, when Vikramāditya VI invaded the Eastern Chālukya dominion, Vīrarājēndra marched against him and his brother and defeated them in many a battle in the Vēṅgi country. Even subsequently Vijayāditya's position in the Vēṅgi country was not secure for it is said that the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., the refuge of the distressed, made Vijayāditya, when he was about to sink in the ocean of *troubles caused by the Chōlas*, to enjoy prosperity by the support which he afforded him.[1]

Speaking of the support given by Vīrarājēndra to Vijayāditya, Dr. Hultzsch correctly suggested that the relations between uncle and nephew, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga and Vijayāditya were not so entirely amicable as the panegyrical account of the Chellūr grant would make us believe, but that Kulōttuṅga tried to oust his uncle.[2] This suggestion gains ground by the explicit statement of the plates that the troubles of Vijayāditya *were caused by the Chōḻas* who, during the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja (A.D. 1070-78), were ruled by none other than Kulōttuṅga I.

From the facts noticed above, it will be plain that Vijayāditya actually reigned over the Vēṅgi country from A.D. 1063 to A.D. 1077, his cause being supported by the Chōḻa king Vīrarājēndra in the earlier years and by the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja in later days. It is also certain that the disturbances in Vēṅgi during the rule of Vijayāditya were on the one hand caused by the invasion of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and on the other by the attempt of Kulōttuṅga to oust him.

We shall now see if Kulōttuṅga had any position in the Chōḻa country which he eventually succeeded in getting. The Tamiḻ poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* indeed states that the queen of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḻa, *i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōḻa I., taking up the child of her daughter and observing the marks on his body, exclaimed that he was fit to be her son and to protect the Solar race.[3] From this a theory of adoption of Kulōttuṅga by the queen of Rājēndra-Chōḻa I. had been started. That this theory has no foundation whatsoever on facts but had been newly invented to give a *locus standi* to Kulōttuṅga after he had actually obtained the Chōḻa throne, will be evident from the sequel. Even the panegyrists that wrote the accounts of the copper-plates issued during his reign, in referring to the accession of Vijayāditya which took place already in A.D. 1061-2, speak as if Kulōttuṅga had a claim in the Chōḻa dominions, when they say that Kulōttuṅga being desirous of the Chōḻa kingdom, suffered his uncle Vijayāditya to become the ruler of Vēṅgi, himself holding a second rank in the kingdom, *viz.*, that of the *yuvarāja* or the heir-apparentship.[4] That this is a garbled version of facts will be evident to anyone. We fail to see how the acceptance of the overlordship of Vēṅgi would have interfered with his right, if any, of the Chōḻa dominion. On the other hand, had he been made the ruler of Vēṅgi in the first instance, he would have been in a better position subsequently to push his claim for the Chōḻa throne.

That there was no need for adoption by the queen of Rājēndra-Chōḻa I. of her daughter's son is clear from the facts that Rājēndra-Chōḻa I. had several sons. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say that this king appointed his son Chōḻa-Pāṇḍya to protect the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḻa countries.[5] The Kanyākumāri inscription adds that "like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were born

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1892, p. 5.

[3] Canto X, vv. 3 to 6.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 422, vv. 53 and 59.

to Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, three sons, of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I".[1] Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra are distinctly called Rājādhirāja's younger brothers;[2] and they succeeded to the Chōḷa throne one after another.[2]

A careful examination of the lowest and the highest regnal years of the inscriptions of the successive Chōḷa kings Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, Rājādhirāja I, Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra as well as the results of the calculation of the astronomical details furnished in many of them establishes :—

(1) that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1011,[3] though his actual rule began in A.D. 1014-15[4] and lasted till A.D. 1044,[5] and that he installed his eldest son Rājādhirāja I. heir-apparent in A.D. 1018 ;

(2) that Rājādhirāja I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1018[6] though his rule actually began in A.D. 1044[7] and lasted till A.D. 1053-4[8] and that in his turn he installed his younger brother Rājēndradēva as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1052 ;

(3) that Rājēndradēva counted his regnal years from A.D. 1052[9] though his rule actually began in A.D. 1054 and lasted till A.D. 1063[10] and that he installed his next younger brother Vīrarājēndra as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1062 ; and

(4) that Vīrarājēndra counted his regnal years from A.D. 1062[11] though his rule actually began in A.D. 1063-4 and lasted till A.D. 1069.[12]

Besides the above named kings there were also two others who, as the inscriptions left by them prove, had actually ruled over the Chōḷa dominions, even though it be for short periods only. These are Rājakēsarivarman Rājamahēndradēva and Parakēsarivarman Adhirājēndra. The inscriptions of the first so far found, are dated in the 2nd and 3rd years[13] while those of the second, which are somewhat more numerous, are also dated in the 2nd and 3rd years.[14]

As Rājakēsarivarman Rājamahēndra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla at Muḍakkāṟu and gained victory over Jayasimha who commanded his forces, it looks pretty certain that he must have reigned after Rājēndradēva.[15] Since he and Vīrarājēndra are both styled Rājakēsarivarman, they may be considered to have ruled conjointly, for otherwise Vīrarājēndra should have borne the title Parakēsari and not Rājakēsari as he is actually called in all his records. Since one of the

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 157, v. 73.

[2] *Ibid.*, vv. 74-76.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. It has been shown that the reign was counted from a date between the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July 1012.

[4] The earliest year found in his inscriptions is the 3rd.

[5] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915-16, p. 118, para. 14.

[6] Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. The reign is determined to count from a date between 15th March and 3rd December A.D. 1018.

[7] The earliest year found for him in inscriptions is the 26th.

[8] The latest known date is the 36th year. See No. 262 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921, where the king is called Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Vijayarājēndradēva which was another name for Rājādhirāja I.

[9] Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. His reign is determined to have commenced approximately on the 28th May A.D. 1052.

[10] Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28, No. 63, which is dated in the 11th year of the king's reign. His earliest inscription is of the 2nd year.

[11] The commencement of his reign is determined to have fallen between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.

[12] The earliest date known for him is the 2nd year and the latest 8th. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 976 and Vol. III, No. 57.

[13] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 56 and Vol. VII, No. 743.

[14] No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 57.

[15] See text of No. 743 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII.

inscriptions of Adhirājēndra refers to some transactions made in the 8th year of Vīrarājēndra, Dr. Hultzsch has correctly placed him between Vīrarājēndra and Kulōttuṅga I.[1] We may suppose that his actual rule over the Chōḷa dominion commenced in the later part of his 2nd year when perhaps Vīrarājēndra died,— and this must have taken place in A.D. 1069. As his Tiruvallam inscription is dated in the 200th day of his 3rd regnal year, he must have had charge of the Chōḷa territory for very nearly a year. Another inscription of this king found at Kūhūr, dated in this very year, is also very interesting as it tells us that in the latter part of that year there was some concern about the king's health for the recovery of which provision was made for the recital of the sacred hymns (*tiruppadiyam*) in the temple of Māmbalamuḍaiya-Mahādēva at the village.[2] Perhaps the disease could not be cured and proved fatal. Two other epigraphs of the king[3] inform us that the villages Śeṅgēṇi and Āḍaiyūr were under the rule of chiefs who bore the title Karikālachōḷa, which was one of the surnames of Adhirājēndra's father Vīrarājēndra who must have bestowed it on them. That the rule of the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga I. was recognised even in Ceylon, which was then a province of the Chōḷas, is proved by the inscriptions found in the island. From what has been said above, it would be seen that there was absolutely no need for any adoption from A.D. 1044 till the demise of Vīrarājēndra. It may also be added that there are no indications in Chōḷa inscriptions of the period A.D. 1049-1069 that Kulōttuṅga I. was ever adopted for succession to the Chōḷa throne.

Now as to the **contents** of the inscription. Lines 1-13 form the preamble, lines 13-38 the document proper, and lines 39-48 furnish the boundaries of the lands comprised in the *pallichchandam* and *pallivilāgam*, while what follows is the concluding portion. In the preamble, two *pallis*, named Rājēndraśōlapperumpaḷḷi and Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, are mentioned as having been built by the king of Kaḍāram in Śōḻakulavallippaṭṭanam in Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu. It is stated that the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram made the request that the *Pallichchanda* villages of these two may be entered in a copper-plate deed, the previous Kāṇiyāḷars removed and the lands vested with the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi*. The document proper enumerates only the *Pallichchandas* of Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi; and there is no mention of Rājēndraśōḻapperumpaḷḷi at all. We are not sure if the word *Rājēndraśōḻapperumpaḷḷikkum* has been omitted after *eḍuppitta* in line 14. If it had been, the villages given must have belonged to both the *paḷḷis*. In lines 16 and 38, this copper-plate document is said to have been issued in favour of the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi* erected by the king of Kaḍāram and in line 39 Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, which must have been a shrine in the *vihāra*, figures as the surname of Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra itself. While this is the case here, the grant registered in the Tamil portion of the Larger Leiden Plates is said to have been made 'for the requirements of the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra which was then being constructed at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭanakūṟṟam of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu by Chūḍāmaṇivarman, the king of Kaḍāram '— the Sanskrit portion, however, stating that " the *Vihāra* was built by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman in the name of his father Chūḍāmaṇivarman ". On account of the substitution of the names Śōḻakulavallippaṭṭaṇam and Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu in the Smaller set for Nāgapaṭṭaṇam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu of the Larger Leiden Plates, and also on account of the other differences noted above as regards the *paḷḷi* referred to in either set, a doubt may reasonably arise as to the identity of the donee in the two sets. But the fact that the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam with its total extent of 97 *vēli*, 2 *mā* and odd and *kāṇikkaḍan* 8943 *kalam*, which is exactly the grant made in the

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 57.

[2] No. 290 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1917.

[3] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, Nos. 804 and 894. In the later history of the Chōḷas the chiefs of the villages Śeṅgēṇi and Āḍaiyūr play an important part.

Larger Leiden Plates, figures as the first item of the *Paḷḷichchandas* belonging to Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi in the Smaller set, proves definitely the identity of the donees of the two sets. Therefore it must be regarded that Sōḻakulavallipaṭṭaṇam and Uyyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu are but the altered names of Nāgapaṭṭaṇam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu respectively.

Of the terms that occur in the inscription, *kāṇikkaḍan*, *kāṇiyāḷar*, *nichchayitta-nellu* and *Saṅgattār* deserve to be noticed. *Kāṇikkaḍan* is made of *kāṇi*--lands and *kaḍan*--duty, and may be taken to mean "the assessment payable on lands to the king". From the occurrence of this word in the Larger Leiden Plates in this very sense with respect to the total quantity of income from the entire extent of lands in the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam and the repetition of the term and the quantity in our plates, the meaning suggested above seems to be decisive. *Kāṇiyāḷar* means literally "the persons that manage lands" and may be taken to refer to the men employed by the State to lease its lands for purposes of cultivation, to afford facilities to farmers by way of irrigation, etc., and to see to the realisation of rents or assessments. The term *nichchayitta-nellu* is rarely met with in inscriptions. In this record, which relates to an application made to the king to terminate the functioning of the *kāṇiyāḷar* and to transfer the lands from their possession and management to the authorities of the Buddhist monasteries for being dealt with directly by them, there is evidently some further gain to be derived by the monasteries in the proposed change, to wit the rights and privileges which the *kāṇiyāḷar* might have had. Perhaps the term *nichchayitta-nellu* stands for the quantity of paddy settled to be paid by the cultivating tenants to the *kāṇiyāḷar* to meet the cost of affording facilities, etc., and for their remuneration for performing the function as middlemen between the State and the tenants.

It is not unlikely that the term *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi* has the same significance as the Paṉmāhēśvaras (or Māhēśvaras) of Śiva temples and Śrī-Vaishṇavas of Vishṇu temples. In many inscriptions we meet with the clauses "*idu Paṉmāhēśvarar rakshai*", "*idu Śrī-Vaishṇavar rakshai*". In the case of grants of Buddhist or Jaina shrines the above clauses would be altered into "*idu paḷḷich-Chaṅgattār rakshai*." The translation of these clauses into "This shall be under the protection of all the *Māhēśvaras* or *Śrī-Vaishṇavas* or the *Saṅgattār* or others of the monastery" may not make clear whether by the terms Paṉmāhēśvaras, Śrī-Vaishṇavas and Saṅgattār individuals belonging to the respective sects are meant or whether they have any particular reference to regularly constituted bodies of men drawn from the said sects in accordance with set rules as in the case of the *Sabhā* or other constituted bodies and having concern with the management of the properties of the temple or other institutions with which they are associated. Judging from the single fact that the objects of the grants had to be fulfilled daily or at specified occasions, not for a fixed number of years only, but perpetually "as long as the Moon and the Sun last" as the inscriptions put it, in the manner stipulated by the donors, it can be said that the recipients who undertook to effect them could not have been a chance collection of individuals but could only have been responsible members of regularly constituted bodies whose duties were to accept such gifts and to execute the will of the donors. In this connection a few more facts contained in some of the inscriptions are worth noting. It is stated that the donations made have to be maintained as a whole, undiminished for ever and that the expenses involved in fulfilling the objects of the grants have to be met only from the incomes. It is unnecessary to say that on the part of the recipients, the safe investments of the endowments and the timely realisation of interests and the utilising of the latter without default for the specified purposes involve a very high responsibility and considerable amount of work. Here again we are obliged to think that the recipients must only be members of regularly constituted committees wielding influence and authority and not mere chance collections of individuals. Unless this be the case, it is impossible to perceive how costly gifts of lands, villages and the

like intended to meet the cost of perpetual charities would have been left with them by kings and private individuals and how the donors would have been assured of the fulfilment of their objects. A few inscriptions insert a penal clause stating that in case of default the Paṉmāhēśvaras shall levy or cause to be levied a fine on the defaulters, to be paid to the Dharmāsana or the king of the day. From this also the irresistible conclusion is that the Paṉmāhēśvaras in the case of the Śiva temples, Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the case of Vishṇu temples and the Saṅgattār in the case of the Buddhist and Jaina temples must have been regularly constituted bodies meant for or invested with the authority of keeping proper accounts of grants, enforcing the regular conduct of the objects and punishing or causing to be punished any one making infringements in the undertaking.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 [ii] Pugaḻ-mādu viḷaṅga Jaya-mādu virumba Nila-magaḷ nilavu Malar-magaḷ pu[ṇa]ra urimaiyiṟ-chiṟanda maṇi-muḍi śū-

2 [ḍi] Villavar kulai-tara Mīṉavar nilai-keḍa Vikkalar Śiṅgaṇar mad-kaḍal pāyu-ttikk-aṉaittuṉ[1]-taṉ śakkara naḍāt-

3 ti [2]vīrasiṁhāsanattu=bBhuvaṇamuḻuduḍaiyāḷoḍum virṟirund-aruḷiya kōv-Irājakēsari-paṉmar-āṉa chakka-

4 ravarttigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḻadēvarkku yāṇḍu irupad-āvadu Āyirattaḷiy-āṉa Āhava-malla-

5 kulakālapurattu kōyiliṉ-uḷḷāl-tirumañjaṉa-śālaiyil paḷḷi[p-p[5]]īḍam Kāliṅgarājaṉil eḻund-aruḷi irukka Kiḍārat-

6 taraiyaṉ Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Śōḻakulavalli-paṭṭaṉattu eḍuppitta [3]Rājēntraśō-

7 ḻa-pperum-paḷḷikkum Rājarāja-pperum-paḷḷikkum (p)paḷḷichchaṉḍam[4]-āṉa ūrgaḷ palam-baḍiy-antarāyamum vīra-

8 śēṣhaiyum paṉmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭiyum kuṇḍāḻ[i]yum[6] aṅga-mārāmam uḷḷiṭṭaṉav-ellām tavira-

9 dumaikkum muṉbu paḷḷichchandaṅgaḷ kāṇiy-uḍaiya kāṇi-āḷarai[8]-ttavira]-ppaḷḷi-chchaṅgattārkkē kāṇi-

10 yāga-pperramaikkum tāmra-śāsaṉam paṇṇi-ttara vēṇḍum-eṉṟu Kiḍārattaraiyar dūtaṉ[7] Rājavi-

11 dyādhara-śrī-sāmantaṉum[8] Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmantaṉum viṇṇappam śeyya ippaḍi sandhivigrahi-

[1] Read aṉaittum.

[2] Read siṁhāsanattu.

[3] Read Rājēndra.

[4] Read chandam- as in ll. 9 and 13.

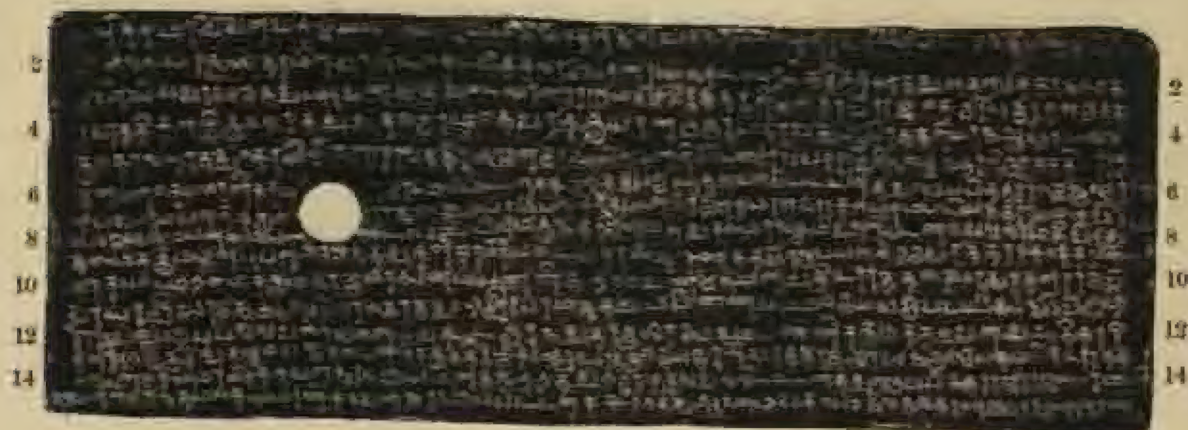
[5] The ī-sign of ḷi merges in the bottom curve of kū of paḷḷikkum in the previous line.

[6] Read Maṇipāḷam.

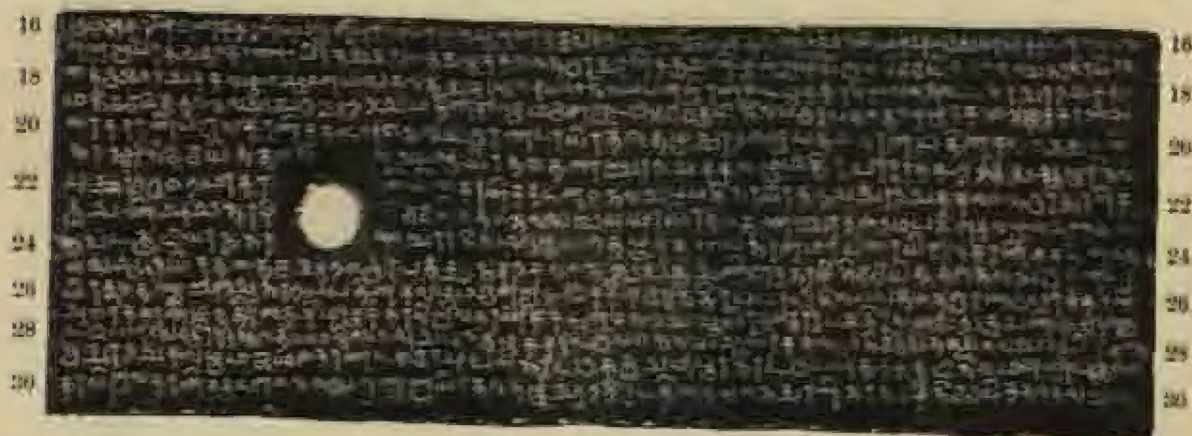
[7] Here dū looks like dava as the sign of length is separated from da.

[8] The letter ṉ at the end of the word is entered in smaller character at the right bottom of ṇu.

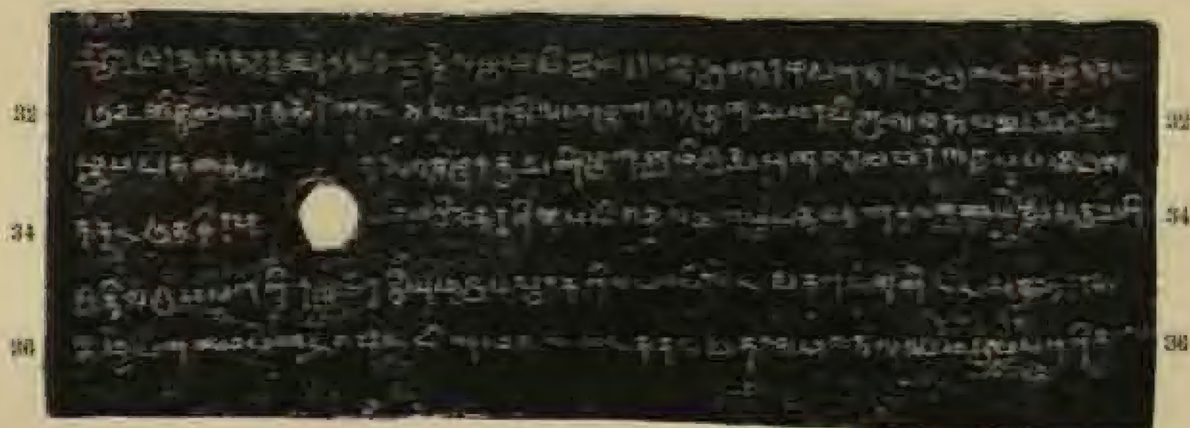
i.



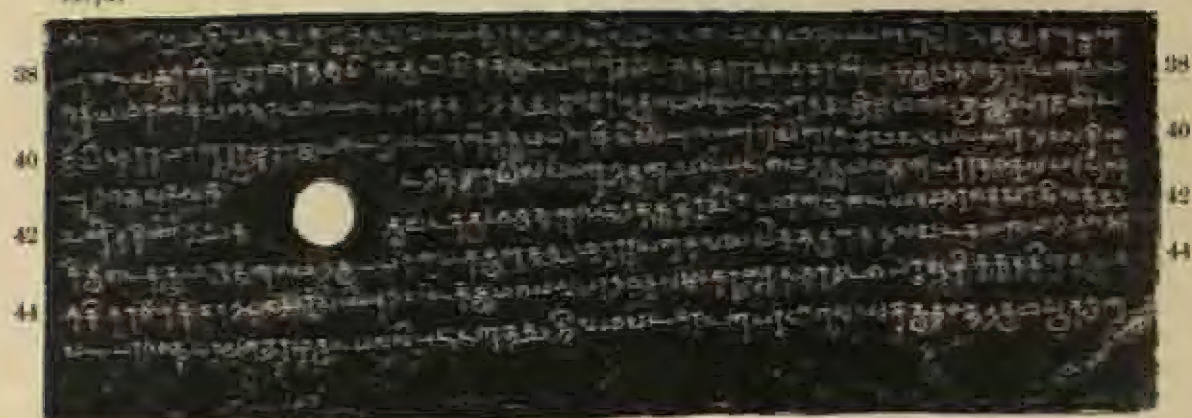
ii,a.



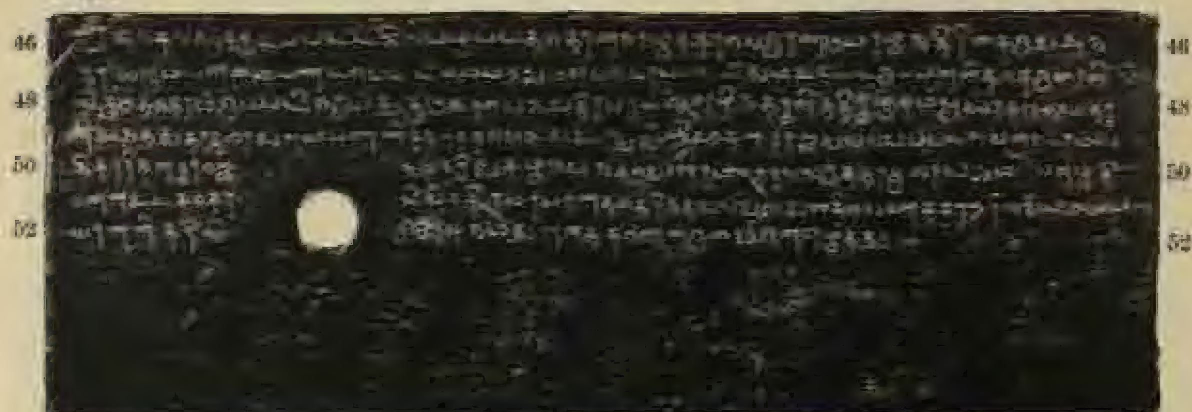
ii,b.



iii,a.



iii,b.



Seal.



Actual size. From a photograph.

12 Rājavallabha-pPallavaraiyaṉ-ōḍun-kūḍa irundu tāmra-śāsanam paṇṇi-kkuḍukkav-eṉṟu aḍikāṟ-

13 gaḷ [1]Rājēntrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷārkku-ttirumugam prasādañ-cheyd-aruḷi vara-ttāmra-śāsanañ-cheydapaḍi [|*] Kaḍāraṭṭa-

14 raiyaṉ Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāttu Paṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Śōḻakulavalli-paṭṭaṉattu eḍup-pitta Rājarāja-[p*]perum-pa[ḷ*]ḷi-

15 kku[2] paḷḷichchandam Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Āṉaimaṅgalam nilan-toṇṇūṟṟ-ēḻ[3] iraṇ-

Second Plate : First Side.

16 ḍu-mā-kkāṇi arai-kkāṇiyum muṉbuḍaiya kāṇi-āḷarai[4]-ttavira i-ppaḷḷi-chchaṅ-gattārkkē kāṇiy-āgavum idu kāṇi-kkaḍaṉ nellu

17 eṇṇ-āyirattu-ttoḷḷāyirattu nāṟpattu mu-kkalanē iru-tūṇi-kkuṟuṇi mu-ṉṉāḻiyiṉāl nichchayitta nellu nāl-āyirat-

18 t-aiññūṟṟu-kkalamum Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyam nilam paṉṉiraṇḍē muk-kāliṉāl nellu nāṉūṟṟu-kkala-

19 m nichchayitta nellu aiññūṟṟu-aṟupadiṉ kalamum i-ṉṉāṭṭu Muñjikuḍi nilam irubatt-ēḻē mukkālē mukkāṇi a-

20 rai-kkāṇiyiṉāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṉ nellu iraṇḍ-āyiratt-eḻu-nūṟṟ[5]-eḻubatt-oṉbadiṉ ka[la]ṉ[ē] tūṇi[6]

21 mā-nāḻi nichchayitta nellu āyiratt-eṇṇūṟṟu[7]-kkalamum [|*] Tiruvārūr-kkūṟṟattu Āmūr nila-

22 m nūṟṟ[8]-āṟē māgāṇiyil kāṇi-kkaḍaṉ nellu-[9]ppadināyiratt-aṟu-nūṟṟu-kkalanē iru-tūṇi-k-

23 kuṟuṇi aṟu-nāḻi [ni]chchayitta nellu aiyy-āyiratt-eṇṇūṟṟ-aimpadiṉ kalamum [|*] Aḷa-nāṭ-

24 ṭu Vaḍakuḍiy-āṉa Nāṇalūr nilam eḻupadē mukkālē nāṉ-māv-araiyiṉāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṉ ne-

25 llu āṟ-āyiratt-aiññūṟṟ-orupattu nāṟ-kalanē aiñ-kuṟuṇi oru-nāḻi nichchayitta nellu iraṇḍ-ā-

26 yiratt-eṇṇūṟṟu [10]nāṟppadiṉ-kalamum [|*] i-ṉṉāṭṭu-kKīḻchchandirappāḍi nilam pattē iraṇḍu-mā-kkāṇi

27 arai-kkāṇi mundirigai kīḻ-mukkāliṉāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṉ nellu āyiratt-orubatt-iru-kalanē[11] aiñ-kuṟuṇiyum [|*] i-ṉṉā-

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[1] Read *Rājēndra*.

[2] The engraver seems to have, in the first instance, omitted the word *paḷḷikku* and then inserted it in smaller characters (*paḷḷi* at the end of l. 14 and *kku* at the beginning of l. 15).

[3] The *ṟṟ* of *ṟṟē* is entered below the line in small characters.

[4] Read *kāṇi-āḷarai*.

[5] The *ṟ* of *ṟu* has been inserted in small character between *ṟ* and *ṟu*.

[6] The length of *tū* is unconnected with *ta*.

[7] The length of *ṇū* is separated from *ṇa*.

[8] The length of *nū* is separated from *na*.

[9] Cancel the first *p*.

[10] Read *nāṟpadiṉ*.

[11] *lanē* seems to be a correction.

28 ṭṭu-ppPālaiyūr brahmadēyam nilam arupadi[1] mukkāliṇāl nellu āyira-
kkalam nichchayitta nellu āyirattu-al-
29 ñūrru kalamum [|*] Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu-kKuṟumbār-nāṭṭu-pPuttakkuḍi nilam
onbatt-ē[l]ē[2]
30 kāliṇāl kāṛi-kkaḍaṉ nellu oṉ-āyiratt-eḻu-nūṟr-irupadiṉ-kalanē[3] ṭṟṟu nā-nāḷ
nichchayitta nellu ā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

31 [4]āṟ-āyiratt-oru-nūṟr-eḻu [5]kalamum Vijayarājēntraśōḷa[6]-vaḷanāṭṭu Iḍaikkaḷi-nāṭ-
32 ṭu Udaiyamā[r*]ttāṇḍanallūr nilam mūṉṟē mūṉṟu-māviṉāl nellu nāṟṟu-
33 muppatt-aiñ=kalanē mu-kkuruṇi mu-nāḻi idu puṉṉēy varumappaḍi iṟai-
34 kkaṭṭu-ttiruvāymoḻindaruḷiṉapaḍi nellu eḻupatt-oṉ-kalaṉ(n)ēy aiñ=kuṟuṇi
35 iḍḍi i-ppaḷḷikku=ppāḍiyum ivv-ūrgaḷil palā pāṭṭaṅgaḷ uḷḷiṭṭa aṇṭarāya-
36 mum paṭṭmai-paṇḍa-veṭṭiyum uṭpaḍa-kkaḍava kāśum nellum i-ppaḷḷik-

Third Plate ; First Side.

37 ku vēṇḍum nivantaṅgaḷukku iṟaippad-āga iṟaiy-ili iṭṭamaikkum [|*] i-ppaḷḷi-
chchandaṅgaḷ muṉ-
38 kuḷaiya[7] kāṇi-āḷarai[8]-ttavira-kkuḍi nīkki i-ppaḷḷi-chchaṅgattārkkē kāṇiy-
āga kuḍuttōm=eṉṟum
39 Guyamāṇikka[9]-vaḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭana-kkūṟattu-chChōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṉattu Śrī-Śailēndra-
Chūḍāmaṇiva
40 ṉmma-vihāram-āṉa Rājarājapperumpaḷḷikku-ppaḷḷi-nilaiyum paḷḷi-viḷāgamum uṭpa(ṭ)ṭa
ellai kīḻ-
41 pārk-ellai kaḍal-karaiyil maṇal-kuṉṟ=uṭpaḍa mēṟkum [|*] teṉpārk-ellai Puṉai-
42 ṉaḷ[b]-kkiṇaṟṟukku vaḍakkum iḍaṉ mērkku Tiruvīraṭṭāṉamuḍaiya-Mahādēvar
nilattu-
43 kku vaḍakkum idaṉ mēṟku-pPāravaikkuḷattu-Mārāyaṉ kallavitta kuḷattil
vaḍakarai mēṟku nō-
44 kki Kāraikkāṟ-pperuvaḻiy-eṉa vaḍakkum [|*] mēlpāṟk-ellai Kāraikkāṟ-pperuvaḻikku-
kkiḻakkum [|*]
45 vaḍapāṟk-ellai Śōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṉattu nilam Vaḍa-Kāḍuppāḍi ellaikku=tteṟkum [|*]
āga i-ṉ-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

46 nāṉg-ellaikk-uṭppaṭṭa[10] nilam muppatt-oṉṟē mukkālē kāṇḍu-mā mundiri-
gai idu an-

[1] The letter ḍ is inserted below ṟa.

[2] Ēṉpatu-il had been entered first and ē and ḷ inserted after in small characters.

[3] The initial letter ā had also been entered at the end of the previous line. Cancel one of the ā's.

[4] The letter ka is a correction from some other letter.

[5] Read Vijayarājēndra.

[6] The syllables kuḷaiya have been read as paḍaip in A. S. of S. I.

[7] Read kāṇiyāḷarai.

[8] The letter kka is written as a group, perhaps as an after thought, by raising the top stroke of ka.

[9] Read guṇa.

[10] Read uṭpaṭṭa.

47 tarāyamum paṇmai-paṇḍa-veṭṭiyum maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭaḍum uḷpaḍa i-ppaḷḷikkē iṟaiy-i-

48 li kuḍuttōm [|*] ippaḍi śeydu kuḍukkav-eṉṟu tiruvāymolindaruḷi-ttiru-mugam prasādañ-cheydaru-

49 ḷi vandadu [|*] tāmra-śāsanam paṇṇi-kkuḍukkav-eṉṟu sandhivigrahagaḷ[1] Rāja-vallava-pPallavaraiyarum a-

50 dikārigaḷ Rājēndrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷārum solla i-ttāmra-śāsanam eḻudi-

51 ṉēṉ Uṟkōḍi Vikramābharaṇa-tterinda-(vala) Valaṅgai[2]-vēḷaikkāraril Nilai-uḍaiya-Paṭṭaṉ[3]-

52 yāṉ Nigarilisōḻaṉ Madurāntakaṉēṉ ivai eṉ eḻuttu ||-

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 13) In the 20th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Bhuvana-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ on his lion throne, wearing the excellent crown of gems belonging to (*the family*), his disc of authority (*i.e.*, *sway*) extending in all directions, the goddess of fame (*growing in*) excellence, the goddess of victory becoming desirous, the goddess of the earth (*becoming*) bright and the goddess on the (*lotus*) flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmī) espousing (*him*), the *Villavar* (*i.e.*, the Chēra) becoming shattered, the *Mīnavar* (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya) becoming disestablished, and Vikkalaṉ (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI) and Śiṅgaṇaṉ (*i.e.*, Jayasiṁha) plunging into the Western ocean,

when he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch (*paḷḷippīṭham*) called Kāliṅgarājaṉ in the bathing hall within the palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulāntakapuram, the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram named Rājavidyādharaṇ-Śrī-Sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga-Śrī-Sāmanta having made the request that,

for having been exempted from the payment of (*the customary taxes*) inclusive of *antarāyam*, *viruttakai*, *paṇmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭi*, *kuḍimai*, and *śeṉṉīrvetti*, (*all*) the villages which were the *paḷḷichchandas* of Rājēndrachōḷapperumpaḷḷi and Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōḻakulavallippaṭṭaṉam in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, for removing the old *kāṇiyāḷars* who were holding the *kāṇis* of the *paḷḷichchandas* and for investing the *Saṅghattār* of the *paḷḷi* with those lands,

a copper-plate charter may be made and given,

a royal order having been issued (*with the approval of the king*) to the *adhikārin* Rājēndrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷār that (*he*) in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ should draw up a copper-plate charter to this effect,

the following is the copper-plate charter drawn up in pursuance of this order :—

(Ll. 13-30) Ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā* and one *kāṇi* and a half of land comprising Āṉai-maṅgalam in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, which formed the *paḷḷichchanda* of Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, erected at Śōḻakulavallipaṭṭaṉam in Paṭṭaṉa-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, have been removed from the possession of its old tenants and made the *kāṇi* of the *Saṅghattār* of the said *paḷḷi*. The *kāṇikkaḍaṉ* on this land is eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, one *kuṟuṇi* and three *nāḻi* of paddy ; and the *nichchayitta-nellu* on it is four thousand and five hundred *kalam* of paddy ;

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[1] Read *sandhivigrahikaḷ*. The *i*-sign has been inserted on *gr* instead of on *h*. The *A. R. of S. I.* adopts the correct reading in the text itself.

[2] The reading given in the *A. R. of S. I.* is *pala pala vagai* which gives no sense.

[3] The letters *l Nilai-uḍaiya-Paṭṭaṉ* at the end of this line are in smaller characters, the last letter being faintly engraved in the margin. The *A. R. of S. I.* has *uḍai*.

(the *kāṇikkaḍan*) on lands measuring twelve and three-fourths (*vēli*) in the *brahmadēya* of Āṇaimaṅgalam is four hundred *kalam* of paddy ; its *nichchayitta-nellu* is five hundred and sixty *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍan* on twenty-seven and three-fourths (*vēli*), three *kāṇi* and a half of land in Muñjikuḍi of this *nāḍu* is two thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine *kalam*, (*one*) *tūṇi* and four *nāḻi* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is one thousand and eight hundred *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍan* on one hundred and six (*vēli*) and one-sixteenth of land in Āmūr situated in Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam is ten thousand and six hundred *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, one *kuṟuṇi* and six *nāḻi* of paddy ; its *nichchayitta-nellu* is five thousand eight hundred and fifty *kalam*.

The kāṇikkaḍan on seventy and three-fourths (*vēli*), four *mā* and a half of land in Vaḍakuḍi *alias* Nāṇalūr situated in Aḷanāḍu is six thousand five hundred and fourteen *kalam*, five *kuṟuṇi* and (*one*) *nāḻi* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is two thousand eight hundred and forty *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍan* on ten (*vēli*), two *mā*, one *kāṇi* and a half, one *mundirigai*, and *kīḻ* three-fourths of land in Kīḻ-Chandirappāḍi of this *nāḍu* is one thousand and twelve *kalam* and five *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, and on sixty (*vēli*) and three-fourths of land in the *brahmadēya* of Pālaiyūr of this same *nāḍu* is one thousand *kalam* of paddy ; their *nichchayitta-nellu* is one thousand five hundred *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍan* on eighty-seven and one-fourth (*vēli*) of land in Puttakkuḍi of Kuṟumbūr-nāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-vaḷanāḍu is eight thousand seven hundred and twenty *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, and four *nāḻi* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is six thousand one hundred and seven *kalam*.

The paddy (*income*) on three (*vēli*) and three *mā* of land in Udayamārtāṇḍanallūr of Iḍaikkaḻi-nāḍu in Vijayarājēndrasōḷa-vaḷanāḍu is one hundred and thirty-five *kalam*, three *kuṟuṇi* and three *nāḻi*. The royal order fixing the income on this, according to the prevailing rate for dry lands, is seventy-eight *kalam* and five *kuṟuṇi* of paddy. Half of this shall be for this *paḷḷi*.

(Ll. 35-40) The several incomes of money and paddy inclusive of *antarāyam*, *pāṭṭam-paṇḍa-veṭṭi*, etc., arising from the above said villages have been assigned, free from taxes, to meet the expenses of this *paḷḷi*. Also, the *paḷḷichchandam* have been freed from their previous *kāṇiyāḷars*, have their tenants removed and have been given by us to the *Saṅgattār* of this *paḷḷi* as their *kāṇi*. The boundaries of the site and the surrounding ground of the glorious Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra *alias* Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi at Śōḷakulavallippaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a subdivision*) of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu are :—

(Ll. 40-52) The eastern boundary is to the west of Sand-hill on the sea-shore.

The southern boundary is to the north of the well called Pugaiyuṇṇi and also to the north of the land belonging to the Tiruvīraṭṭāṇamuḍaiya-Mahādēva situated to the west of this (*i.e.*, the above said well) as well as to the west of the high road to Kāraikkāl which proceeds westward from the north bank of the tank dug out by Mārāyan at Paṭavaikkuḷam to the west of this (*i.e.*, the land of the Mahādēva).

The western boundary is to the east of the high road to Kāraikkāl.

The northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of the land called Vaḷa-Kāḍappāḍi in Śōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṇam.

The land situated within these four boundaries measure thirty-one and three-fourths *vēli*, two *mā* and one *mundirigai* in extent. And this land has also been given by us free of all taxes to this *paḷḷi* inclusive of the *antarāyam*, *pāṭṭam-paṇḍa-veṭṭi* and all other (*pāṭṭams*). This has been made in accordance with the royal order issued to us embodying the declaration of the king.

On the direction of the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyaṉ and the *adhikārin* Rājēndrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, this copper-(plate) edict was written by the *Nilaiyuḍaiya-Paṇaiyāḷ*[1] Nigariliśōḷaṉ Madhurāntakaṉ, one of the Vikramābharaṇa-teriṇḍa-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāraṉ of Uṭkōḍi; this is my signature.

No. 36.—NOTE ON THE SAILENDRA KINGS[2] MENTIONED IN THE LEIDEN PLATES.

BY PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., DACCA.

The Larger Leiden Plates of Rājarāja I contain references to two Śailēndra kings, *viz.*, Chūḷāmaṇivarman and his son Śrī-Māravijayōttuṅgavarman. The Śailēndra dynasty is known to have ruled over Malay Peninsula and Java towards the close of the eighth century A.D. An inscription found at Ligor[3] in Malay Peninsula refers to a Śailēndra king named Śrī-Mahārāja, and he had, perhaps, also the personal name Vishṇu. There is internal evidence to show that this inscription is somewhat later than A.D. 775. An inscription found at Kalasan,[4] in Java, dated A.D. 778, refers to the building of a temple of Tārā by *Mahārāja* Panaṁkaraṇa, the ornament of the Śailēndra dynasty. The temple is undoubtedly the famous Chaṇḍi Kalasan, one of the finest temples in Java. Another inscription found at Kelurak[5], in the neighbourhood of the same locality, mentions a Śailēndra king Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanañjaya and refers to the setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī by the royal preceptor Kumāraghōsha, a resident of Gauḍa (*Gauḍī-dvīpa-guru*).

Arab writers, from the ninth century onwards, refer to the empire of Zābag or Zābaj, ruled over by the Mahārāja. There is no doubt that under this name they refer to the empire of the Śailēndras, which now extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia (Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula), including the famous kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra. There are reasons to believe that for some time this empire also exercised some sort of suzerainty over Kāmbōja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

There can be hardly any doubt that the empire of the Śailēndras, referred to as Zābag by Arab writers, is the same as the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i, referred to in the Chinese Annals from the tenth century onwards.[6]

The Chinese annals refer to no less than twelve embassies sent from San-fo-ts'i to China during the tenth century A.D. The first two embassies during the eleventh century A.D. are

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[1] The expression *Nilaiyuḍaiya-Paṇaiyāḷ* might indicate a "profession, office or calling". Its exact meaning is not clear to me and it is therefore left untranslated.

[2] Much has been recently written in French and Dutch journals and books about the Śailēndras. The following note is intended merely to give a very brief outline of their history so far as it is necessary to elucidate the Leiden Plates. For fuller discussion of their history and reference to recent authorities the reader may consult the following articles of mine:—(1) Les Rois Śailēndra de Suvarṇadvīpa, *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 121-141. (2) The Śailēndra Empire, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I, pp. 11-27. (3) The struggle between the Śailēndras and the Chōḷas, *Ibid.*, pp. 79-91. (4) Decline and Fall of the Śailēndra Empire, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 12-24. Reference may also be made to the following article by Dr. G. Coedès:—(5) On the origin of the Śailēndras of Indonesia, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 61-70.

[3] *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, App. I, pp. 29ff.; *J.A.S.B.*, *Letters*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 20ff.

[4] *T. B. G.*, Vol. 68 (1928), pp. 57ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 1ff.

[6] The Arab and Chinese accounts are collected by Ferrand, *J. A.*, 11-XX, pp. 1ff. They are also quoted in articles Nos. 1-4 mentioned in f. n. 2 above.

of special interest from the point of view of this inscription, and we therefore give short details of them on the authority of the *History of the Sung Dynasty*.

"In the year 1003 A.D., the king Sseu-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiau-hua sent two envoys to bring tribute."

"In the year 1008 A.D., the king Ssu-li-ma-lo-p'i sent three envoys to present tribute."

Dr. Coedès was the first to point out[1] that the first royal name is a Chinese rendering of Śrī-Chūḷāmaṇivarman, and the second is equivalent to Śrī-Māravi......, the first part of the name of his successor Śrī-Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, referred to in the Larger Leiden Plates. This identification has been universally accepted, and has served to clear up the history of the Śailēndras in many respects.

The Larger Plates refer to the Śailēndra kings as follows:—

(1) *Śailēndra-vaṁśa-sambhūtēna Śrīvishay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam-ātanvatā*...... (Sanskrit portion ll. 80-81).

(2-3) *Kaṭāh-ādhipati* (*Ibid.*, ll.90, 100).

(4) *Kiḍārattaraiyan* (Tamil portion l.63.

(5-6) *Kaḍārattaraiyan* (*Ibid.*, ll.13, 200).

It would thus appear that the Śailēndra kings are referred to as kings of Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra, or Kiḍāra, these three being variants of the same place-name. This place has been identified with Keddah in the Malay Peninsula.

Now, in the first passage the king is also called lord of Śrī-Vishaya, which is no doubt the same as Śrī-Vijaya, a kingdom in Sumatra[2] which, as we have noted above, was included in the empire of the Śailēndras. The expression immediately following viz., *Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam-ātanvatā* means, in my opinion, 'who extended the suzerainty (i.e., the kingdom) of Kaṭāha'. The learned Editor of the Plates has translated the passage as "who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha". But the primary meaning of the Sanskrit root 'tan' is to 'spread', 'extend' etc., and I see no reason to reject it in this case.

If we accept the normal meaning of the expression, and remember that in all other cases, five in number, the king is simply referred to as king of Kaṭāha (var. Kaḍāra, Kiḍāra), no doubt remains that the Śailēndras, according at least to the writers of this inscription, were originally rulers of Kaṭāha, and then extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The great importance of this point will be obvious to any one who is familiar with the current controversy about the original home-land of the Śailēndras. Dr. Coedès first suggested that the Śailēndras were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya, and this view was subsequently regarded as an established fact. Some time ago I demonstrated the weakness of the reasoning on which this theory was based, and Dr. Coedès has now frankly accepted my view. He states that 'it is impossible, according to sound methods, to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī-Vijaya belonged to the Śailēndra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī-Vijaya.'[3]

[1] *B. E. F. E.-O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, p. 7.

[2] This is the general view. Recently Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales has suggested that Śrī-Vijaya might be the name of a kingdom in Malay Peninsula itself. He has drawn attention to the fact that "one of the most important ancient sites in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula is still called Chaiya (i.e., Jaya, a shortened form of Vijaya), and not far to the south is situated Śrī-Vijaya Hill". *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

[3] See articles mentioned in p. 281, n. 2. That the Śailēndras ruled over Śrī-Vijaya as early as the tenth century A.D. is proved by Arab records, if we regard Zābag as denoting the Śailēndra empire. To this extent, Dr. Coedès' statement requires modification.

As noted above, the evidence of the Leiden Plates fully supports the view that the Śailēndra kings were rulers of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra (var. Kiḍāra) and subsequently extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The Chinese references to the two embassies from San-fo-ts'i quoted above, taken along with the data supplied by the Plates, leave no doubt that king Chūḷāmaṇivarman died sometime between A.D. 1005 and 1008. The fact that although the formal grant in the Tamil portion was drawn up in the 23rd year of Rājarāja I, yet mention is only made of Chūḷāmaṇivarman and not his son, might be taken to indicate that the former died in A.D. 1007-8. But this is somewhat problematical. In any case Chūḷāmaṇivarman died shortly after A.D. 1005 and this explains the discrepancy noted by the Editor on pp. 228-29 above. It is obvious that soon after the Grant was made in A.D. 1006 by Rājarāja I, and while the construction of the Vihāra was still in progress, king Chūḷāmaṇivarman died, and the work begun by him was completed by his son and successor.

The learned Editor has discussed at length the problem 'how the ruler of Kaṭāha came to erect a Buddhist Vihāra at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōḷa dominion, and how the powerful Chōḷa king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it' (p. 230 above).

The early history of the Śailēndras and the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla of the year 39[1] offer an easy solution to this problem.

It is most likely that the Śailēndra dynasty originally migrated from India; there is at least no doubt that they kept up an intimate intercourse with India and received their religious inspiration from this country. We learn from Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing that even as early as the seventh century A.D. there was a regular religious intercourse between India and Malayasia. The Kalasak inscription, mentioned above, shows that the *guru* or preceptor of the Śailēndra kings in A.D. 778, was a resident of Gauḍa (Bengal). About the middle of the ninth century A.D. the Śailēndra king established a Vihāra at Nālandā, and at his request king Dēvapāla of Bengal granted five villages for its upkeep. The Leiden Plates obviously describe a transaction which is exactly similar to what we find in the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla, and, as in this charter, the villages must have been granted by Rājarāja at the request of the Śailēndra king. In the Smaller Leiden Plates also, we find that at the express request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys, the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga exempted these villages from taxes. In the Larger Leiden Plates there is no express mention of this request, but such a request must be presumed, not only on the above analogies, but also from verse 38 of the Sanskrit portion, which may be rendered into English as follows: "This lord of Kaṭāha......thus prays to all future kings:—'protect (ye) for ever this my charity'". The reference to the grant as 'my charity' can only be taken to mean that it was at his request, and on his behalf, that the village was granted by the Chōḷa king. The two persons who composed and executed the edict are mentioned in vv. 39-42, and it is not clear whether their master (*tasya nṛipasya* i.e., 'of that king'), mentioned in v. 40, refers to the Chōḷa king or king of Kaṭāha. But the verses 43-44 definitely say that 'at the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Tuvavīravāṇ Aṇukkaṉ caused to be made (*this*)

[1] Above Vol. XVII, p. 310. The Editor of this inscription has added some notes on "the evasive race of the Śailēndras" (p. 317). But they are neither adequate nor accurate. His statement that the Śailēndras ruled over Sumatra and Java in the seventh century A.D. (p. 318) is not warranted by any evidence known to me. His other remarks need not be discussed here in detail, but the readers are referred to the articles mentioned in p. 281 n. 2 for a general review of the subject. I may note that he pointed out the resemblance between the Nālandā Charter and the Leiden Plates, and took the word '*ăsevañ*' in this inscription in the sense in which I have taken it.

lasting edict'. As the composers and engravers are separately mentioned by name, it is not clear what exact part this person played. But it proves that the lord of Kaṭāha was an interested party in the transaction.

The learned Editor has discussed at length various possible relations, friendly or hostile, between the Chōḷa king and the ruler of Kaṭāha at the time of the grant (p. 230 above). There can be no doubt that the relation of the Śailēndras and Chōḷas was friendly, not only at the time when the grant was first made, but also when the deed was actually executed, early in the reign of Rājēndra Chōḷa. But soon hostility broke out, and there was a prolonged warfare between the two. The first reference to this hostility is contained in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates dated in the sixth year of Rājēndra Chōḷa. From these we learn that the Chōḷa army crossed the seas and conquered Kaṭāha.[1] The Malur inscription of Rājēndra Chōḷa, dated in the thirteenth year, gives a detailed account of his conquest of Kaḍāra and various dominions included in the Śailēndra empire. These details are repeated in other charters of Rājēndra Chōḷa dated in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd, and 27th years of his reign, and some other inscriptions represent him as burning Kaṭāha and ruling over Kaḍāra. There is thus clear evidence that Rājēndra Chōḷa conquered the Śailēndra empire in or before his 13th regnal year, and that hostilities had probably begun as early as the sixth year. The views of the learned Editor of the Plates that the conquest of Kaṭāha is described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards (p. 230) does not appear to be accurate.

The war between the two kingdoms continued during the reigns of Vīra-Rājēndra and Kulōttuṅga. The former is said to have conquered the kingdom of Kaḍāra, but he gave it back to its king who worshipped his feet.[2]

But the Smaller Leiden Plates show that peace and amity were again established between the two powers by A.D. 1089-90. As already stated above, these Plates inform us that at the request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga Sāmanta, Kulōttuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted by the Larger Leiden Plates. Thus diplomatic relations were again established, and friendly feelings revived, after a struggle of more than half a century during the interval between the two Leiden Charters.

In conclusion, we may refer to a point on which these Plates throw interesting light. Line 81 of the Sanskrit portion refers to the king of Kaṭāha as 'Makara-dhvaja'. Makara, which is a conventional representation of an animal with the body of a fish and the head of an elephant, forms one of the most well-known decorative ornaments in Javanese architecture. The adoption of Makara as the emblem of royal banner by the Śailēndras may explain its frequent occurrence in Javanese architecture.

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[1] The reliability of the inscription, in this respect, has been doubted. I have fully discussed this point in the article No. 2 mentioned in p. 281 n. 2.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 202. This inscription, among others, disproves the statement of the Editor of the Nālandā Charter that "in the documents, known at present, these Śailēndras or the rulers of Śrī-Vijaya are nowhere mentioned as the feudatories of the Chōlas". (Above, Vol. XVII, p. 313).

No. 37.—CHIRAVA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SAMARASIMHA OF MEWAR ; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1330.

By R. R. Halder, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

This inscription was first edited in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 ff. without any notes on historical persons and places mentioned therein. In order to bring out the importance of the inscription historically, I re-edit it in English from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer.

The stone containing this inscription is now fixed outside the door of a new temple at **Chīravā**, a village situated about eight miles to the north of Udaipur in Mewār.

The record consists of thirty-six lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1′ 9″ × 1′ 8″. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period.

The **language** is Sanskrit and excepting a few words in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse.

The inscription commences with the usual eulogy of the god Yōgēśvara and the goddess Yōgēśvarī (Vv. 1—2). Verse 3 says that in ancient times there was the king **Bappaka** in the family of the sons of Guhila (*i.e.*, Guhilot clan). After many kings came **Padmasiṁha**, who was like a jewel among men (V. 4). Verse 5 speaks of his son **Jaitrasiṁha**, who was like the wind of destruction to other great kings. In verse 6, we are informed that neither the kings of Mālava (Mālwā), Gurjara (Gujarāt), Mārava (Mārwār) and Jāṅgala, nor the ruler of the *mlēchchhas* (Muhammadans) could humble his pride. His (Jaitrasiṁha's) son was **Tējaḥsiṁha**, a devotee of Śiva, whose son was **Samarasiṁha**, an exceedingly brave and dutiful king then living (Vv. 7-8). The text then turns to another family, which rendered conspicuous services to the kings of Mewār. Verses 9-12 state that in the Ṭāṁjaraḍa family, there was a man named Uddharaṇa who being able to protect the good and punish the wicked was made the *Talārakshaka* of **Nāgadrahapura** (Nāgdā) by the king **Mathanasiṁha**; and who had eight sons, the eldest of whom was Yōgarāja who in turn was made the *Talāra* in the same city by the king Padmasiṁha. His (Yōgarāja's) younger brother was Raṭabhū, whose son was Kēlhaṇa. Kēlhaṇa's son was Udayī, whose son was Karmaṇa (Vv. 13-14). Yōgarāja had four sons, namely, Pamarāja, Mahēndra, Champaka and Kshēma, of whom Pamarāja was killed fighting with the army of **Suratrāṇa** (Sulṭān) near **Bhūtālā**, while **Nāgadrahapura** was destroyed (Vv. 15-16). Verse 17 speaks of Mahēndra having three sons named Bālā (Bālāka), Āhlādana and Vayaja. Bālāka's son was Pēthaka, whose son was Sāmanta, a worshipper of Vishṇu (V. 18). In verse 19 we are told that while **Kōṭṭaḍaka** was being taken and a battle with **Rāṇā Tribhuvana** was being fought, Bālāka was killed fighting in front of the king Jaitrasiṁha. His clever wife Bhōlī, being unable to bear the pains of separation of her husband, became *satī* (V. 20). Champaka had a son named Rājasiṁha who had a son called Rāmasiṁha whose son was Bhachuṇḍa (V. 21). Verse 22 informs us that, through the favour of the king Jaitrasiṁha, Kshēma secured the post of *Talārakshaka* of **Chitrakūṭa** (Chitor). From his guileless wife Hīrū he had a son named Ratna who was killed along with **Bhīmasiṁha** in a battle fought at the foot of the fortress of Chitor. Ratna's son was Lālā and brother was Madana. The latter proved his valour in the battlefield of **Utthūṇaka**, while fighting with *Pañchalaguḍika* **Jaitramalla** in the cause of the king **Jēsala** (Vv. 23-28). Verse 29 says that Bhīmasiṁha's son Rājasiṁha on being made a minister, paid him (Madana) much respect. Through the favour of the king **Samarasiṁha**, he (Madana) succeeded his father in the post of *Talārakshaka* of Chitor, where he worshipped Śiva in the temple of **Tribhuvananārāyaṇa** built by the king **Bhōja** (Vv. 30-31). Madana's son was Mōhana (V. 32). The

text of the record again changes here and describes the village **Chirakūpa** (*i.e.*, Chiravā where the inscription is found). Verses 34-40 tell us that, surrounded by hills and beautiful sights, the village Chirakūpa is situated near Nāgahrada and was given as a gift by the king Padmasiṁha to Yōgarāja serving in his army. The latter built there the temples of *Yōgēśvara* and *Yōgēśvarī*, which were restored later on by Madana, who granted some land near the lake **Kālēlāya** (Kālēlā) for the maintenance of those temples. Another beautiful temple of Vishṇu called Uddharaṇasvāmī had formerly been built there by Uddharaṇa (V. 37). In verses 41-42, Vayarāka, Pātāka, Muṇḍa, Bhuvaṇa, Tēja, Sāmanta, Ariyāputra, Madana and their descendants are urged to preserve the grant fully.) Then follows the description of the Jain *Āchāryas*, who flourished at that place (Chitor). Verse 44 says that there was at the head of the Pāśupata sect Śivarāśi, who possessed many good qualities and worshipped the (god) Ēkaliṅga. After him Bhadrēśvarasūri of the Chaitra-*gachchha*, Dēvabhadrasūri, Siddhasēnasūri, Jinēśvarasūri, his pupil Vijayasiṁhasūri, Bhuvanachandrasūri, his pupil **Ratnaprabhasūri**, then living, followed in succession (Vv. 45-47). The last-named was highly honoured by **Viśvaladēva** and Tējaḥsiṁha, and composed this *praśasti* at Chitor (V. 48). The name of the writer of this record is given as **Pārśvachandra**, who was the pupil of Ratnaprabhasūri, while that of the engraver was **Kēlisiṁha**, son of Padmasiṁha. **Dēlhaṇa** was the artisan, who did other things connected with it (Vv. 49-50). At the end, the **date** is given as [Friday], the first day of the bright half of *Kārttika*, Saṁvat 1330, corresponding to Friday, the 13th October 1273 A.D.

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, the name **Bappaka** (V. 3), which seems to be a personal title and not an individual name, refers to the Guhila ruler of Mewār, also known as Bappa,[1] Vappaka,[2] Bāshpa,[3] Bappāka,[4] Bāppa,[5] Bāpā,[6] etc. In the inscription[7] of Naravāhana, dated V. S. 1028 (A.D. 971) he is said to be like a moon among the kings of the Guhila family and a jewel on this earth. He is said to have ruled for some time at Nāgdā, the old capital of Mewār and then taken the fortress of Chitor from the Mori king Māna.[8] The inscription[9] dated V. S. 770 (A.D. 713) shows that Chitor was in the possession of the Mori dynasty till that year, so that Bappaka (Bāpā) must have taken it after that date. According to the *Ēkaliṅga Māhātmya*, also called *Ēkaliṅga Purāṇa* of the time of *Rāṇā* Rāyamala, he is said to have abdicated in favour of his son in V. S. 810 (A.D. 753).[10] This shows that he was the master of Chitor for about 40 years from V. S. 770 to 810 (A.D. 713-753). The accession of Bāpā, according to Col. Tod, also falls within this period.[11]

This date of Bāpā helps in his identification. In the inscriptions of Rāṇapur,[12] Ābu[13] and Chitor,[14] dated Saṁvat 1496, 1342 and 1331 respectively (in which the genealogy of the Mewār

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347, verse 10.

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

[3] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 118, verse 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 141. Inscription dated V. S. 1557 of the time of *Mahārāṇā* Rāyamala of Mewār.

[5] [illegible] etc. *Ēkaliṅga Māhātmya* (Manuscript, dated V. S. 1738) of the time of *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār.

[6] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 123.

[7] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

[8] Tod's *Rajasthan* (Ed. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 268. *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1917-18, p. 3.

[9] Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 919, Appendix No. 3.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 190.

[11] Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 260.

[12] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1907-8, p. 214.

[13] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347.

[14] *Cunningham A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX, v. 3.

rulers is not complete) he is designated as father of Guhila which is evidently wrong. In the Kumbhalgarh[1] inscription, dated V. S. 1517 he is placed fifth from Guhila which seems also to be wrong, for in the Āṭapur[2] inscription, dated Saṁvat 1034 which is earlier than the Kumbhalgarh inscription and in which the genealogy of the early rulers of Mewār is complete and correct, this (fifth) place is occupied by Śīla, although there is no mention of the name of Bāpā in it. Thus Śīla of the Āṭapur inscription is Bappa of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, so that Bappa or Bāpā may be identified with Śīla (Śīlāditya). But, the discovery of Śīlāditya's inscription,[3] dated V. S. 703, and of his son[4] Aparājita, dated V. S. 718, annuls this identification of Bāpā with Śīla; there being a difference of about 70 years between this date of Śīla and that of Bāpā specified above. In the Āṭapur inscription, after Aparājita, come the names of Mahēndra, Kālabhōja and Khummāṇa in succession. In Rājputānā Khummāṇa is said to be the son of Bāpā,[5] i.e., Bāpā was the father of Khummāṇa and hence he is to be identified with Kālabhōja, who is mentioned in all the above-named inscriptions.[6] The date of Bāpā according to this assumption will not differ much from that of Kālabhōja, if an average rule of 25 years be assigned to each of the preceding rulers Aparājita and Mahēndra (II).

Jaitrasiṁha (V. 5) was one of the most powerful kings of Mewār. He is also known by the names Jayatala,[7] Jayasiṁha,[8] Jayatasiṁha[9] and Jaitsī.[10] His name is not mentioned by Col. Tod in his *Rajasthan*. He was the grand-father of Samarasiṁha, to whose time the present record belongs. He fought many battles with the Sulṭāns of Delhi, Gujarāt, Mālwā and the rulers of Mārwār, Jāṅgala and Sind.[11] The inscriptions of his time show that he ruled at least for 39 years. **Tējaḥsiṁha** (V. 7) was the son and successor of Jaitrasiṁha and ascended the throne between Saṁvat 1309[12] and 1317[13] (A.D. 1253 and 1261). During his time Mewār seems to have been attacked by Vīsaladēva, the Bāghēla *Rāṇā* of Dhōlkā, who afterwards became the ruler of Gujarāt.[14] He died between Saṁvat 1324 and 1330 (A.D. 1267 and 1273). Much is already known about **Samarasiṁha** (V. 8), who succeeded his father Tējaḥsiṁha about Saṁvat 1330 (A.D. 1273). He seems to have protected Gujarāt when it was attacked by the Muhammadans[15] (Sulṭān of Delhi, most probably Ghiyāsuddin Balban, A.D. 1265-1287).[16] He also protected the Mewār country when Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alāuddīn, started from Delhi for Gujarāt.[17] The inscriptions of his time range from Samvat 1330 to 1358[18] (A.D. 1274 to 1301). There is nothing worth mentioning about **Padmasiṁha** (V. 4) and **Mathanasiṁha** (V. 10) except that they followed in succession on the throne of Mewār and were the father and grand-father respectively of *Rāval*

[1] Noted in *P.R.A.S., W.C.*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2214.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187.

[3] Above, Vol. XX, p. 97.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 168, notes 26 and 27. Also Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 230, n. 2.

[6] He has been identified with Khummāṇa I (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 190).

[7] *Hammīramadamardana* of Jayasiṁhasūri, p. 27.

[8] *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1924-25, p. 2, No. III.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 2, No. II.

[10] In bardic chronicles.

[11] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 31-33.

[12] This is the date of the last manuscript of Jaitrasiṁha's time.

[13] This is the date of the first manuscript of Tējaḥsiṁha's time.

[14] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 210, plate I, l. 4 and Vol. LIX, p. 168.

[15] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 350, V. 46.

[16] Edward Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 7.

[17] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 194-95.

[18] *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4, No. VIII.

Jaitrasimha of Mewāṛ, who is mentioned in verse 5 of this record, and who is called Jesala in v. 28 of the same.

Rāṇā **Tribhuvana** (V. 19) was the king of Gujarāt after Bhīmadēva II and was the contemporary of *Rāwal* Jaitrasimha of Mewāṛ.[1]

Bhimasimha (V. 20) appears to have been the minister[2] of Jaitrasimha and was killed in the fight, most probably fought between Tējasimha of Mewāṛ and Vīsaladēva of Gujarāt.[3]

Suratrāṇa (V. 16) refers to the Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn Altamsh of Delhi, who had attacked Mewāṛ and destroyed Nāgdā, its old capital.[4]

Jaitramalla (V. 28) was the Paramāra king Jayatuṅgidēva of Mālwā.[5]

Bhōjarāja (V. 31) was evidently the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Mālwā. He lived for sometime at Chitor and built there a temple of Śiva, which is now called Adbadji or Mōkalji's temple.[6]

Tribhuvananārāyaṇa (V. 31) was the name of the temple as well as the title of the king Bhōja who built it. It was also called **Bhōjasvāmījagati**.[7]

Visvaladēva (V. 48) was evidently Vīsaladēva, the younger son of Vīradhavala, the Bāghēla ruler of Dhōlkā. He became the *Rāṇā* after the death of his father in Saṁvat 1294 (A.D. 1238) and in Saṁvat 1300 (A.D. 1243) usurped the throne of Gujarāt after deposing its ruler Tribhuvana (Tribhuvanapāla) referred to in v. 19 of this inscription.[8]

As to the **places** mentioned in this record, **Chīrakūpa** (V. 24) is the present village of Chīrwā, about 8 miles north of Udaipur. **Nāgadraha** or **Nāgahrada** (Vv. 10 and 12 respectively) is now called Nāgdā and was the old Capital of Mewāṛ. **Bhūtālā** (V. 16) is a village about twelve miles from Nāgdā. **Koṭṭaḍaka** (V. 19) is the village of Koṭṛā, one of the military stations in Mewāṛ. **Utthūṇaka** (V. 28) is the village of Arthūṇā in the Bānswāṛā State in Rājputānā.

TEXT

Metres :—Vv. 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 42, 44, 45, 47 and 48 *Āryā* ; vv. 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 22, 25, 32, 37, 49, 50 and 51 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 1, 4, 5, 6, 26, 34 and 36 *Upajāti* ; vv. 7, 38, 39, 40 and 43 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 41 and 46 *Gīti* ; v. 2 *Indravajrā* ; v. 3 *Vaitālīya* ; v. 8 *Mālinī* ; v. 21 *Rathōddhatā* ; v. 24 *Vasantatilakā* and v. 35 *Indravaṁśā*.

1 सिद्धम् ॥ ओं नमः श्रीमहादेवाय ॥ योगेशराजेश्वरनामधेयो देवो कृपांकः स शिवाय वोस्तु । स्तुतः सदा यः प्रमदाप्रसन्नः किं किं प्रभुत्वं न ददाति सद्यः ॥

2 १ योगेश्वरी वो भवतु प्रसन्ना देवी स्वभावानवमप्रभावा । यद्ध्यानसंसाधनलीन-चित्तैर्योगींद्रवृंदैरभिवंदितांघ्रिः ॥२ गुहिलांगजवंशजः पुरा क्षितिपा-

3 लोत्र बभूव बप्पकः । प्रथमः परिपंथिपार्थिवध्वजिनीध्वंसनजातसाहसः ॥३ ब(व)सु-धातलेषु महीधरेषु श्रीपद्मसिंहः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । सर्व्वांगबद्ध्य यसवाप्य ल-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.

[2] His son Rājasimha was also made a minister, as is clear from v. 29 of this record.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 186.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. LVII, p. 32.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. LIX, p. 163-4.

[7] *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4.

[8] Duff's *Chronology*, p. 189.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

4 श्रीमत्कौ विद्यायामिरतां महोत्रां ॥४ योजैत्रसिंहस्तनुजोस्य जातोभिजातिभूभृद्-भयानिलाभः । सर्व्वत्र येन स्फुरता न केषां चित्तानि कंपं गमितानि

5 सद्यः ॥५ न मालवीयेन न गौर्जरेण न मारवेशेन न जांगलेन । म्लेच्छाधिनाथेन कदापि मानो म्लानिं न निन्येवनिपस्य यस्य ॥६ तेजःसिंह इलापतिः

6 समभवत्तस्मात्तज्जन्मा नयी चातुर्योच्चयवंचिताचुलचधूर्त्तप्रपंचोदयः । चंचच्चंद्रमरीचिचक्रचिरचाचारो विचारांचितं चित्तं न्यंचितचापलं च रचयन् श्रीचंद्रचूडार्चने ॥

7 ७ तदनु च तनुजन्मा तस्य कल्याणजन्मा जयति समरसिंहः गन्धसंज्ञारसिंहः । क्षितिपतिगतिभूतचंद्रमौलीन्दुपूरः स्वचितविचितकर्मा त्व(त्र)वसवर्ग्मसर्म्मा ॥८ इतश्च ॥ जात-

8 टांटरडज्ञातौ पूर्व्वमुद्धरणाभिधः । पुमानुमापियोपास्तिसंपन्नशुभवैभवः ॥९ यं दुष्ट-शिष्टशिक्षारक्षणदक्षतत्परं । श्रीमत्तनसिंहनृपतिश्चकार नागद्रहद्रंगे ॥१०

9 अष्टावस्य विशिष्टाः पुत्रा अभवन्विवेकसुपवित्राः । तेषु व(ब)भूव प्रथमः प्रथितयशा योगराज इति ॥११ श्रीपद्मसिंहभूपालाद्योगराजस्तलारतां । नागद्रहपुरे प्राप पौरप्री-

10 तिप्रदायकः ॥१२ बभूवात्मजस्तस्य रत्नभूरिति विश्रुतः । केल्हणस्तनयोमुष्य मुख्यः पौरुषशालिनां ॥१३ उदयीत्याख्यया ख्यातस्तत्सुतो विततोदयी । अभूत्तातस्तत्पुत्रः कर्मणः

11 मद्रः धर्मगः ॥१४ योगराजस्य चत्वारश्चतुरा जज्ञिरेंगजाः । पद्मराजो महेंद्रोथ चंपकः क्षेम इत्यमी ॥१५ नागद्रहपुरभंगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्युद्धा । भूता-लाकनकुटे

12 पद्मराजः पंचतां प्राप ॥१६ वा(बा)लाक्कादनवद्यजा महेंद्रतनुजास्ययत्तजायेत । मर्यालिनयपरापराजयजानलया विहितदीनदया ॥१७ बालाकस्यांगजो जातः पेथाको वि-

13 नम[य]न: । सुतोभूत्तस्य सामंतोऽमंतोषाक्तौ क्षतोद्यमः ॥१८ ख्याताक: कोट[ड]क-महण श्रीजैत्रसिंहनृपपुरतः । त्रिभुवनराणकयुद्धे जगाम युद्धा परं लोकं ॥१९ तद्वि-

14 रहमसहमाना सोप्यपि नाम्नादिमा चिदस्यानां । दत्त्वा दत्ते देवं तद्रायोयां तमन्वगमत् ॥२० चंपकस्य सुधीः स्वभावतो राजसिंह इति नंदनोभवत् । राजसिंहस्य स प्रसूत-

15 वान् सोमलिङ्ग च भवंडसंगतं ॥२१ येनमु निर्मितचेमचित्रकूटे तत्रागतां । राज्ञः श्रीजैत्रसिंहस्य प्रसादादापदुत्तमात् ॥२२ होकविति प्रसिद्धा प्रतिपिदार्लोलिंदुर्मि-निरमुक्त ।

16 जाया तस्यामथाजायत तनुजस्तयो रत्नः ॥२३ रत्नानि संति सगुणानि तडन्यपोत्र स्यातानि यस्तदधिको विदपे न धाचा । पुंस्त्वाधिरोपणगुणेन गतोयमोत्र रत्नः स के-

17 न समतां समुपैति यत्नः ॥२४ रत्नस्य सूनुरनून्नप्रथमागमोस्ति मानिषु । नाला-नामा चनश्यामा प्रवराचारशीचवान् ॥२५ विक्रांतरत्नं समरेष रत्नः सपत्नसंहार-

18 कृतप्रयत्नः । श्रीचित्रकूटस्य तलाहिकायां श्रीभीमसिंहेन समं ममार ॥२६ रत्ना-नुजोस्ति रुचिराचरणप्रख्यातधीरसुविचारः । मदनः प्रसन्नवदनः सततं हतदुष्ट्ज-

19 नकदम:(नः) ॥२७ यः श्रीजैत्रमल्लकार्यैःबहुधामृतकरणांगणे प्रहरन् । पंचलगुडिकेन[1] समं प्रकटबलो जैत्रमल्लेन ॥२८ श्रीभीमसिंहपुत्र: प्राधान्यं प्राप्य राजसिं-

20 हो यं । बहुमेने नैकध्यं प्राक्प्रतिपदं दधदुदग्रे ॥२९ श्रीचित्रकूटदुर्गे तलारतां यः पितृक्रमायातां । श्रीसमरसिंहराजप्रसादतः प्राप नि:प्राय:[2] ॥३० श्रीभोज-

21 राजरचितत्रिभुवननारायणाख्यदेवगृहे । यो विरचयति स्म सदा शिवपरिचर्यां स्व-शिवलिप्सु: ॥३१ सोक्लो नाम यस्यास्ति नंदनो विनयी नयी । बालोपि पापि-

22 कर्मभ्य: साशंक: शुकम(व)त्तया ॥३२ सविकार: शिववैरी यदस्ति विदित: पुरातनो मदन: । निर्द्(वि)कारः शिवभक्तेरमुष्य तेनोपमा नात: ॥३३ इतश्च नागहृदसे-

[1] Seems to be the title of Jaitramalla.

[2] Read [illegible]

23 निधाने पदे पदे प्राज्यलक्ष्मीविधाने । ग्रामः सुभूमीभृति चीरकूपनामास्त्यदो-
ग्रामललामरूपः ॥३४ तस्याधिपत्येन धनाभिरामश्रिता प्राप प्रसादं गुहिलान्व-
यस्य । श्रीप-

24 द्मसिंहक्षितिपादुपासितान्वय्यो नरराजः किल विप्रवेषभृत् ॥३५ स योगराजः प्रथमं
पृथुश्रीरकारयत्तत्र पवित्रचित्तः । श्रीयोगराजेश्वरदेवगेहं श्रीगिरिगोटक-
25 भट्टेन युतं ॥३६ पूर्वमुत्तरमेतत्पीठरक्षासमिश्रामिश्रि(शाङ्रि)तः । कस्येतं विधापितं रम्यं
पूर्वजोद्धरणार्थिना ॥३७ ज्ञात्वा सत्वरमत्वरं जगदिदं सर्वं मनिभ्यः समं
पर्यालोच्य वि-

26 शेषतश्च विषमं पापं तमाम्यत्ततं । धर्मे धूर्जटिपूजनप्रभृतिके नित्यं मनो न्यस्त-
वानाकालं मदनश्चिकीर्षुरमलं जन्मान्यमुष्मिन्नपि ॥३८ यथाशीचमहत्तमेन शिव(व)-
27 श्रीयंत्राद्यम् कारितो प्रासादो ननु योगराज इति विख्यातेन पुण्यात्मना । मातृ-
वंशत्रयस्यात्मनश्च मदनो मंडपिकां येनास्य नव्यामलं उद्धार तदिमायाज्ञया-
28 प्ताशयः ॥३९ कालेनायमशेषकस्य चरितं पश्चाद्भवे गोचरे क्षेदार्गी मदनो ददौ
प्रमुदितो द्वौ द्वौ विभज्य स्वयं । दुर्गानुसमर्चितचूडनगरस्य क्षेत्रशीक-
29 कृतो द्वैदेवार्थमवद्यमोचनमना देवाय देव्यायपि ॥४० शकयाक: पालाको मंडो
भुवणोव तेजसामंतो । षयिवापुत्रो मदनस्त्विदमभिधे: पालनीयमिदमखिलं ॥
30 ४१ आविभिरिनदंभैरन्यैरपि रक्षमाणपुण्याय । दिशं जिनपदेसवसंख्यानादिकं
वस्तु ॥४२ यावचंद्रदिवाकरौ विलसतो लोकप्रकाशोद्यतौ तावद्देवकटकद्वयं विज-
31 यतामित्यादामामादं । उक्तौ च नंदतु प्रमदवाग्यात्रादनुषापणीरम्येषाच मनाप्यसौ
गतभया भूयात्सुकाव्यातनः ॥४३ पाशुपततपस्विपतिः श्रीशिवराशिः शशी(स)-
32 गुणराशिः । पाशाधिपतैकलिंगीचित्ताताचार्यौ निदाघाम ॥४४ श्रीचैत्रगच्छगगने
तारकाबुधकविकलावतां निलये । श्रीभद्रेश्वरसूरिगुरुकदनाविश्रवसाविनः ॥[४५]
33 श्रीदेवभद्रसूरिस्तदनु श्रीसिद्धसेनसूरिश्च । अजनि जिनेश्वरसूरिस्तच्छिष्यो विजयसिंह-
सूरिश्च ॥४६ श्रीभुवनचंद्रसूरिस्तस्याभूदद्भुतदंभमलः । श्रीरत्नप्रभसूरि-
34 स्तस्य विनेयोऽस्ति मुनिरत्नं ॥४७ श्रीमदिमलदेवश्रीतिजःसिंहराजकलपुत्रः । स इमां
प्रशस्तिमकरोदिह रुचिरां चित्रकूटस्थः ॥४८ शिष्योऽमुष्याल्लिच्य[क]-

35 ख्यो वैदुष्येण विभूषितः । पार्श्वचंद्र प्रभो विश्वश्लाघ्यसंदर्भानिशालिनी ॥४८ पद्मसिंहसुतः केलिसिंहोमुमुचकार च । स्वामिव देल्हणः शिष्यो जर्गीत[प्र]-

36 कारयत् ॥५० यावद्विश्वसरस्यास्मिन्नस्मि रामश्रि पुष्करं । राजहंसयुगं तावत् प्रशस्तिनंद-तादियं ॥५१ संवत् १३३० वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि प्रतिपदि श[नौ] [॥*]

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[The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythic or mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office; *q.*=queen; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *tit.*=title; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western.]

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